

AN INVESTIGATION INTO IMPLEMENTATION OF
THE MINI-SOCIETY INSTRUCTIONAL PROGRAM

BY M. CARR

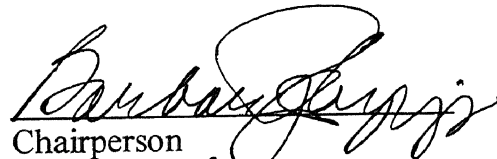
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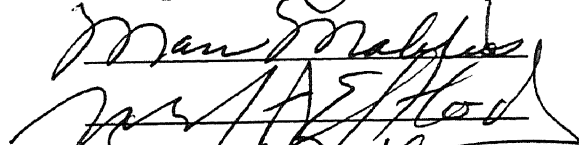
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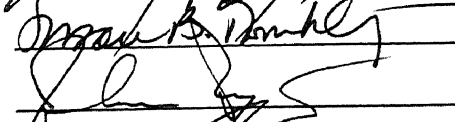
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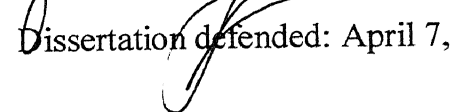
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Abstract

The present study examined variables associated with the implementation of the Mini-Society® instructional program, a student-centered, economic and entrepreneurship curriculum designed to acquaint students with their roles as producers and consumers in a market economy, enhance their decision-making skills, and increase their understanding of their roles as citizens (Kourilsky, 1996).

The investigation consisted of two parts, (1) a quantitative study to assess the degree to which Mini-Society implementation correlated to student and teacher variables, and (2) a qualitative analysis of how the program relates to elementary teachers' beliefs about their students' ability and the purpose of the social studies curriculum. Study questions were:

How do years of teaching experience, level of education, and teachers' beliefs toward their students, as measured on the Pupil Control Ideology scale (Willower, *et al.*, 1967) relate to implementation of the Mini-Society instructional program? What is the relationship between the number of teachers in a building who have been trained in Mini-Society and teachers' implementation of the instructional program? How does Mini-Society implementation vary by students' ethnicity, SES, and achievement? What are the differences between those teachers who implement Mini-Society and those who do not on attitudes toward the curriculum, their students, and the goals and purpose of their social studies curriculum?

One hundred and seventy six surveys were mailed to 3rd-6th grade teachers who had been trained in the program, and 118 surveys were returned representing a response rate of 67 percent. A total sample size of 96 teachers was obtained for this study. Regression analysis was used to determine answers to the first three research questions. Among the student variables measured for this study, socioeconomic status of students proved to be a statistically significant predictor of Mini-Society implementation accounting for 19 percent of the variance between users and non-users in a stepwise analysis. Among teacher variables, only collegial support approached significance, $p=.07$ in the ordinary least squares model, and accounting for 4 percent of the variance in a stepwise model.

In depth interviews with four teachers, two users of the curriculum and two non-users, were conducted to answer the 4th research question involving teacher perceptions of their students, the Mini-Society curriculum and social studies. Data from the interviews indicates that users of Mini-Society would appear to have a more positive outlook toward their students than the non-users. There is also evidence from the qualitative portion of this study that concern over standardized tests is a factor in non-implementation. An additional finding indicates that users of Mini-Society appear to appreciate the program for the affective gains that they see in their students as a result of the program as opposed to cognitive outcomes.

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This accomplishment is bittersweet for two people whom I have to thank for their support throughout this process are no longer with me. First, I'd like to acknowledge my father, Joseph Vusich. I'm sure he's quite happy that I can FINALLY say, "Dad, I got my paper done!"

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Economic and entrepreneurship education curricula have been developed for a myriad of purposes. Some economic education programs ask students to reflect on their own roles as consumers and understand the costs of having to make decisions (National Council on Economic Education, 1992). Other curricula have been designed to show young people that they can grow up to be productive participants in the American economy, so students can develop a sense of control and power over their own lives (NCEE, 1995). Still other curriculum materials emphasize the application of economic understanding to other disciplines or real world issues, whether it be United States history, (Schug, *et al.*, 1993; Wentworth, *et al.*, 1996), issues concerning environmental protection, (Schug, *et al.*, 1997), or understanding the challenges facing the economies in transition (McCorkle, S, & Suiter, M. eds. 1997; Schug, *et al.*, 1997).

Whatever the goal of the specific program, the value of economic and entrepreneurship education is increasingly being recognized as important content in U.S. schools. Economics was included as one of the nine core subjects in the *Goals 2000: Educate America Act*. Economics is one of the five strands of social studies education identified by the National Council for Social Studies (1994), and the subject is increasingly found in state curricular standards (cf. KSBE, 1999). The state of Kansas recognizes that, “Economics advances an important goal of social

studies education: the preparation of citizens who make well-reasoned decisions. The study of the production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services accompanied by practice in economic thinking provides students with the knowledge and skills needed to make thoughtful decisions as individuals and as citizens of their communities, Kansas, and our country” (KSBE, 1999).

The present study focuses on Mini-Society®, an economic and entrepreneurship curriculum designed to acquaint students with their roles as producers and consumers in a market economy, enhance their decision-making skills, and increase students’ understanding of their roles as citizens (Kourilsky, 1996). Mini-Society is an experiential-based instructional program during which students, typically between the ages of eight and twelve (grades 3-6), experience and then resolve various economic and social problems they encounter as they create their own classroom society. In Mini-Society, students develop an individual classroom economy complete with currency. Using their classrooms as a marketplace, students identify a demand for a product and then produce goods and services to sell to their classmates. Teachers utilize “debriefing” periods after the market experiences to guide the students’ understanding of various economic and entrepreneurship concepts and the workings of a market economy.

The program, which, according to Kourilsky (1996) should last one hour a day, three days a week, for ten weeks, begins with the classroom teacher introducing a situation in which students must determine how to allocate a good when there is not enough for the entire class. For example, students experience a

circumstance in which the teacher deliberately brings in fewer items, such as candy, than there are students. Students, like members of any society, must develop a strategy for dealing with the predicament of not having enough for everyone. The teacher leads the students through a discussion, or a “debriefing,” to resolve the allocation dilemma, a result of scarcity. Students might consider resolutions such as drawing names or having the teacher decide who should receive the candy. Eventually the teacher leads the students to the idea of using a price mechanism to allocate these scarce resources. Students are then presented with the idea of a classroom society in which they themselves will develop the rules for the production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services.

As the students begin to forge their society, they determine a name for it, and then design the flag and currency as symbols of their community. To start the currency in circulation, the students identify opportunities for everyone to earn some of their newly printed currency. For example, students could be paid for their design of the flag or currency if it is chosen to represent the society; other students could earn money for cutting the currency into individual bills. Students might also decide that they could all earn money for behaviors such as being in their seats on time or having their homework completed. However, as Kourilsky and Hirshleifer (1976) note, Mini-Society should not be viewed as a behavior modification program. The primary difference between Mini-Society and other types of programs where teachers try to influence student behavior through the use of rewards, (See O’Leary, and Drabman, 1971.) is in the generation of this incentive

structure. “Token economies influence subjects’ choices through a dictated schedule of rewards and penalties, a prescribed structuring of the choice environment In contrast, Mini-Society aims at reproducing . . . those forms of influences on behavior that tend to arise naturally out of the cooperative/competitive co-existence of individuals in a society of scarce resources” (p. 376).

Once currency has been in circulation for a period of time, students are able to identify market opportunities that exist in their classroom and develop goods and services to sell to other members of the society using the classroom currency as the medium of exchange. Teachers lead debriefing sessions to help the students reflect upon their experiences in the marketplace. For example, a teacher would be able to introduce the concept of competition and monopoly power if students complain that others are “stealing” their ideas for goods and services to sell during the markets. After businesses have been established and are in operation, students explore the role that government has within economies. For example, problems may occur when one student operates a successful art studio and then does not clean up completely after a market. In another case, a student might join the classroom after the society is operating, and does not have any money. Students, as a community, develop solutions to deal with these situations as they arise. Well-trained teachers are able to take advantage of these “problems”, during the debriefing sessions and town council meetings after the markets.

The debriefing sessions are one of the most important features of Mini-Society. The teachers are trained to use three steps during the debriefing process. First, teachers identify and isolate the teachable moment that has occurred in the classroom. Teachers then review the details of the experience and relate the new information to the students' prior knowledge base. Finally, teachers take advantage of subsequent classroom opportunities to reinforce the concept, and then extend the learning with examples from the U.S. economy. (Kourilsky, 1996).

The role of the teacher is complex in the Mini-Society curriculum, for he or she must be willing to let go of some authority during the course of the program and permit the students to make and implement decisions as they assume the primary responsibilities of running their classroom society. Students must be allowed to experience the consequences, both positive and negative that result from decisions they have made. Thus, the teacher should be able to shift from assuming the role as a citizen/consultant during some periods of the mini-society, to a skilled leader during the debriefing sessions.

Experienced-based programs like Mini-Society have been popular reform programs among educational specialists (cf. Goodlad, 1984; Gross, 1977; Hahn, 1985), for they have allowed students to become active producers of knowledge as opposed to passive consumers of it. Finkelsten, *et al.*, (1993) cite reports from the National Association for the Education of Young Children (1987) who recommend treating the classroom "as a laboratory for social relationships where children investigate values and learn rules of social behavior while developing respect for

individual diversity through firsthand experience” (p. 64). Jere Brophy, (1990) believes that social studies educators must emphasize the higher-order goals of instruction including critical thinking and decision making. He maintains that if social studies is not taught so that students have some control over the curriculum then it can degenerate into the memorization of disconnected facts and isolated skills exercises. Further, the emphasis on civic education that is inherent in Mini-Society (Kourilsky, 1996b) follows educational scholars (Bennett, 1986; Engle, 1960) who argue that the goal of social studies education should be the development of good citizens. If democratic societies are to maintain their viability, they must develop citizens who are both prepared and willing to accept the responsibilities that accompany citizenship in such societies. Schools cannot hope to prepare their students for effective citizen participation by teaching them a limited and fixed set of values, information, and skills. Rather, schools have to supply students with opportunities to become well-informed and thoughtful decision makers.

Perhaps the National Association for the Education of Young Children and the National Association of Early Childhood Specialists in State Departments of Education says it best when they state:

“...the proper role of the schools is to prepare citizens for democracy and that such a goal dictates that schools emulate democratic communities. The long-term goal of American education is not only to help children develop personal integrity and fulfillment but also to enable them to think, reason, and make decisions necessary to participate fully as citizens of a democracy” (cited in Finkelstein, *et al.*, 1993).

There has been extensive research conducted on the Mini-Society program as discussed in Kourilsky and Carlson (1997). This research has indicated that it is effective in increasing students' attitudes toward and cognition of economic and entrepreneurial concepts. (Kourilsky and Hirshleifer, 1976; Kourilsky and Ballard-Campbell, 1984b) Thus far, most of the research on Mini-Society has focused on student outcomes through use of the curriculum. Two other investigations (Kourilsky, 1979 and Koon, 1995), which will be discussed in more depth in the following chapter, have analyzed the role of the teacher in relation to student outcomes the Mini-Society program. Other relevant, but as yet unstudied, questions relate to which teachers choose to implement Mini-Society, and how they view the program in relation to their goals of social studies, and their perceptions of their students' ability.

Since 1995, a Center for Economic Education at a large Midwestern university has conducted a program to instruct educators in economics and the implementation of the Mini-Society program. From 1995-2000, over 200 teachers and school personnel from eight different school districts near the university have completed the Center's training courses. It is unclear as to which of the teachers trained in the program decide to implement it beyond the initial training and why or why not they use the program. The schools represented in the training program all located within a metropolitan area of approximately 1.6 million people, represent a wide range of socioeconomic levels and ethnicity.

The present study will investigate, among the population of teachers trained in the university's courses, those factors related to the extent of their classroom implementation of the program. This investigation will consist of two parts, (1) a quantitative study to assess the degree to which Mini-Society implementation correlated to student and teacher variables, and (2) a qualitative analysis of how the program relates to elementary teachers' beliefs about their students' ability and the purpose of the social studies curriculum.

Specific questions this study will address are as follows:

- 1) How do years of teaching experience, level of education, and teachers' beliefs toward their students relate to implementation of the Mini-Society instructional program?
- 2) What is the relationship between the number of teachers in a building who have been trained in Mini-Society and teachers' implementation of the instructional program?
- 3) How does Mini-Society implementation vary by students' ethnicity, SES, and achievement?
- 4) What are the differences between those teachers who implement Mini-Society and those who do not on attitudes toward the curriculum? their students? and the goals and purpose of their social studies curriculum?

As the review of the literature will suggest in the next chapter, various conditions factor into teachers' thinking and decision-making as to what curricula should be implemented in their classroom. These factors range from external forces such as testing and textbooks, to more internal and personal characteristics such as teacher beliefs and attitudes toward their students. All of these issues will be explored in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

This research project is an investigation of teacher use of and attitudes towards the Mini-Society® Instructional Program. The purpose of this work is twofold: first it is to identify among teachers who have taken a training course in the program, those who continue to implement the curriculum and those factors related to their continued use of it. The second goal of the study is to gain a better understanding of teachers' perceptions of Mini-Society, and how these views relate to their perspectives on the purpose of the social studies curriculum and their beliefs about their students' ability. Specific research questions are:

- 1) How do years of teaching experience, level of education, and teachers' beliefs toward their students relate to implementation of the Mini-Society instructional program?
- 2) What is the relationship between the number of teachers in a building who have been trained in Mini-Society and implementation of the instructional program?
- 3) How does Mini-Society implementation vary by students' ethnicity, SES, and achievement?

- 4) How do teachers who implement Mini-Society and those who do not perceive their students, the Mini-Society curriculum and the goals and purposes of their social studies curriculum?

This literature review contains five sections. The first section deals with the nature of social studies instruction in elementary schools across the United States. Section 2 deals with studies of curriculum differentiation; that is, studies where students are exposed to different types of skills and information for one reason or another. Section 3 focuses on teacher decision-making models with a discussion of the different conceptual frameworks for understanding how teachers make decisions about particular curriculum and pedagogy. Section 4 discusses how “beliefs” will be defined for the present study, and how teacher beliefs have influenced curricular decisions. Works in Section 5 summarize past research on Mini-Society and the role of the teacher in this program, with a discussion of the obstacles confronting teachers when they are faced with new curricula. The goal of this chapter is to present a picture of social studies instruction in America’s classrooms and how teachers make curricular decisions in light of external pressures and their own beliefs regarding the needs of their students.

Section 1: Social Studies in Today's Elementary Classrooms

The goal of this section is to review studies that have attempted to capture a picture of social studies curriculum in elementary classrooms. National studies conducted in the late 1960s and early 1970s concluded that social studies at the elementary level is not a high priority either from the state or district level (Gross, 1977; Hahn, 1985) or from individual teachers' perspectives (Shaver, Davis, & Helburn, 1979; Finkelstein, Davis, 1993). However, there is some variation from state to state and from teacher to teacher.

Richard Gross' (1977) multi-year study included reports from 36 state departments of education. His results, while perhaps more helpful for assessing social studies programs at the secondary level, nevertheless, provide some information for appraising the state of social studies education at the elementary level. For example, over 70 percent of respondents reported average to little encouragement for social studies on the part of elementary school administrators. Moreover, he found that in Montana and California 70 percent of K-4 teachers were doing little or nothing with social studies in their classrooms. Two districts in Colorado reported that only one hour per week was devoted to social studies. In Florida, less than one third of the teachers reported positive attitudes toward social studies and less than half regularly taught the subject.

Gross (1977) admits that there were some methodological problems with his data collection. For example, at the time of the study, (beginning in the 1960s

and continuing on until 1975) many states did not collect data on school enrollment, let alone specific social studies content, making it difficult to ascertain social studies enrollment at the high school level. Also, the data was not consistent over the years: course titles and terms changed during the period of the study, making comparisons difficult; and terms such as “supervisory specialists in social studies” were interpreted differently at different times and by different people.

Shaver’s *et al.* (1979) investigation of social studies education was part of a larger study conducted by the National Science Foundation (NSF) which also assessed science and math education. These studies were conducted in part to examine teacher use of “new” social studies curricula developed with funding from the federal government. These programs such as *Our Working World, and Man: A Course of Study*, were designed to give students more choice over their curriculum options. Shaver, *et al.* (1979) found that the federally funded social studies projects were not being used in the classroom; rather, the dominant modes of instruction were “large group, teacher-controlled recitation and lecture based primarily on the textbook . . . Experienced-based curricula—involving, for instance, community participation—are rare, as is ‘inquiry teaching.’” (p. 151).

Hahn (1985) sought to investigate how the social studies were faring nearly a decade after the Gross (1977) and Shaver (1979) reports were issued. She distributed a questionnaire to one member of the Council of State Social Studies Specialists in each state during the winter of 1982-1983, and all 46 members responded. She concluded that, just as Gross (1977) had found, social studies

education was a fairly low priority for elementary teachers and district personnel. Hahn's results indicated that one third of those questioned reported a decrease in the number of specialized social studies consultants in their states from the mid 1970s. In addition, respondents from 22 states reported that classroom time allotted to social studies was less than it had been in the mid-1970s. Like Gross (1977), Hahn was interested in whether social studies curricula that had been developed in the 1960s had ever reached widespread use. Her results suggested that the curricula had received only slight use by 1983 "especially at the elementary level" (p. 221).

Another study that attempted to capture a picture of social studies instruction from a state-wide perspective was Finkelstein, Nielsen, and Switzer (1993). Their study, a survey of three thousand early childhood teachers in seven Midwestern states, sought to define the characteristics of social studies programs at the early childhood level. The study addressed five specific aspects of social studies instruction: time devoted to the subject, integration of social studies in the curriculum, materials used for teaching social studies, instructional strategies employed by teachers, and barriers to effective social studies instruction.

Finkelstein, *et al.* (1993) concluded that the textbook dominated primary social studies instruction, and while teachers theoretically value high student participation (with 55.2% indicating that inquiry style teaching strategies were highly valuable), in practice, students were passive participants in the educational process. Half of the teachers reported using their textbooks 75-100% of the time for instruction and

worksheets were used regularly or frequently by 65.5% of the teachers in the survey. In addition, over 80% of the teachers stated that social studies was taught as a separate subject in a specific time block, rather than being integrated into other content areas such as language arts. The most frequently cited barrier to good social studies instruction was the higher priority of other curriculum areas such as math and language arts.

From the previously cited studies (Gross, 1977; Shaver et al, 1979; Hahn, 1985; and Finkelstein, *et al.*, 1993), it would appear that social studies instruction is not a high priority for elementary school teachers, and that what instruction does take place in the classroom is teacher dominated. While the four studies are helpful in obtaining an overall depiction of social studies in schools across the country, missing from them is a more in-depth view of individual teachers in individual classrooms.

John Goodlad's seminal work *A Study of Schooling* (1984) provides a tremendous amount of information for researchers interested in studying the experiences of students and teachers in America, which is perhaps why it has been called the most "comprehensive view of U.S. schools ... published" (Tyler, 1983, p. 462). Goodlad believed that any effort at improving the educational system had to begin with an understanding of the schools as they were and the thoughts, experiences, and beliefs of those who spent their days there. Rather than seek small amounts of information from a large number of schools, Goodlad and his colleagues, chose to focus in some detail on a smaller number of schools, 38

altogether, 25 junior and senior high schools and 13 elementary. The research team collected surveys from over 1000 parents, 956 teachers and 24,600 students, from schools in seven different regions of the United States. In addition to the surveys, data was gathered from hundreds of classroom visits throughout an academic school year.

Goodlad's research teams collected all of the local school data themselves rather than rely on second-hand information such as school records. As a result, there were no measures of student achievement for any of the students. A multidisciplinary advisory committee consisting of a sociologist, a political scientist, a historian of education, a state commissioner of education, an urban school superintendent, and a specialist in learning and curriculum, was assembled to analyze the research plan and data collection instruments and make suggestions for improvement. During the data analysis phase of the study, this same team offered their own perspectives and interpretations of the results (Tyler, 1983).

The results of the study indicated that teachers at all levels perceived themselves as being autonomous in the classroom. They felt as if they were in charge of what they taught and were comfortable with the amount of control that they exerted over the curriculum and their instructional practices. Further, over 75% of the teachers were influenced by their own background, interests, and experiences as well as their students' interests and experiences when they planned their instruction. These findings confirm Shaver et al's, (1979) conclusion that

“The day-by-day classroom experiences of students emerge from teachers’ beliefs about schooling and social studies in particular...” (p. 151).

An additional finding in Goodlad’s work is the amount of time a teacher spends on social studies instruction, which is somewhat more time than what Gross (1977), Hahn (1985), or Shaver, *et al.* (1979) had indicated. For the elementary teachers in this study, social studies instruction ranged anywhere from 8% of academic time to 19% of the time averaging at about 12%, or 2.8 hours per week. Upper elementary teachers spent more time on social studies (3.83 hours) than primary teachers (2.09 hours). As far as comfort level with social studies content, Goodlad found that 95.4% of elementary teachers felt prepared to teach it. When teachers in Goodlad’s study were asked to identify what they were trying to teach with their social studies content, a majority stated that using map skills was a primary goal. Other teacher-reported student outcomes for social studies instruction included acquiring the ability to work with others, skill in oral expression, and library use, and understanding similarities among cultures. Other, less frequently recorded responses included such higher order skills such as forming hypotheses, making comparisons, understanding sequences, forming generalizations, and conclusions and using their imaginations. Goodlad briefly addresses the “amorphous character of elementary social studies” (p. 210), reflected in the wide range of materials used in the elementary classrooms.

National Council for the Social Studies President Richard Theisen (2000) addressed the lack of consensus with regard to social studies instruction in his address at the 79th annual conference of social studies educators. In his words:

...questions of why and other philosophical questions get very short shrift for very practical reasons, most of which relate to school system structure and community value systems. School systems are slowly beginning to acknowledge that time to plan, to reflect, to revise, to collaborate with colleagues, to ask the 'why are we doing this?' questions is just as important to quality education as is actual student contact.

Confirming Shaver, *et al.*'s (1979) results, Goodlad found that only 65.6% of upper elementary students enjoyed social studies and 66% thought that it was interesting, making it the least liked content area for the upper elementary student. Goodlad speculated that the dislike among students for social studies could be related to how the subject was taught, for he could find few opportunities for students to make decisions with regard to what they studied. Goodlad hypothesized that teachers needed to be in control over the learning process "for fear that the students will take over." (p. 109). In addition, Goodlad found that teachers did not teach content area with the idea that the topics were instrumental to personal development; rather content was treated as both the end and means to instruction. "There is a place on the report card for marking citizenship...but this is something

one possesses to some degree. It is not something to which the activities of school are deliberately directed” (pp. 237-238).*

Goodlad’s work is widely cited in the research literature perhaps because it provides an in depth view of elementary and secondary education across the country, but it is not clear how the schools were selected for the study. In addition, while Goodlad received over 8,624 surveys from parents, that figure represents only 31% of the possible responses. The return rate ranged from 16% at one school to 57% at another, and Goodlad did not report any attempt to collect additional information. Goodlad indicated that there could be an overrepresentation in favor of the more affluent in the parental surveys, but he did not suggest how that bias could have influenced the results of the study.

Susan Stodolsky has approached her work (1988, 1993) to gain a better understanding of social studies instruction in the elementary schools somewhat differently than the previous researchers; and as a result, she has developed a more complete and varied picture of social studies instruction. Stodolsky and her team of researchers examined classroom practice in eleven different school districts representing a wide range of socioeconomic levels in the Chicago area. While her 1988 study focused on math and social studies instruction in the fifth grade, the present discussion will be limited to her findings in social studies instruction.

* Interestingly, Goodlad specifically mentions Kourilsky’s Mini-Society curriculum as an example of teaching using lifelike integration of academic, vocational, social and personal education but that its use is in short supply (p. 240).

Stodolsky's research team spent a total of 153 days observing the instructional practices of nineteen experienced teachers. The average amount of time spent with each teacher was 8.1 days. The data for social studies instruction totaled over 6,649 minutes of observations, an average of 350 minutes coming from each teacher. Instructional segments were identified during the different observation periods defined by what was occurring in the classroom such as giving instructions, seatwork, transition, recitation. These instructional periods were then coded with fifteen separate properties. The fifteen features included such things as the kinds of materials used, expected student behavior (i.e., listening, interaction...), student location, teacher role, options (Was there student choice in the activity?), pace (Were students allowed to work at their own speed?), and student involvement (on-task or off-task).

Rather than observing all students in the class, the researcher selected eight students at random to observe for each class, and the activity segments were coded for them. In all, 669 social studies segments were identified: 124 were transitions and 545 were instructional. The average number of social studies segments per class period was 3.61.

Confirming Goodlad's, (1984) findings, Stodolsky's study indicates that students were involved in teacher-dominated, whole group activities over 80% of the time. Stodolsky also found, like Shaver, *et al.* (1979) and Finkelstein, *et al.* (1993) that social studies was not a high priority among elementary teachers. Stodolsky found that while math was most often taught during periods thought to

be the most conducive to learning, or mornings, social studies was almost always taught in the afternoon in these elementary classrooms. Another finding of this study was that there was great uniformity in math instruction in terms of the content of the lessons and forms of instruction. But, there was much more diversity in topics, approaches, and goals in the social studies classes. This diversity was sometimes extreme. For example, over the two week period of observation for one class, the researchers identified students studying, “the history of the old West and Rocky Mountain geography, Communism and its threat to the United States, moral dilemmas, and current events” (p. 34). This finding confirms and illuminates Goodlad’s (1984) depiction of the nebulous character of elementary social studies in America’s schools.

Based on an analysis of the activity segments, Stodolsky (1988) identified three different types of social studies teachers: traditional, group-work, and mixed format. She defined traditional instruction as teacher-dominated instruction, and “mixed format” as instruction when teachers used elements of both traditional and group-work. Of the nineteen social studies teachers observed, 10 were identified as traditional; 6 fell under the group-work model; and 3 were categorized as mixed format. Stodolsky found that students were more involved, (not day dreaming or off task in another way) the more the teacher used group work. Stodolsky also found that the more student-centered the activity, the higher the cognitive tasks were. Teacher led activities were primarily focused on basic facts and concepts,

while group work involved higher order thinking skills. That is, as cognitive complexity increased, so did the level of student involvement.

Altogether, this study is helpful in illuminating social studies instruction, and the techniques for gathering data suggest that the researchers were trying to be as objective as possible. There are a few limitations to the study that should be discussed, however. The first weakness of the work is that the teachers were not chosen randomly. Because the teachers volunteered for the study, it could be that they were more progressive in their teaching techniques than a random sample might be. Perhaps, in a random sample, the proportion of teachers who practiced traditional methods of social studies instruction, as defined by Stodolsky, might even be higher than the 53% of teachers that this study found.

Brophy and VanSledright (1993) offer a more in depth look at what elementary teachers believe about social studies curriculum and instruction, and how those beliefs are reflected in their classroom practice. Brophy and VanSledright interviewed seven elementary school teachers who were identified by their principals as expressing interest in social studies instruction and emphasized it in their teaching. The seven teachers, who worked in three different school districts in Lansing, Michigan, all taught in white, middle-class districts in suburban settings. The study reported teachers' opinions about elementary social studies purposes and goals, how the teachers go about choosing content, the forms and functions of teacher-student interactions as well as student-to-student discourse, and teachers' methods for assessing student learning.

The interviews lasted from six to fifteen hours. Specific questions involved what teachers should be trying to accomplish in elementary social studies education, and given these purposes and goals, what's the most important content to teach; and finally, what key ideas ought to be stressed in elementary social studies and how ought these topics be presented in a meaningful way to students. The exemplary teachers in this study all suggested that they integrated social studies into other disciplines as opposed to "covering" social studies by integrating it into language arts. Brophy and VanSledright feel tends to produce a "Spotty and trite social studies curriculum that is not likely to accomplish major social education goals.

Section 2: Curriculum Differentiation

Curriculum differentiation has been defined as any attempt to make different types of knowledge available to different groups of students (Oakes, *et al.*, 1996). While the term is most often associated with the practice of tracking, an issue primarily for secondary schools, (Oakes *et al.*, 1996), several of the works cited in this review will indicate that curriculum differentiation can occur at the elementary level as well. Studies on curriculum differentiation indicate that curriculum is selected based on teachers' perceptions of student needs. These perceptions are often based on student ability, prior achievement, and

socioeconomic status. As a result, different curricular experiences, or curricular differentiation, occurs.

Over fifty years ago, Howard Becker (1952) investigated the attitudes among teachers of different student populations. Analyzing data from interviews with sixty teachers and school officials in the Chicago public school system, Becker found that teachers had different attitudes towards students from different socioeconomic backgrounds. In his study, Becker classified the teachers as high, medium and low, depending on the socioeconomic composition of the students with whom they worked. Teachers who taught from the “slum” areas said that these students were the most difficult group to teach and “control”. Becker also reported that the teachers felt as if they had to teach differently in order to get the students interested in their content. For example one high school science teacher reported that her experiments had to be “pretty flashy” and make “lots of noise and smoke before they’d [the students] get interested in it” (p. 455).

The science curricula in the elementary grades also differed among the high, medium, and low socioeconomic schools. An elementary principal at one of the lower SES schools discussed the struggles of getting the students in his building to learn the basics:

The children come into our upper grades with very poor reading ability. That means that all the way through our school everybody is concentrating on reading. It's not like at a school like S_____ {middle group} where they have science and history and so on. At a school like that they figure that from first to fourth you learn to read and from fifth to eighth you read to learn. You use your reading to learn other material. Well, these children don't reach that second stage while they're with us. We have to plug along getting them to learn to read. Our teachers are pretty well satisfied if the children can read and do simple number work when they leave here. You'll find that they don't think very much of subjects like science, and so on. They haven't got any time for that. They're just trying to get these basic things over.... That's why our school is different from one like the S_____ (p. 456).

A number of later studies confirm Becker's findings and suggest that teachers engage in particular pedagogical behaviors depending on their perceptions of students' general ability, previous achievement, classroom behavior and work habits.

In a study analyzing the beliefs and statements of elementary teachers with hypothetical groups of students, Metheny (1980) found that teachers reported that they would engage in different pedagogical behaviors depending on their students' socioeconomic status and prior achievement. For example, when presented with low SES and low ability students, the teachers responded that the students *needed* more direct instructional time and supervision than a group of students from a higher socioeconomic background. "The teachers felt that their instructional role for the low group and low SES readers should be that of a controlling, step-by-step director. In contrast, this instructional role shifted from that of a controlling

director to a more passive, guider-facilitator for the high SES, top and upper grade readers...” (p. 6).

In the same study, Metheny (1980) also discovered that teachers selected materials for high SES students to challenge and enrich their experiences. Materials were selected for the lower group because they were interesting and fun. The lower ability and SES students needed materials not as a challenge but as a motivator for learning basic skills.

One weakness of Metheny’s (1980) study was that it was conducted in a laboratory and not in actual classrooms. Another potential problem to a policy capturing study such as this is the manner in which the data was analyzed. By aggregating all the data from the teachers using a regression analysis, Metheny surmised that all the teachers in the study shared the same assumptions about their students’ ability and achievement, and that all teachers will react similarly to the same set of information.

Jeanne Oakes (1985) conducted a large-scale study of curriculum differentiation. Using data from John Goodlad’s (1984) *Study of Schooling* project, Oakes found intriguing differences in the types of knowledge available to students in the United States. Thirty-eight schools were analyzed in *A Study of Schooling*, and Oakes’ study looked at the twenty-five junior and senior high schools, or data from 13, 719 students and teachers, from Goodlad’s sample.

One finding of Oakes’ work indicated that in the multiracial schools, minority students are found in disproportionately small percentages in high-track

classes and in disproportionately large percentages in low-track classes. Moreover, this pattern of placement is most consistently found in schools where minority students were also poor. While most of the information for Oakes' work came from analyzing the differences between high and low math and English classes (classes most likely to have different tracks), information on high and low track vocational education and social studies classes was also provided.

Of primary concern to Oakes was whether students had the same opportunities to learn content. In other words, is the basic difference between high and low-track classes the pace at which instruction is presented? Or, are students being exposed to different information altogether? If the content differs for students in different classes, are some students exposed to information that is more *highly valued* in the sense that the information taught would be valuable for future educational, social, and economic opportunities. To ascertain the answers to these questions, Oakes examined the responses to the following open-ended questions:

When asked, "What is the most important thing you have learned or done so far in this class?" students in high track social studies and vocational classes responded: (pp. 67-72)

Learning political and cultural trends in relation to international and domestic events.

Greek philosophy, Renaissance philosophy, humanities. How to write essays and do term papers. The French Revolution.
HISTORY!

To infer or apply the *past* ideas to my ideas and finally to the future's ideas.

I learned quite a deal about peoples of other nations plus the ideas of creation and evolution, ideas that philosophers have puzzled over for years.

I've really learned the whole idea and meaning behind economics and how to apply economics to my life.

The bases of our economic system and the way the business world is.

About businesses—corporations, monopolies, oligopolies, etc., and how to start, how they work, how much control they have on the economy—prices, demand, supply, advertising.

Students in low track Social Studies and vocational classes responses to the same question were:

How to blow up light bulbs

How to cook and keep a clean house. How to sew.

I don't remember.

How to sew with a machine and how to fix a machine.

A few lessons which have not very much to do with history.
(I enjoyed it.)

Oakes referred to the type of knowledge in the two different tracks as “high” and “low-status”. In high-track English classes, students are exposed to literature and other knowledge that would presumably help them in later life. Vocabulary terms in the high-track classes are items likely to appear on college

admission tests such as the SAT or the ACT. According to Oakes, students in high-track classes read Shakespearean plays and other great works of literature; they analyze literary elements within these works; and study characteristics of literary genres such as the novel, short story, and poetry. Students in low-track English do not read great works of literature, do not have works read to them, and may never be exposed to the stories. When students in the low-track classes are exposed to literature, it consists of young-adult fiction designed to appeal to teenagers with themes such as love and gang activity. Most of the content in the lower track classes is basic reading and writing skills.

Math classes follow a similar pattern. High-track classes are exposed to mathematical ideas, models, probability, and statistics. Students in low-track classes focus on computational skills, or measurement applications. Oakes did not cover the content of high and low-track social studies classes in such great detail, although she found separate social studies tracks as well.

Oakes' did not address the issue of what students *learned* from their classes; rather she was concerned with what students were *offered* in their classes. Oakes was also interested in what teachers would describe as the goals of education. Teachers at the twenty-five schools were asked the following question:

What are the five most critical things you want the students in your class to learn this year? By learn, we mean everything that the student should have upon leaving the class that (s)he did not have upon entering.

High-track junior and senior high Social Studies teachers responded: (pp. 79-83)

Investigating technology, investigating values.

To think critically—to analyze, *ask* questions.

Able to collect and organize information. Able to think critically.

To realize that all people are entitled to certain inalienable rights.

When asked the same question, teachers of low track junior high Social Studies and Vocational Education classes responded this way:

I teach personal hygiene—to try to get the students to at least be aware of how to keep themselves clean.

To learn how to follow one set of directions at a time, take a directive order and act upon it.

Working under the perspective that schools sort students and lead them to particular levels on the social and economic hierarchy, Oakes was interested in whether schools systematically provided different types of both academic and nonacademic knowledge to different groups of students.

Jackson (1968) also suggested that students learn far more than academic content in schools. He proposed that schools have both the “official” and the “hidden” curriculum that students must master if they are to make their way through school. For Jackson, the hidden curriculum consists of those behaviors

that a child must learn in order to deal with the crowds and the power structure in schools. For example, students learn to line up to use the scarce resources found in schools such as pencil sharpeners and drinking fountains. Students also learn what kinds of behaviors will provide them with praise and attention, both positive and negative, from the teacher. So, students learn to hand in their work neatly and on time; they learn to raise their hand if they wish to speak; and they learn to sit quietly during, for example, reading (whether or not they actually read) if they want praise. Jackson asserted that the mastery of the hidden curriculum was far more important than mastery of the academic one for it is the way that most rewards and punishments are dispersed in the elementary classroom. In these ways, Jackson asserted that schools are powerful socializing agents.

Following Jackson (1968), Oakes (1985) argues that schools teach more than academics and that teachers of high and low track students have different types of non-academic goals for their students. Analyzing the non-academic goals from all teachers in the study (not just social studies and vocational education classes) Oakes classified the objectives into two categories: 1) independence and 2) conformity. Those skills listed under independence included critical thinking, work on individual projects or assignments, self-direction, and creativity. Conformity goals included getting along with others, working quietly, improving study habits, punctuality, cooperation, and conforming to rules and expectations. Self-reported goals of most all the high-track teachers fit within the category of independence, while low-track teachers' goals could be classified as conformist goals.

Just as in Goodlad's (1984) report, some questions arise concerning the manner in which the data for Oakes' (1985) study was analyzed and interpreted. For example, Oakes suggested that teachers offer different curricular experiences to high and low-track classes. This conclusion would suggest that teaching is a unidirectional and that teachers act independently of their students. Is it possible that high track students are more enthusiastic and interested learners causing the teachers to behave differently? Another implication of Oakes' work is that students within the same schools receive significantly different types of educational experiences, depending on whether or not they were enrolled in a high or low-track class. Unfortunately, there was not an analysis of the data to suggest that that was the case. Rather, all of the information on high and low-track students and teachers was pooled and analyzed in that manner. What were the differences in content offered across schools? Were these differences more or less significant than the differences found between the tracks?

After reading this study, one is also left to conclude that schools and tracking are the sole cause of educational inequality, rather than the notion that tracking appears to perpetuate the educational inequality that persists in American society. Finally, although Oakes provides evidence that curriculum differentiation exists in U.S. public schools, a qualitative analysis and an in depth investigation of the teachers and students in high and low track classes could have painted a clearer picture of how the curriculum is differentiated in U.S. schools.

While Oakes' (1985) study focused primarily on middle and secondary schools, curriculum differentiation was observed among students as low as grade six. Oakes does not make a particular distinction between students of higher and lower socioeconomic backgrounds, only to say that the lower track classrooms consisted primarily of lower SES students. But, a later qualitative study (Hemmings and Metz, 1990) of students in three different and economically diverse high schools did find that teachers varied their curriculum and pedagogy depending on students' SES and the teachers' perceptions of their students' abilities and the future career paths.

Hemmings and Metz (1990) assert that teachers balance societal and local community expectations with the needs of their students when they plan the curricular experiences of their students. Hemmings and Metz found markedly different expectations among teachers who worked in three high schools from diverse socioeconomic neighborhoods. For example, most of the teachers at the upper-middle class suburban high school in the study felt as if their students were bright and capable, and would go on to college. In this school, there were a lot of lectures and discussions focusing on higher level concepts. Hemmings and Metz found that the teachers at the suburban high school were engaged in "real teaching" a majority of the time. The authors define real teaching as being engaged in those activities that "effectively transmit socially legitimate knowledge and skills" (p. 93). In other words, the teachers at the suburban high school indicated that they were engaged in activities that promoted learning and the academic goals a

majority of the time. The implication is that teachers who feel that they are engaged in real teaching most of the time are more likely to invest long hours preparing for their classes, as a result of their high rate of job satisfaction.

The experiences of the teachers and students at the two other schools were somewhat different from the first group. Teachers had very different expectations for their students at the school in the working class town used in this study, where fewer than 30% of the adults in the community had gone on to college. Both the academic and nonacademic goals for the students in this building were different from the more affluent suburban school. The teachers at this high school "... wanted students to learn how to 'behave'; they wanted students to learn how to obey without question[ing] those in authority and to work quietly at required tasks" (p. 101). Teachers in many regular- and lower-level classes at this school expected their students to remain silently on-task unless they were given permission to speak.

Hemmings and Metz (1990) described one teacher in this building who initially tried to teach her regular-level economics classes abstract concepts and theories but gave up after deciding she was not being very realistic. Ultimately this teacher determined that she was teaching content the students did not need, so she changed the course's content to include objectives that she had deemed more relevant for her students. Rather than learning economic theory, her students learned how to apply for and interview for jobs, and they learned about different types of credit. The researchers found that the students at this school were most

compliant when they were involved in curriculum that emphasized practical knowledge and basic skills and when they were busy with hands-on activities, seatwork, and recitations. An important goal for this teacher became managing her students and keeping them in control rather than challenging them with economic content.

The third school in this study was set in a metropolitan city with a large African-American population, and where about 20% of the surrounding population lived below the poverty line. As in the previous school, most of the adults in the surrounding community were either unemployed or worked in one of the industries. Hemmings and Metz (1990) reported that many of the white, middle-class teachers, who lived outside the community in which they taught, felt that they had to “purge students of their ‘bad’ traits and to replace them with ‘good’ traits (p. 106).” This “purging” included among other things stopping the students from using non-standard English. Another goal of many of the teachers in the building was to get the students actively involved in the educational process and assume more responsibility for their learning. As a result the teachers reported that they wanted to do more lecturing of concepts and hold classroom discussions, but when the teachers tried to provide direct instruction or organize debates, the students did not pay attention. One teacher summed up her feelings this way, “It’s like you want to create something with our hands and you don’t have any dough to create it with” (p. 107).

Teachers working with this largely African-American population felt as if they could not spend more than a few minutes lecturing because the students would become restless. As a result, most of the teachers assigned large amounts of seatwork for their classes as the only way to keep the classrooms manageable; and most of the academics consisted of a re-teaching of knowledge and skills typically taught in the elementary level. Hemmings and Metz (1990) reported that the teachers in this building were more frustrated than in the suburban building because they were not engaged in real teaching. Instead, they were forced to abandon the lectures, and provide students with seatwork because of the management issues.

The findings of this study suggest a disparity among teachers of high and low socioeconomic students in the level of satisfaction that they receive from their teaching career. This satisfaction could influence the amount of time that teachers are willing to invest in preparing for their daily lessons and in how they relate to their students.

Most of the concerns regarding the validity of this study do not arise from the conclusions that Hemmings and Metz reach, for others have found that teachers tailor curriculum to meet students' and societal expectations (Clark and Peterson, 1987; Darling-Hammond, 1997; Shavelson and Stern, 1981). Rather, the problems arise from the omission of relevant data from the investigation and a vague write-up of the study's methodology. For example, while teachers indicated that they were influenced by parental expectations, no parents were interviewed for the study, thus there is no way to verify what their expectations were, and if these

expectations differ from school to school. Also missing from the work is an account of how schools or individual teachers were chosen for the study. The reader is simply told that three different high schools representing three different socioeconomic compositions were chosen and that a total of eight teachers were interviewed within these buildings.

Despite these reservations, this study reinforces the idea that schools are unique institutions populated by diverse groups of students, and that because of the diversity, teachers will have different goals and employ different pedagogy to meet the perceived needs of their students.

While the Oakes (1985) and Hemmings and Metz (1990) works focused on curricular experiences of secondary students, Anyon (1981) observed elementary students of differing socioeconomic backgrounds engaged in different curriculum experiences. Anyon's study investigated two different groups of fifth grade students, one group lived in a working class neighborhood (where most family incomes were at or below \$12,000 in 1978-1979), and the other in a more affluent community (where family incomes ranged between \$40,000-\$80,000 during the same period). The two fifth grade classes in the lower SES school spent a majority of their time doing activities such as copying teachers' notes from the board, and filling in words on language arts dittoes. In Anyon's words: "School knowledge in the fifth grades in this working-class school was not so much bodies of ideas or connected generalizations, as fragmented facts and behaviors" (p. 120).

Anyon illustrates this point by describing two different math lessons she observed at the different schools. The students in the working class neighborhood were learning long division. “The students were told to copy what the teacher said in their notebooks and then follow the steps. She [the teacher] listed the steps on the board: ‘Divide, Multiply, Subtract, Bring Down’” (p. 120). Anyon writes that when the students seemed confused, the teacher simply repeated the steps over and over again. There were never any attempts on the part of the teacher to use manipulatives or to create any deeper understanding of the concept.

The mechanical, routine procedures dominated not only the math activities, but spelling, grammar and social studies as well. Classroom activity for social studies rarely involved more than filling in blanks on worksheets, and copying isolated facts such as state products and symbols from the board.

By contrast, Anyon observed the students in the more affluent neighborhood engaged in much more meaningful math activities. For example, when the students were learning about averages, they were assigned a homework task requesting that they and their parents work together to fill in the number of rooms in their house, the number of cars they had, the number of television sets, refrigerators, games, etc. Each child had to figure the average number of a certain type of possession owned by the fifth graders at the school. Anyon observed that the students in the affluent schools were engaged in *mental* labor as opposed to *mechanical* labor that the working class students were doing.

Anyon's work illustrates the different encounters students have with schools across the country, and was conducted in part to argue that the role of education in industrial societies is to reproduce an unequal system of social classes. (See Bowles and Gintis, 1976, for further explanation and discussion of how schools educate people to accept the existing social order.) While the study is successful in showing that students can have very different classroom experiences, no attempt was made to address the teacher's thoughts about their pedagogy. Discussions with the individual teachers in this study could have provided a more thoughtful analysis of the differences that were observed in the different classrooms. By not engaging the teachers in a discussion of their pedagogy, Anyon seems to be implying that the teachers in her study are intentionally treating students differently because of their socioeconomic status. Doyle (1992) points out this tendency in critical theorists to bypass teachers "who are sometimes portrayed as accomplices to the reproducing social and cultural inequalities" (p. 500).

Anyon did not gather information on the teachers' backgrounds or interests, which may have explained some of the differences in teaching styles. Darling-Hammond (1992) suggests that there are wide variations in teacher preparation, training, and knowledge across states due to the different states' licensure and certification procedures. A 1996 study by the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future (reported in Darling-Hammond, 1997) reports that 25 percent of individuals hired to teach each year are not fully prepared and licensed for their jobs, and that often the least prepared teachers are assigned the most educationally

vulnerable children. These facts lead one to question the qualifications of the different teachers described in the study and the impact that their different backgrounds had on their pedagogy.

Thus far, the evidence indicates that students' ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and prior achievement are salient factors when teachers choose to implement a particular curriculum. But, the literature suggests that other variables account for variations in classroom content and pedagogy.

Section 3: Teachers as Decision-Makers

Although one could argue that teachers are quickly losing a certain amount of autonomy and decision-making power as standards and testing programs are becoming more commonplace in their classrooms (Darling-Hammond, 1997), several theorists have suggested that with respect to social studies curriculum, teachers' decision-making power is still pronounced (Brophy, 1990; Darling-Hammond, 1997; McNeil, 1983; Sosniak & Stodolsky, 1993).

Jackson (1968) was the first to call attention to the importance of the decision-making power of teachers. Jackson not only understood the significance of the link between what goes on in the minds of teachers and what develops in the classroom, but he also conceptualized the different phases of teachers' decision-making before, during, and after instruction. Since that time researchers have

studied teachers' underlying thoughts and beliefs more in-depth and the subsequent pedagogical decisions made as a result (Brophy & Rohrkemper, 1981; Cooper, Baron, & Lowe, 1975; Methany, 1980; Wiley & Eskilson, 1978). Several theorists have even developed conceptual models for understanding the teachers' thought processes (Clark & Yinger, 1977; Clark & Peterson, 1987; Elbaz, 1980; Shavelson & Borko, 1979; Shavelson & Stern, 1981; and Westerman, 1991), and attempted to identify those influences that are the most important for decision-making (Grant, 1996).

Early research on teacher decision-making attempted to quantify the phenomena by analyzing the different factors that contribute to teachers' pedagogical decisions. Shavelson and Stern's model, (1981), based on the work of Shavelson and Borko (1979) and Shavelson, Atwood, & Borko (1977) offers a conceptual framework for understanding the relationship between teachers' thoughts, decision-making processes, and behaviors.

Factors influencing teacher decisions during the planning of curriculum include, as previously indicated by Anyon, (1980), Becker, (1952), and Hemmings and Metz (1990) student characteristics such as ability and achievement. Other determinants consist of the nature of the instructional task, and the classroom or school environment which includes influences from district personnel, administrators and parents. Those teacher characteristics that influence decision-making, according to Shavelson and Stern (1981) include beliefs and conceptions of the subject matter. Teachers cognitively process all of the relevant information

in order to plan and carry out their instruction. For Shavelson and Stern (1981), “In order to understand the behavior of teachers, then, it is essential to know (a) their goals, (b) the nature of the task environment confronting them, (c) their information-processing capabilities, and (d) the relationship among these elements” (p. 461).

Some scholars have challenged the production system conception of education (Bussis, *et al.* 1976; Elbaz, 1981; 1983). Bussis, *et al.* (1976) argued that that traditional methodology of research, (i.e., Shavelson and Stern, 1981) assumes that educational programs can be fully prescribed and defined apart from the context in which they are to be introduced by a particular teacher and engaged in by a particular group of children (p. 8). Scholars such as Bussis, *et al.* (1976), and Elbaz (1981 & 1983) reject the fractionalization of curriculum and pedagogy that are inherent in Shavelson and Stern’s model. For researchers like Elbaz and Bussis, it is impossible to identify and quantify all of the pieces that make up the complexities of teacher decision-making. Instead, Elbaz (1983) emphasized a view of curriculum as a contextualized social process. Similarly, pedagogy is seen not simply as a neutral pipeline for delivering content, but as a social context that has fundamental curricular effects.

As a result of these assumptions, research on teacher decision-making since the early 1980s has undergone a shift, and more recent studies tend to be qualitative, focusing more in-depth on individual classes and teachers, as opposed to quantitative, using a larger sample of teachers. Cognitive processes, rather than

being viewed strictly as intellectual, are now seen as including feelings, beliefs, and values.

Elbaz (1981; 1983) developed a model of teacher decision-making based on her research using a teacher case study, and the belief that curriculum developers rarely consider teachers as anything more than “passive transmitters” of curriculum. Elbaz (1983) advanced the theory that a teacher’s “practical knowledge” has much to do with how curricula are implemented. According to Elbaz, teachers possess a broad range of knowledge, and this knowledge has a large impact on how a curriculum is implemented. This largely unarticulated “practical knowledge”, is a product deriving from a teacher’s past experiences. It consists of an individual teacher’s knowledge of the subject matter, knowledge of classroom organization and instructional techniques, knowledge of students’ needs, abilities, and interests, and knowledge of the social framework of the school and its surrounding community, and of his or her own strengths and weaknesses.

To understand how a teacher’s practical knowledge manifests itself in the classroom, one has to understand how that practical knowledge is “held and used” by the teacher. Elbaz identifies five orientations to a teacher’s practical knowledge: situational, social, personal, experiential, and theoretical. Situational knowledge is based Dewey’s (1938) work which called attention to the idea that knowledge comes from doing. The social orientation aspect of practical knowledge “is reflected in the way the teacher will automatically shape subject matter to take account of ethnic or economic factors that influence, or are held to influence

students' (or their parents') expectations, interests, and abilities. It is revealed in the kinds of demands teachers make of students from different social backgrounds" (Elbaz, 1981, p. 55).

A teacher's experiential knowledge is implicit in the situational, personal, and social orientations of the teacher's knowledge in its experiential base. That is, experiential knowledge is how one makes sense of and ascribes meaning to the everyday aspects of life. Theoretical orientation was explained this way, "The notion of theoretical orientation refers to the fact that the teacher's knowledge is held in a particular relationship to the realm of theory. Teachers, like all members of society, are influenced by the forms of thought and discourse which go on around them. . . ." (1983, p. 21).

As with other qualitative studies, Elbaz was the primary instrument of data gathering, and as such, she must always be aware of her own personal biases. To Elbaz's credit, she admitted that at times she "listened poorly" thereby misunderstanding Sarah [the teacher in her study] (1981, p. 52). But there are other instances in the work that lead one to wonder whether Elbaz was aware of her biases all the time. For example, at one point Sarah describes how she came to leave the English department:

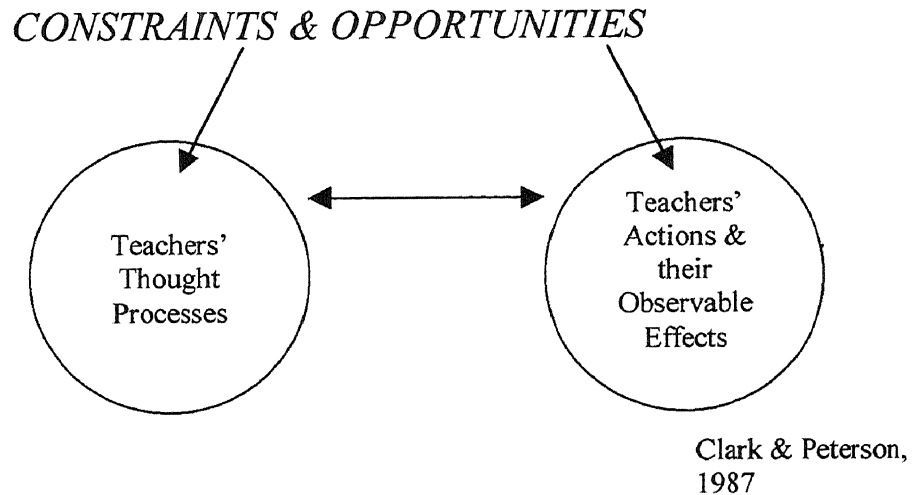
I began to realize how uncomfortable I was in the English department, in the human aspect of the English department. . . . The head and the assistant head seized upon the "back to basics" business in the press as a justification for returning to the grammar and highly structured "composition" approach. . . . People who were working on certain courses or certain grade levels would meet together to set up criteria

for the following years. . . . He chose people who more or less were dancing to his own tune to be the chairpeople of these committees, and I attended several of those meetings and heard things that seemed to me to be ridiculous (p. 56).

Elbaz used this instance to describe how the social orientation of Sarah's practical knowledge allowed her to choose to leave the department and spend her time working in the reading center at the school. On the one hand, this excerpt serves to remind one of the importance of having subjects who can clearly articulate their thoughts and feelings in a qualitative study, but this passage also illustrates a point regarding researcher bias. Elbaz's choice of words to describe the situation suggests a disposition that she does not address (and, perhaps, one in which she is unaware?). Elbaz says, "She [Sarah] was no longer the bearer of some intellectual property offered for their consumption; she became a person with skills to share" (p. 57). This statement gives the reader an indication of Elbaz's own philosophy of education, which seems very similar to the teacher's in the study. Because the subject and the researcher shared such similar beliefs regarding education, one can wonder how differently the theory of practical knowledge and of its five orientations would have looked had Elbaz investigated another teacher with a very different philosophy of education.

That said, the notion of "practical knowledge" has been a step forward in our understanding of how teachers' beliefs, values, and social contexts can affect curricular decisions, judging from the number of researchers who have since built on this work (c.f., Clandinin, 1989; Johnson, 1989; and Willinsky, 1989).

Clark and Peterson (1987) devised a model of teacher thought and action that appears to account for the more ambiguous and less quantifiable aspects of teachers' thought processes.



The first circle in the model represents that which is unobservable: the teacher's theories, beliefs and planning that occur within a classroom context. The other circle represents the teacher's observable actions, or the teacher's classroom behavior, as well as student achievement and behavior. Constraints and opportunities, such as influences from parents, administrators, and other district personnel also impact the circles. The arrow between the two circles pointing in both directions suggests that students' behavior and achievement have an influence on teachers' theories and beliefs (p. 257). "We [Clark & Peterson] make no claims for the empirical validity of this model, but rather offer it as a heuristic device that

may be useful in making sense of the literature and as an ‘advance organizer’” (p. 256).

Other influences on teacher decision-making include standards and testing (Darling-Hammond and Wise, 1984; Darling-Hammond, 1997; and Floden, 1980); administrators (Hall and Hord, 1986); textbooks (Stodolsky and Sosniak, 1993; and Kon, 1995) and the teacher himself and his beliefs and experiences (Nespor, 1987).

Floden (1980) examined a number of factors as they related to teachers’ decisions about curricular content. Sixty-six fourth-grade teachers of varying ages and experiences indicated that they would incorporate new topics into their math curriculum based on a number of external pressures. The teachers in this study were given different scenarios and asked whether they would change their curriculum as a result of six different circumstances: the implementation of a new textbook, the adoption of new objectives from the central office, publication of test scores in the local newspaper, and discussions with the principal, other teachers, and parents. Analysis of the results revealed that while teachers reported that they would change the curriculum in response to all of the factors, some variables had a more significant impact on teachers’ curricular decisions. The most important factors causing teachers to change their curriculum were the publication of test scores in a local newspaper and the adoption of district objectives. Factors having less influence on teachers’ decision-making according to Floden (1980) were conversations with parents, discussions with the principal and other teachers, and finally the implementation of a new text.

One drawback to Floden's (1980) study is that it was conducted outside the classroom, under laboratory-like settings and teachers were asked to predict how they would behave within a classroom setting. Using this research methodology, Floden observed and concluded that teachers were quite willing to make additions to the curriculum but reluctant to remove objectives. In an actual classroom, and facing real time constraints, teachers might not be so easily influenced to change their curriculum. Studies conducted in classrooms since 1980 have not borne out Floden's conclusions. For example, Goodlad (1984) found that teachers were only slightly or not at all influenced by district consultants, parent advisory councils, or state examinations, and Sosniak and Stodolsky (1993) found that teachers behaved inconsistently with regard to external pressures.

While Floden's (1980) study provides a useful starting point for an examination of external pressures on teacher decision making, other more recent works have taken a more specific approach and have provided a more complete understanding of how different factors influence classroom practice. Darling-Hammond & Wise (1984) and Darling-Hammond (1997) investigated the specific impact that standards and testing have had on teachers' curricular decisions.^{*} Darling-Hammond and Wise interviewed 43 randomly selected teachers from three large school districts in three states. Average age of the teachers was 41, with 14 years of teaching experience. The districts included one serving a predominantly

^{*} Darling-Hammond & Wise (1984) work also investigated the influence of competency-based teacher certification, testing for certification, and testing for recertification.

minority population in an urban area, and two large, predominantly white suburban districts. The sample was intentionally small and drawn from only three districts so that the state and district contexts of the policies could be examined.

Just as Floden (1980) found, Darling-Hammond and Wise's (1984) study confirmed that standardized testing was a powerful force shaping the curriculum. Sixty percent of the teachers in this report indicated that testing has affected their own teaching and 95% reported that it affected other teachers' behaviors. Upon further analysis of the responses, Darling-Hammond and Wise (1984) found that testing influenced teachers in a couple of different ways. Teachers reported that testing not only altered curriculum emphasis, but tests also had the effect of reducing instructional time because teachers felt that they had to spend time teaching their students how to take tests.

Using the 1984 data (Darling-Hammond and Wise), Darling-Hammond (1997) reported that less than 10% of the teachers in this sample responded favorably to testing. One teacher who did appreciate the standards described her feelings this way:

In the areas where these tests are given, I feel it puts pressure on the teachers and I see it as a positive type of thing—good pressure—to teach and cover specific areas and to get that information across rather than waste their time on what they happen to feel is important. I feel that there is a certain body of knowledge that kids should leave school with, and that standardized tests, if they're written properly, ensure that teachers are going to teach that particular body of knowledge because they don't want to see all the kids fail in it (p. 319).

Most of the teachers in Darling-Hammond and Wise's sample, however, responded negatively to testing:

I spend more time testing rather than teaching. It has eliminated time to do some of what a lot of teachers feel are frills. I do less science. I have always been very strong on science, but you have got to meet the standards of those tests basically in math, reading, and language arts.

I've changed my teaching behavior. . . . I do not use as many essay tests as I did before, because I try to give them things which they are apt to meet on standardized tests. I feel that it is hurting the children, rather than helping them because they don't have to write their own sentences (p. 320).

I feel sorry for any teacher who is interested in teaching. It is going to be much worse in the years to come. For those who like the record keeping, and there are plenty of them—pathetic teachers but great record keepers—this would be a way of them moving up the ladder. It will help them. It won't help the good teachers. It will help the people who teach by the book (because) it is safe and it doesn't require any imagination (p. 331).

A few teachers reported of unethical behaviors that have arisen as a response to testing, and other unintended consequences of the practice:

The principal made the teachers take [the test] and rewrite it so it wouldn't be exactly what the children were going to have, because he said he wanted the children to be sure they know how to take the test. . . . Two teachers didn't do it, so he told them he was going to write them up, and he said it would go in their personnel file. He wouldn't let them see a copy of it, and they called in the local teachers' association about it.

Within a time frame of a couple of weeks before the standardized tests are given, we have booklets we are to present to the kids who are to be taking the tests and go over it with them. That takes time and energy out. That's what we are supposed to be doing (p. 321).

I see more of a trend 'to teach to the test' so that your students will do well. Our administration says absolutely tests will not be used to blame but I don't believe it. I just can't believe that because they put the scores of different schools in the newspapers. A realtor in my community even showed me the test scores. . . .When parents come in, the realtor shows them the test scores of different schools when they want to buy a house in that community.

Schools are very receptive to parents and so when parents demand, 'I want my son or daughter to do good on this test,' you have to meet those needs. I think some schools are very structured for these tests, and they spend a lot of time working on the tests because that's the measure of achievement. You'd be foolish if you didn't (p. 321).

Another finding of this study was that not all standards affected teachers and curricula to the same extent. Darling-Hammond and Wise (1984) found that the degree to which a standard impacted the curriculum depended on the degree to which the policy imposed constraints on the teachers' ability to meet what they perceived to be the needs of their students. In other words, the standards that met the most resistance from teachers, and had the least amount of impact on classroom practice, and were those that were perceived as being inflexible and highly specific.

The Darling-Hammond (1984) study is unlike most of those reviewed for this chapter, for it does not appear to have been written for the research community, rather it seems intended for policymakers. As a result, one is given scant information about the research methodology beyond what has already been reported here. Another result is that it is not difficult to determine what position Darling-Hammond and Wise take in regard to the standards debate, for they argue

that standards put policymakers in a Catch-22. “Teaching is a profession that is increasingly less able to attract and retain talented people in its ranks. If the normally tenuous psychic rewards of teaching are further diminished by impediments to good performance as teachers’ themselves perceive it, many among them will leave. A vicious cycle may be created by policies that in the aggregate make teaching less attractive. They lower the quality of the teaching force, thereby increasing the perceived need for more regulation to improve education” (p. 330).

In 1997, Darling-Hammond had a little more to say about the results of this study. For example, she reported that the teachers in the more affluent districts in her sample were less affected by standardized testing than teachers in the urban area. Another finding was that teachers of science, social studies, and the arts were less affected by standards than teachers of reading and math. These conclusions seem to confirm conclusions of earlier studies addressed in this literature review (Gross, 1977; Shavel, 1979; Hahn, 1985) and discussed by Houser (1995) which indicated that elementary social studies curriculum is not valued by elementary school teachers, and that it is underrepresented in the elementary school classroom.

In her 1997 work Darling-Hammond was more forthcoming about the amount of subversive behavior found among teachers regarding curricular standards. The teachers’ feelings are reflected in the following statements:

There is no way I will teach to the POS [Program of Studies]. To me they are asking you to teach some ridiculous things, things that are not necessary at the particular grade level, such as driver’s license forms and job applications in the 7th grade.

[It's silly] to have to stop your schedule to teach those things.

There was a time when area supervisors were supposed to be able to walk into the room and see these goals up and around the room. I am not about to string [behaviorial objectives] up around the wall. No one has questioned me on it yet, and if they do, I'll tell them to write them and put them up. I have more important things to do.

I told them I wasn't going to follow their precise goals and techniques, because I had set my own goals, keeping the children in mind, and then I made sense to them of what I was doing (pp. 77-78).

Darling-Hammond (1997) was also more explicit in her analysis of the effect that standardized testing has on the types of activities in which classes engage. For example:

There is too much emphasis on "do this, do this, do this" rather than on the thinking process, which kids haven't learned, although they certainly have the ability. Not only is everything I'm supposed to cover prescribed for me, but there are tests given. So if I felt I might take a little freedom [to focus on problem solving], there wasn't time because the kids were tested, and from this testing it was determined where they were going (p. 85).

To sum up, Darling-Hammond and Wise (1984) and Darling-Hammond (1997) report that standardized testing appears to affect the curriculum in the following ways: Testing takes time away from instruction not just with the testing itself but also with teachers preparing students how to deal with the testing format. Testing affects curricular content as some teachers teach content as it appears on the test, and other content is de-emphasized or not taught at all. And finally, testing

appears to have a larger and more significant impact on teachers of lower SES students.

One weakness of this study is the way in which the results of the surveys were analyzed. Darling-Hammond and Wise (1984) did not examine the results from elementary and secondary teachers separately, and there is some evidence (Herriott and Firestone, 1984) that elementary and secondary schools operate as very different social organizations. Herriott and Firestone (1984) found that elementary schools operate as “rational bureaucracies” while secondary schools are more “loosely coupled” systems. That is, elementary schools operate with a clearly defined line of command. Administrators translate general goals into tasks that are then implemented by subordinates. Secondary schools, on the other hand, have more ambiguous hierarchies of authority, and Herriott and Firestone (1984) conclude, secondary schools are not as effective in setting or communicating goals. Viewing schools from this vantage, leaves one to wonder whether the impact of testing is more pronounced at the elementary level than the secondary, a question that is not answered by the Darling-Hammond and Wise (1984) work.

Sosniak and Stodolsky (1993) and Kon (1995) have investigated the impact of textbooks on social studies instruction in elementary classrooms. Sosniak and Stodolsky (1993) conducted a yearlong investigation into four 4th-grade classroom teachers in two urban schools in the same district. Sosniak and Stodolsky looked at the role that textbooks played in these teachers’ curriculum, and how textbooks affect teachers’ thinking about instruction.

To help control for district and building influences on the teachers' use of materials, the four teachers worked in two schools within the same school district. Two teachers worked in a building serving primarily low-income children, most of whom were Hispanic. Student achievement in reading and mathematics was typically below the national average for students in this building. The other two teachers worked in the district's magnet school that served a racially and ethnically diverse population of students. Students in this building typically scored above the national average on achievement tests in reading and mathematics.

Sosniak and Stodolsky (1993) studied teachers' use of materials in three school subjects: language arts/reading, mathematics, and social studies. By studying each teacher's use of materials across subjects, the researchers believed that they "would more accurately reflect the nature of elementary teaching and ...separate the influences of subjects and textbook materials from teaching in general" (pp. 252-253). Data on the teachers was collected by the research team, (the two authors and two research assistants) and included classroom observations, an informal interview (Patton, 1990) which was recorded, and content analyses of the materials used in the four classrooms.

Textbook use among the teachers in this study indicated that it was "a 'teacher' pattern independent of the materials themselves, the subject or the culture of the school" (p. 259). Use of the text for social studies instruction ranged from 0% of the time to 89.6% of the time. Inconsistent with Floden's (1980) finding that parents and teachers had lesser impact on the curriculum, Sosniak and Stodolsky

(1993) report that parents and principals were the primary reason that full length novels and Great Books were a part of the fourth grade reading program among two teachers in this study. Another finding inconsistent with Floden's (1980) work is that teachers often ignored district guidelines for instruction. One teacher in particular said that she was "not cooperating [with district guidelines] at all. I am doing my own revolt here" (p. 261)*. Two of the teachers in their study viewed textbook materials as authorities for elementary content, and the textbook accounted for much of their planned instruction. Teachers' general lack of involvement with or interest in an area also contributed to a heavier reliance on texts.

A significant amount of information about the four teachers is available in this study, but with such a small sample of teachers it is difficult to make conclusions regarding the teachers' use of textbooks. A larger number of teachers in the study could have led the researchers to other conclusions. The use of only two schools, and one school district further reduces the generalizability of this study's results.

Kon (1995) added to our understanding of textbook use with her study of 5th-grade teachers and how they planned their social studies curriculum after the adoption of a new textbook. Her results suggest that textbook use is a complicated and individual matter. Kon's study consisted of seven teachers all from the same urban school district, who kept a daily log of their social studies activities.

* Sosniak and Stodolsky indicate that at the time of the study a number of teachers in the district

Teachers were then interviewed weekly by the researcher in an attempt to gain a better understanding of the factors they considered in designing social studies lessons. Using the daily logs, interview notes, classroom observations, and samples of student work, Kon developed a model for interpreting teachers' use of textbooks in their curriculum.

The range of use among the seven teachers analyzed in this study was from limited use of the text to total use of the book. For two teachers in the study, the textbook dictated the entire social studies curriculum. The teachers depended on the book for the structure of their social studies curriculum, and they made significant use of supplemental materials such as worksheets that were developed to accompany the text. Two other teachers in the study used the text more selectively, picking and choosing from various places in the book for their social studies curriculum. Two other teachers did not find the text to be very useful for them. They believed that social studies should be taught more "authentically" and they used a more active approach to teaching the content and integrating the social studies curriculum into other disciplines. The final teacher in the study changed in her approach toward textbook use from relying on it almost exclusively for her social studies curriculum, to using it as more of a limited resource throughout the course of the school year. Kon accounted for this unique situation by explaining that this teacher had never taught fifth grade before the year of the study, and had only been assigned this class a few days before the beginning of the school year.

were deliberately defying district guidelines that year.

This teacher was not clear about fifth-graders' capabilities at the start of the study, but as the year wore on she changed her approach to one that more accurately reflected her teaching philosophy.

Kon (1995) acknowledged that teachers do not receive a new textbook or instructional strategy with a blank slate. Rather, teachers are influenced by their normative views of social studies, student characteristics, school and classroom context considerations, and time and space restrictions. One of Kon's initial assumptions was that teachers would have different conceptions of social studies, their roles as teachers, and what students could and should learn in fifth grade social studies, and these influences would have an impact on the teachers' reliance on textbooks for social studies curriculum. Kon's assumptions were borne out in this study. Even though all of the teachers taught in the same district, "all had different local teaching *contexts* that clearly influenced their decision making about social studies" (p. 127).

One conclusion of Kon's (1995) work that conflicts with other researchers (Gross, 1977; Hahn, 1985; Shaver, 1979) is that social studies is an important part of the elementary curriculum. According to Kon, none of the teachers "displayed the cavalier attitude towards social studies perpetuated by the reports in the literature of teachers' saying, 'We'll get to it if there is time'" (p. 136). Thus, Kon concludes that social studies is a priority among elementary teachers. A potential problem with Kon's conclusion is that the teachers in her study were responding to one researcher who was specifically interested in social studies. Kon did not

concede that her results could have been affected by the fact that the small sample of teachers in her study were responding to a researcher who was interested in only their social studies content. Perhaps if the teachers had been questioned about their mathematics or language arts instruction in addition to social studies, she might have found that social studies was less of a priority in their classroom.*

Thus far, this review has examined significant influences that could help explain teachers' implementation of Mini-Society. Those influences pertain to student differences such as socioeconomic status, prior achievement, and race. Other influences have also been addressed such as the influence of state assessments and textbook use. But, it is individual teachers, who have been called the "key" to understanding the social studies curriculum experienced by students (Thornton, 1991).

The next section of the literature review focuses on the role of teacher beliefs in determining the kind of curriculum that they teach to their students.

Teacher Beliefs

This section seeks to shed light on "teacher beliefs". However, those researchers who have endeavored to traverse the mysterious terrain of beliefs, a topic seemingly more suited for philosophy than empirical investigation, have

* Ironically, the very next article in the journal where Kon's work is published is "Social Studies on the Back Burner: Views From the Field" and it deals with the low status of social studies in the state of Delaware.

concluded that beliefs are much better predictors of behavior than knowledge, and that teachers with similar levels of knowledge can and do teach in different ways.

Beliefs have traditionally been difficult for researchers to study because they do not lend themselves to empirical investigation, and as Pajares (1992) maintains, beliefs have been poorly conceptualized. One difficulty in the study of beliefs involves the term itself because many words have been used in the research literature to describe them including attitudes, judgments, perceptions, conceptions, and perspectives. But, “when specific beliefs are carefully operationalized, appropriate methodology chosen, and design thoughtfully constructed, their study becomes viable and rewarding” (p. 308).

Nespor (1985; 1987), who has arguably conducted the most in depth work regarding beliefs, contends that if the goal of research on teaching is to “shape, direct, or impose the priorities of teachers, then the reasons that teachers have for acting as they do—reasons which make them more or less amenable to advice and training—must be examined” (1985, p. 3).

Working toward a theoretically-grounded model of teachers’ belief systems to serve as a framework for systematic and comparative investigations of teacher beliefs about their roles, their students, the subject matter they teach, and the schools they work in, Nespor (1985) undertook the *Teacher Beliefs Study* (TBS). Nespor and her colleagues followed eight experienced teachers in three different schools throughout the course of a semester. Lessons were videotaped and a stimulated recall process employed whereby teachers were shown the tapes to aid

in their memory and stimulate their thinking about what occurred during the lessons. Researchers periodically stopped the tapes to question the teachers about their actions, and the underlying thoughts that led them to those behaviors. Teachers were assessed on their beliefs toward students, student behavior, and the community in which they work. Each teacher spent an average of 20 hours talking to the researchers.

Nespor based her study on Abelson's (1979) work in cognitive psychology that sought to distinguish belief systems from knowledge systems. Abelson's work was intended not to better understand teacher behaviors, but to assist science in the development of artificial intelligence models for computers. The characteristics of belief systems Abelson outlined, and Nespor used for her study, are not meant to serve as a complete framework for the conceptualization of beliefs, but rather to serve as representations of individuals' belief systems.

According to Abelson (1979), there are several features of belief systems that distinguish them from knowledge systems. Whereas knowledge accumulates and changes, beliefs are much more static and unchanging; and whereas knowledge leads people to similar conclusions about how things exist in reality, beliefs are *non-consensual*. That is, beliefs can be quite different from person to person, and believers are aware that others may think differently.

Other ways that beliefs are distinct from knowledge include the following: existential presumption, alternativity, affective and evaluative aspects, and episodic storage. Existential presumption refers to the fact that belief systems contain

assumptions about the existence of entities such as God or ESP. Among the teachers in the study, existential presumptions were not focused on the supernatural, but more commonplace conceptions including those things about students that were out of the control of teachers. For example, teachers believed that there was little for them to do when they perceived that students were “lazy” or “immature”.

Alternativity refers to the idea that beliefs often include representations of alternative worlds or alternative realities. One of the teachers in Nespor’s study had an idealized vision of how schools should operate which had an impact on how she conducted activities in her classroom. This teacher, Ms. Skylark, believed that her classroom should be “friendly and fun” and this reality, which was never fully achieved, became an overriding concern for how her class was run. As a result, she would re-explain assignments, and allow the students to digress from the day’s topic during classroom discussions and lessons were often unfinished when class had ended. Although these visions of alternative worlds can never be realized, that in no way diminishes how important these beliefs are in how teachers structure their classrooms.

The affective and evaluative aspects of this model of belief systems refer to the teachers’ conceptions of their subject matter and its relative value. For example, three of the four history teachers in Nespor’s study felt that teaching the facts and details of history should not be a primary goal of their courses because students could not be expected to remember such information in their evaluation of

it. Rather, the teachers had other goals for their social studies course. One teacher stressed manners and how to behave in classrooms. Another felt as if general learning skills were the most important knowledge that he could impart. These skills included such activities as how to outline a chapter or organize a notebook. Nespor argues that affect and evaluation are regulators of the amount of energy teachers will put into activities.

Like the label implies, episodic storage refers to how beliefs are stored in an individual's memory system. While knowledge can be seen as being broken down into logical components and organized and stored in memory in one way, beliefs are stored episodically. People have memories of past experiences that tend to shape their beliefs. As an example, Ms. Skylark whose belief in an alternative reality dictated that she structure her class in such a way that it was "fun" based this belief on memories of humiliating experiences that she had as a student in school. Another teacher in the study whose experiences with students in metalworking, led him to believe that students are more willing to study mathematics if they can see the practical value that it has.

Nespor's (1985) work moves quickly away from the discussion of beliefs and focuses attention to the differing teaching contexts in which her subjects find themselves. For example, the eight teachers working in three different districts serve a diverse population of students and Nespor reports how the students, administrators, and parents each partially influence teacher practice to varying degrees. For instance, four of the eight teachers in the study work in

“Countryside”, a school where most of the surrounding population lives below the poverty level and where 33% of the students were either African-American or Hispanic. Of significance for Nespor’s analysis is the fact that the district pays its teachers and administrators significantly less than surrounding schools.

Administrators and teachers typically earned \$7000-\$8000 less in Countryside than in a neighboring district. As a result, there was a high turnover rate in the teachers at Countryside. The principal at Countryside explained:

We train ‘em and Morton (a neighboring district) hires ‘em. Morton does not have to hire unexperienced [*sic*] teachers. But just as soon as we get one in here that is top-notch, Morton finds it out, then they hire ‘em away. . . (1985, p. 38)

A Countryside teacher echoed the principal’s views:

We seem to hire...the first person that comes along and says “I am qualified,” we seem to take them. We’re not choosey [*sic*] and it’s because we cannot afford to be choosey...we don’t pay enough to be choosey. . . . But if we got a good person, they’re usually gone within two years because they get paid more some place else . . . we lose a lot of good people that way (1985, p. 38)

The high turnover rate among staff members contributes to the lack of cohesiveness among the staff, as the teachers reported few collegial ties. Rather than building lasting relationships with colleagues, and drawing support from one another, the large percentage of the inexperienced teachers in Countryside are primarily concerned with survival.

Cityside, another pseudonym for the second school in the study where two of the teachers taught, also contained a large portion of minority students—53% of the students were either African-American or Hispanic. But unlike Countryside, whose surrounding community was relatively poor, Cityside was situated in a comparatively affluent neighborhood, and was located in the previously referred to district of Morton. While the Anglo students who attended Cityside were relatively affluent and came from the neighboring community, the African-American and Hispanic students were bused into the school from some of the poorest neighborhoods in the city some ten to twenty miles away.

A good deal of effort is also spent reporting the eight different case studies, and providing a general picture of the different teachers and their classroom practices. For example, one gets a picture of not only Mr. Larson's instructional style, but of the other seven teachers as well through Nespor's account. Mr. Larson, a Countryside social studies teacher's principle method for instruction was read aloud sessions in which the students took turns reading from the textbook, and answering recall questions from the end of the chapters. One day a week was spent watching films which, Nespor reports, were not always related to the current lessons. Students also spent entire class periods tracing and coloring maps.

In his explanation of the practice of the student read aloud sessions, Mr. Larson emphasized the management function of the strategy as opposed to the usefulness of the practice in transmitting the content of social studies. The only times that Larson strayed from the content of the textbook was to tell stories to the

students to help break the boredom and increase student interest in history. But, according to Nespor, these excursions were fairly rare in Mr. Larson's class.

More recently, Olson & Singer (1994) combined a quantitative and a qualitative approach to the study of teacher beliefs, and their results confirmed Nespor's premise that a teacher's beliefs are generally consistent with classroom practice. These researchers attempted to develop a framework for understanding how beliefs influence classroom behavior. Although their model focused on reading, they argue that it could be useful across subject areas. Their study involved twenty volunteer teachers of secondary school reading. These instructors completed three inventories concerning their beliefs about reading and the teaching of reading. These Likert-scale assessments were completed to determine teachers' orientation to reading; that is whether their focus is on phonics or language, approach. Teachers also responded to the Conceptual Framework of Reading Interview by Gove (1981, 1983) indicating the teacher's top-down (sentence/paragraph/text emphasis), or a bottom-up (letter/word emphasis), or interactive (moderately top-down or bottom-up) conceptual framework. In addition teachers completed the Propositional Inventory (Duffy and Metheny, 1979) which was designed to assess which particular belief system, based on theoretical perceptions, guided their classroom decisions. The belief systems identified by this instrument are basal, skills, interest-based, natural language, and integrated language derived from the strength of agreement to the stated propositions.

Finally, teachers were tested using the Artley-Hardin (1975) Inventory of Teacher Knowledge of Reading to assess their understanding of the teaching of reading.

Researchers made scheduled and unscheduled visits to classrooms at least three times during the two-month period of the study to collect notes and assess the correlation between teachers' stated beliefs and their classroom practice. Two teachers were purposively chosen near the end of the data collection phase and were asked to write personal histories to ascertain the formation of their beliefs and attitudes about reading and the teaching of it. One teacher was chosen because he exemplified the closest match between his stated beliefs and his instructional practice. The other teacher was selected because he represented a non-match between stated beliefs and instructional practice. Information from the personal narratives was triangulated with the results from the tests the teachers took.

No neat categories for theoretical orientation, conceptual framework, or belief system emerged through the analysis of the data from this study. However, Olson & Singer (1994) found that teachers' beliefs systems influence their teaching and those beliefs are generally consistent with classroom practice.

Curricular change and Mini-Society

The decision to use a new curriculum is a complex one. Lortie (1975) found that many proposals for change strike teachers as frivolous, and oftentimes

those who are encouraging curricular change do not consider issues of psychic rewards, time scheduling, student disruption, and interpersonal support.

Michael Fullan's discussion (1982, 2001) on educational change has provided researchers interested in studying curricular implementation a thoughtful review of the research done on teacher change, and teacher decision-making.

According to Fullan, change is a complex and personal process. And with each new innovation, teachers use three main criteria in determining whether to implement a specific curriculum:

1. Does the change potentially address a need? Will students be interested? Will they learn?
2. How clear is the change in terms of what the teacher will have to do?
3. How will it affect the teacher personally in terms of time, energy, new skills, sense of excitement and competence, and interference with existing priorities?

Teachers make an investment when they choose to implement any curriculum, and those who decide to implement Mini-Society have chosen a curriculum that research has shown to increase the cognitive and affective abilities of the students who take part in the program.

The first systematic evaluation of the cognitive effects of the Mini-Society instructional program took place in 1980 (Cassuto). Since that time, research has indicated that it is effective in increasing students' attitudes and cognition toward economic concepts and entrepreneurship (Cassuto, 1980; Graff, 1982; Kourilsky, 1976; Kourilsky & Ballard-Campbell, 1984a, 1984b; Kourilsky & Hirshleifer, 1976). See Carlson (1994) for the cognitive and affective affects of Mini-Society.

The role of the teacher is complex in the Mini-Society curriculum because the program is designed to have the students take on the responsibilities of running their classroom society. After setting up the initial scarcity situation and then leading the students to the notion of using a price mechanism to allocate the resources, the teacher assumes a role as a citizen/consultant rather than as the central authority figure (Kourilsky, 1996). It is only during debriefing periods after which the students have experienced some phenomenon that the teacher will assume a more traditional role by identifying and isolating the incident, and, through discussion, attempting to extend the students' understanding. Two studies have looked specifically what the role of the teacher should be in order to achieve the greatest student outcomes.

Trying to ascertain what the most appropriate role of the teacher is in a Mini-Society, Kourilsky (1979) collected data from 49 classrooms throughout the state of Utah. By analyzing the day-to-day journals that the teachers kept while implementing Mini-Society, Kourilsky identified three categories of teacher involvement: non-interventionist, covert interventionist, and overt interventionist. Kourilsky labeled those teachers who gave students direct suggestions about what type of business they should operate, maintained strict authority for the rules of governing the society, and provided personal opinions during the debriefing sessions as "overt interventionists". A second group of teachers whom Kourilsky called "covert interventionists" were also directive during Mini-Society, but they were subtler about it. Covert interventionists tried to guide students to certain

business endeavors by telling students that they would be capable in certain capacities. As they suggested policies for government, and presented alternative solutions to problems during the debriefings, they tried to lead the students to their own solution. The final way in which the teachers behaved when they ran their Mini-Societies were as “non-interventionists”. Non-interventionists only offered business suggestions when acting as a paid consultant; they voted for government policies just as a citizen of any society would; and during debriefings they identified possible alternatives but did not express any opinion or preference as to what the solution should be.

In terms of their achievement on the Test on Economic Decision-Making (TED), Kourilsky found that students whose teachers were non-interventionist made significantly greater gains on their posttest scores on the TED than students whose teachers were classified as being covert or overt interventionist. That is, students perform better on tests of economic achievement when their teachers assume a less active, less authoritative role. The non-interventionist teachers also influenced students’ attitudes on autonomy. Students in this same study were also tested using the Intellectual Achievement Responsibility Questionnaire (IAR). This instrument, developed by Crandall, Katkovsky, and Crandall (1965), measures the students’ locus of control, or the extent to which the students believe that outcomes of events are within their own personal control. Kourilsky (1979) found that students of the non-interventionist teachers demonstrated a more internal locus of control than their peers did. That is, those students appear to be more likely to

accept responsibility for their own successes and failures when their teachers took a less dominant role in their Mini-Society.

No attempt was made by Kourilsky to explain the teacher differences other than the suggestion that teachers who “cannot” engage in the non-interventionist approach could be afraid to “bear the risk of giving up the control which delegation entails” (p. 342). Such a discussion of attitudes would have proven helpful for the present study, for as previously mentioned works indicate (Anyon, 1981; Becker, 1952; Hemmings and Metz, 1990; and Oakes, 1985), teacher attitudes toward their students play a role in their classroom pedagogy.

Although this study was conducted to assess student outcomes, and not teacher attitudes, additional information about the students and the teachers used in this study could have explained some of test gains in this study. The only information that we are given about the students is that they are “mostly from Mormon backgrounds” (p. 340). The only information provided about the teachers is that they attended a 24-hour economic education workshop and received instruction on the fundamentals of the Mini-Society Instructional System. In addition, each teacher in the study demonstrated proficiency in economics concepts and the educational pedagogy of Mini-Society by passing “an exam” with at least 80 percent accuracy. Because we are not provided any more information about the teachers in this study, we are left to assume that all have a similar understanding of and attitude toward economics. But, depending on the test used to measure the

teachers' knowledge, there can be wide variation in economic understanding which could have accounted for some of differences in the student outcomes.

Looking more closely at the role of the teacher in the Mini-Society classroom, Koon (1995) studied the relationship between teacher implementation and student concept acquisition. Specifically, Koon analyzed the extent and the fidelity that Mini-Society was implemented in twenty different classrooms. Extent of implementation was defined by using the Levels of Use (Hall and Hord, 1987). Fidelity was defined as the teacher's ability, among other things, to identify a teachable moment and debrief the concepts as they occur in the classroom. The teachers in Koon's (1995) study ranged in their Levels of Use of Mini-Society from Mechanical Use to Routine to Integration. Teachers implementing at the Mechanical level focused most effort on the short-term, day-to-day use of Mini-Society. At the Routine level the implementation of the curriculum had stabilized, but there was little thought toward how to improve the program to meet the individual needs of the students in the class. Those teachers who operated at the Integration level, discussed Mini-Society with their colleagues to share ideas and strategies for implementing the curriculum.

Not surprisingly, Koon found that students with teachers who were at the Integration level of implementation, and who were able to identify teachable moments and debriefed concepts as they occurred in the classroom had highest outcomes in terms of their "Entrepreneurship/Economic Concept Acquisition" test. Sosin, *et al.* (1997) found similar results in her study of 18 elementary classes,

although she was not specifically investigating the Mini-Society curriculum. Sosin's study suggests that the most significant determinant of improved scores of students was the extent to which the different economics concepts were taught. Unfortunately, Koon did not assess the teachers regarding their own background in economics, for this could have been a factor in how Mini-Society was implemented in their classrooms (Bosshardt & Watts, 1994).

While the research on Mini-Society has thus far focused on student outcomes and teacher implementation of the instructional program, no study has explored teacher attitudes towards Mini-Society. Also missing from the research literature is an investigation of the relationship between teacher and school variables with regard to whether teachers choose to implement or continue to implement Mini-Society over time.

This review of the literature has attempted to demonstrate that a number of variables could contribute to whether teachers will choose to implement the Mini-Society instructional program. These variables include differences in the racial and socioeconomic make-up of their students, differences in teachers' conceptions of social studies as a discipline, and differences in teachers' beliefs about their students. While the studies reviewed in Section 1 indicate that social studies is not a high priority for elementary educators (Goodlad, 1984; Gross, 1977; Hahn, 1985), the emphasis placed on the subject matter by principals, districts, or the individual teachers attitudes could be significant in determining whether Mini-Society is taught in their classrooms.

Studies on curriculum differentiation, reviewed in Section 2, indicate that curricular experiences vary greatly among socioeconomic levels (Anyon, 1981; Becker, 1952; Hemmings & Metz, 1990; Oakes, 1985). As a result, it is conceivable that the rates of Mini-Society implementation would vary across socioeconomic levels of students, and that teachers could choose or not choose to implement the program based on their perceived needs of their students, or because of differences in teachers' experiences (Darling-Hammond, 1997). A goal of Mini-Society is to empower students and develop their critical thinking and decision-making skills. So, as Becker (1952) found, it could be that teachers indicate that they cannot afford to take time away from more important classroom tasks such as reading and writing in those schools where a significant proportion of students do not pass basic skills tests. Teachers who feel pressured by the use of standardized tests (Floden, 1980; Darling-Hammond, 1997) may not be willing to devote the time it takes to implement Mini-Society. Or, if there is not a significant variation among implementation rates of Mini-Society, teachers' reasons for implementation could vary from schools. For example, Methany's (1980) finding that materials were selected for high SES students because they were challenging and could enrich the children's lives, while materials for lower SES students were selected because the teachers perceived them as interesting and fun. So if implementation rates were similar, the variation could be in the reason the curriculum is being used.

From the studies cited in this review of the literature, student variables such as socioeconomic status and achievement, along with teacher differences such as

how individual instructors view Mini-Society, seem pertinent questions to ask in order to ascertain teacher use of the Mini-Society curriculum. The next chapter of this dissertation is a discussion of how the questions identified at the beginning of the chapter will be tested.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this observational study was to investigate, among teachers trained in the Mini-Society® instructional program, factors related to the extent of their classroom implementation of the program. This investigation consisted of two parts, (1) a quantitative study to assess how the extent of Mini-Society implementation was correlated to student and teacher variables, and (2) a qualitative analysis of how the extent implementation related to teachers' beliefs about the Mini-Society program and the overall purpose of their social studies curriculum. The qualitative portion of this study was an attempt to understand what the Mini-Society curriculum means to two different groups of teachers: those who implement the program and those who do not.

This chapter describes the methods that were used to answer each of the following research questions:

- 1) How do years of teaching experience, level of education, and teachers' beliefs toward their students as measured on the Pupil Control Ideology (Willower, *et al.*, 1967) scale relate to the extent of their implementation of the Mini-Society instructional program?
- 2) What is the relationship between the number of teachers in a building who have been trained in Mini-Society and the extent of teachers' implementation of the instructional program?

- 3) How does the extent of Mini-Society implementation vary by students' ethnicity, SES, and achievement?
- 4) How do teachers who implement Mini-Society and those who do not perceive their students, the Mini-Society curriculum and the goals of their social studies curriculum?

Questions 1-3 were addressed quantitatively using multiple regression analysis. Question 4 was addressed qualitatively using in-depth interviews with a small sample of teachers.

Sample

The population of teachers in this study was a pool of 176 teachers of 3rd-6th grade students. All teachers had been trained to implement Mini-Society in a program conducted from 1994-1999 at a mid-western university. The teachers represented four school districts in a mid-western metropolitan area of 1.6 million people. The schools represented a wide range of socioeconomic levels and ethnicity. Specific school data is included in Appendix A.

All 176 teachers were mailed a survey (Appendix B) to assess the teachers' educational level, years of teaching experience, their beliefs about student control, and the extent of Mini-Society implementation during the 1999-2000 academic school year. Follow up telephone calls were made to teachers who did not return the questionnaire to obtain as complete a data set as possible.

Quantitative Data

Independent teacher variables, which were collected through the survey, consisted of teachers' experience, or the number of years that the teachers have taught full-time; level of education, collegial support, measured by the number of colleagues in the building who have been trained in and use the Mini-Society program, and the teachers' scores on a Pupil Control Ideology Index (Willower, *et al.*, 1967). Pajares (1992) argues that teachers' beliefs should be a focus of educational inquiry, but they must be clearly conceived. Willower, Eidell, and Hoy (1967) developed an instrument to measure teachers' orientations toward their students. The Pupil Control Ideology (PCI) index was developed to categorize teacher attitudes about student control as custodial or humanistic.

Independent student variables were the students' socioeconomic status and student achievement. Socioeconomic status was measured as the percentage of students in a school receiving free and reduced lunch. Student achievement was measured as the percentage of 4th grade students in the building who scored at the satisfactory, proficient, or advanced level on the Kansas state math assessment in the year 2000. Socioeconomic status was obtained from reports submitted to the Kansas State Board of Education as a part of each school's Quality Performance Accreditation process. Achievement scores were obtained from the Center for Educational Testing from a state university.

The dependent variable for this study has been created for this study (Item 3, Appendix B). A score from 1-6 was assigned to each teacher according to the response he or she had given describing use of Mini-Society. Teachers were categorized by their use of Mini-Society from 1, or never having implemented the curriculum and with no intention of doing so to a 6, or making Mini-Society a permanent part of their teaching repertoire.

Realizing that perceptions of curricular implementation can vary with individual teachers (Hall and Hord, 1987) teachers' classroom practice was assessed using seven follow-up questions (Items 4-10, Appendix B). In addition, teachers' attitudes toward Mini-Society were assessed using Items 11-16 (Appendix B). A summed score from these items was correlated with teachers' response on Item #3 to further assess the reliability of the outcome variable.

Qualitative Data

Four teachers were interviewed using a purposeful sampling strategy (Merriam, 1998; Patton, 1990). Two of the teachers were selected from those who implemented Mini-Society at a level 5 or 6 (Item 3, Appendix B) during the 1999-2000 academic school year, and two were selected because they did not implement Mini-Society during the 1999-2000 academic school year. They will have scored themselves as a Level 1 or 2 on survey item #3.

The semi-structured interviews (Merriam, 1998) were conducted to gain a better understanding of how teachers perceived the goals of Mini-Society and its

strengths and weaknesses, and how the program fit or did not fit into the larger goals of their social studies curriculum (Brophy, 1993).

Additional lines of inquiry focused on how the teachers perceived their students' strengths and abilities and how the teachers structure their teaching to meet the needs of their students. These interviews were not only an analysis of the individual teachers' points of view, but they were also an attempt to capture the culture of the school community within which the teachers work. Teachers were asked about the kind of support and feedback that they receive from parents, their principal and district personnel. The specific interview questions asked of all the teachers are located in Appendix C. Interviews were tape recorded and transcribed.

Analysis of the Data

Multiple regression and the analysis of variance were utilized to ascertain the effects of the independent teacher variables, BELIEF, EDUCATION and EXPERIENCE, and COLLEAGUE and the independent student variables, SES, ETHNICITY and ACHIEVEMENT on the dependent continuous variable of Mini-Society implementation.

Teachers received two scores assessing Mini-Society implementation: the self-reported score (Item #3, Appendix B) ranging from 1 (never having implemented Mini-Society, and with little intention or interest in doing so) to 6 (Mini-Society becoming a permanent part of the teacher's teaching repertoire).

Scores from Items 4-16 (Appendix B) were used to verify teachers' scores on their implementation variable. Teachers received 1-5 points on items 4-10. Five points will be given to teachers responding "Frequently" on items #4, #9, and #10. The response of "Sometimes" on Items #9 and #10 received 3 points and "Never" was worth 1 point. Teachers received 1-5 points according to how many markets that they held during Mini-Society (Item #5), and up to 5 points, depending on the number of debriefing sessions that they typically hold (Item #7). Teachers received points depending on the amount of direction and assistance they offer their students (See Kourilsky, 1979.). The more assistance, the less the number of points (Items #6 and #8). A response of "Not Applicable" to any of these items was scored as zero points.

The score was a measure of teachers' classroom practice. The higher the total score on these items indicates more adherence to the goals and purposes of Mini-Society. Survey items 11-16 deal with teachers' attitudes toward Mini-Society. Teachers received 1-4 points depending on their responses to these questions. Teachers received 4 points for an affirmative response in Item #11, and 1 point for a negative response. "Strongly Agree" on Items #12, #14, and #15 was worth 1 point. Scores increased to 4 points for a response of "Strongly Disagree" on these same items. Items #13 and #16 were scored in the reverse. The summed score from Items #4-#16 represents teachers' classroom practice and their attitude toward Mini-Society. This score was correlated with the outcome variable as a

way to validate teachers' use of the program and to further assure the reliability of the self-reported score regarding Mini-Society implementation.

Analysis of the qualitative question for this study regarding teachers' perceptions of Mini-Society, their students, and the goals of their social studies curriculum, were analyzed inductively (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Specific lines of inquiry and focal points served as starting points for the data analysis. For example, teachers were asked to indicate the goals of their social studies curriculum. Another focus of the interviews was to assess teachers' opinions regarding the Mini-Society instructional program, and the overall factors that influenced the teachers' implementation of the program. So the teachers were asked to describe the strengths and weaknesses of the program. Analysis of the data focused on how these descriptions seemed to be related to whether or not the program is implemented by the individual teachers. Did the teachers indicate that the program was appropriate for their students? What about the program made it unfavorable to those teachers who did not implement it? What was appealing about it for those who did implement it?

The following chapter presents the empirical findings from the quantitative portion of this study.

CHAPTER 4

QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

The purpose of this observational study was to assess implementation of the Mini-Society® instructional program among teachers trained in the curriculum from 1994-1999. The goal of this study is to examine variables that could account for a teacher's use or non-use of the program. Specific research questions analyzed quantitatively include: How do years of teaching experience, level of education, and teachers' beliefs toward their students relate to their implementation of the Mini-Society instructional program? What is the relationship between the number of teachers in a building who have been trained in Mini-Society and implementation of the curriculum? How does a teacher's decision to implement Mini-Society vary by students' ethnicity, SES, and achievement? Included in this chapter are descriptive statistics from the teacher surveys and the results of the regression analyses related to the first three research questions.

Demographic and Summary Statistics

One hundred and seventy six surveys (Appendix B) were mailed to teachers in four school districts, and 118 surveys were returned, representing a response rate of 67%. Of the 118 returned surveys, four teachers had moved to other districts since their training in the Mini-Society program, another four changed grade levels, two retired, and six were no longer in the classroom. Of the remaining 102

surveys, six teachers returned incomplete forms leaving a total sample size of ninety-six teachers.

Table 1 shows the demographic statistics for the study participants.

Table 1

Respondent Demographics

<u>Gender</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Female	90	93.7
Male	6	6.3
<u>Grade level</u>		
3 rd	18	18.8
4 th	12	12.5
4/5 th comb.	3	3
5 th	37	38.5
6 th	19	19.8
Special Ed.	7	7.3

Table 2 shows the summary statistics for the independent and dependent variables in this study.

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations of Teacher and Student Variables

Variable	Range	Mean	SD
<u>Student Variables*</u>			
Socioeconomic Status	0 - 88.8	18.1	24.5
Achievement	6.1 - 89.6	73.2	21.8
Ethnicity	1.2 - 98.6	16.1	23.4
<u>Teacher Variables</u>			
Experience	1.0 - 32.0	15.6	8.7
Education**	1.0 - 6.0	4.8	1.4
Beliefs	14.0 - 42.0	30.5	5.5
Colleagues	1.0 - 6.0	2.2	1.4
Implementation	1.0 - 6.0	4.3	1.7

n=96

*SES is the percent of students in the building receiving free or reduced lunch. Achievement score represents percentage of 4th grade students in the building passing the state math assessment at the satisfactory level or better in the year 2000. Ethnicity is the percentage of non-white students in the building.

**Mean score of 4.8 indicates that the average teacher in the study had obtained a master's degree plus less than twenty hours of college credit.

Student socioeconomic and ethnicity variables were obtained from the State Board of Education website for the year 2000 which contains demographic data from all state schools. The achievement variable was obtained from the Center for Educational Testing at a state university. The Beliefs measure is the score that the teachers received on the Pupil Control Ideology Survey (Willower, *et al.*, 1967), the higher the score the more custodial the teacher viewed his relationship to his students. The independent teacher variable, colleagues, is the number of teachers in the building who have taken the Mini-Society training.

The dependent variable for this study is Mini-Society implementation, measured by a scale created for this study. Each teacher was asked to describe his or her Mini-Society implementation by checking which statement most accurately reflected his or her own situation. These statements ranged from never having implemented the program, to implementing it every year (Item 3 in Appendix B).

Table 3

Correlation matrix of implementation with teacher and student variables

Variable	IMP	COL	BEL	EDU	EXP	ACH	ETH	SES
IMP	1.000							
COL	.335**	1.000						
BEL	-.103	-.077	1.000					
EDU	.023	.143	-.126	1.000				
EXP	-.085	-.049	.002	.486**	1.000			
ACH	.370**	.332**	-.077	.202*	-.084	1.000		
ETH	-.407**	-.326**	.155	-.243**	.076	-.929**	1.000	
SES	-.441**	-.396**	.130	-.234**	.121	-.928**	.948**	1.000

n=96

* significant at the .05 level

**significant at the .01 level

As Table 3 indicates, there is a significant simple correlation between a teacher's implementation of Mini-Society and the number of colleagues in the building who use the curriculum. The simple correlations also show a negative relationship between teachers' belief score and implementation. This suggests that the more humanistic (as opposed to custodial teachers are more likely to implement Mini-Society, but this relationship is not significant ($p = .159$). The significant correlation between teachers' level of education and experience indicates that more experienced teachers also have more education, which is not surprising given the requirements and the incentives for practicing teachers to earn graduate hours.

The significant negative simple correlation between teachers' education level and the socioeconomic make-up of their students shows that teachers with

more education are more likely to work with students from higher socioeconomic backgrounds. SES is also significantly related to the number of teachers in each building trained in Mini-Society indicating that fewer teachers who work with lower SES students sought out training in the curriculum.

Multiple Regression

Multicollinearity

The strong correlation among the three student variables raises problems with the mathematical solutions of multiple regression. When bivariate correlations exceed $r=.80$, the relationship between the variables is so strong that a meaningful interpretation of the coefficients becomes difficult for the researcher conducting multiple regression. Multicollinearity makes the unique contributions of the independent variable to the dependent variable impossible to determine. One strategy to deal with multicollinearity is to drop variables that correlate with others in the study, however researchers must be aware that this strategy can lead to specification bias (Kennedy, 1998). Ethnicity was dropped from further analysis of the data because it was felt that it did not contribute any unique information to this study.

Stepwise Regression Analysis

Another tactic to deal with multicollinearity is to put variables together as a block and enter them into the equation (Pedhazur, 1982). Student achievement and socioeconomic status were entered into the step-wise regression as a block representing student variables. Teacher variables of belief, experience, education, and collegial support were also treated as a block. A final block of variables was included in the analysis to represent district influences. Teachers were coded by their districts to assess this influence.

Stepwise regression will regress the dependent variable, in this case Mini-Society implementation, on each explanatory variable separately and keep the regression with the highest R^2 . The residuals from this regression are used as the dependent variable in the new search using the remaining explanatory variables. The variable selected in Step 2 is the one that has the highest correlation with the outcome variable when the previously entered independent variable is partialled out (Glass and Hopkins, 1984). The criteria for entering the equation was $p \leq .05$.

Table 4 presents the summary of the R^2 change at each step of a stepwise regression. The total model accounted for nearly 26 percent of the variance in implementation. In this model teacher variables account for 11 percent of the variance.

Table 4

Multiple regression model summary of implementation of Mini-Society with teacher variables entered into the equation first

Model	R	R ²	R ² Change	F	Sig. F Change
1	.335 ^a	.112	.112	11.852	.001
2	.482 ^b	.232	.120	7.213	.001
3	.509 ^c	.259	.027	1.082	.361

n=96

- a. Predictors: (Constant) colleagues
- b. Predictors: (Constant) colleagues, achievement, SES
- c. Predictors: (Constant) colleagues, achievement, SES, district variation

This model indicates that teacher variables are significant when determining Mini-Society implementation. In this equation, collegial support accounts for 11 percent of the variance between users and nonusers of the curriculum. Other teacher variables are not significant. Student variables of SES and achievement also contribute significantly, adding 12 percent of the variation. District differences were not significant predictors in determining Mini-Society use.

To determine which student variable is the more significant one in determining teacher use of Mini-Society, the stepwise regression model was run

again putting student variables first. Table 5 presents the R^2 when the student variables of SES and achievement were added into the equation first.

Table 5

Multiple regression model summary of implementation of Mini-Society with student variables entered into the equation first

Model	R	R^2	R^2 Change	F	Sig. F Change
1	441 ^a	.194	.194	22.670	.000
2	486 ^b	.236	.042	1.242	.299
3	517 ^c	.268	.031	1.236	.302

n= 96

- a. Predictors: (Constant) SES
- b. Predictors: (Constant) SES, experience, belief, colleagues, education
- c. Predictors: (Constant) SES, experience, belief, colleagues, education, district variation

When student variables of achievement and socioeconomic status are entered into the equation first, achievement drops from the equation and SES alone accounts for 19 percent of the variation in Mini-Society implementation. Teacher variables are no longer significant, contributing only 4 percent of the variation in the model. Together these two models indicate that any significant contributions that the teacher variables make to the model are already accounted for in the students' socioeconomic status. That is, there is nothing unique about the teacher variables that is not explained by student SES. Overall, this model is slightly more effective than the first one in determining Mini-Society implementation, at nearly 27 percent of the variation, given the inclusion of all of the teacher variables in the equation.

Ordinary Least Squares

An ordinary least squares regression using the independent teacher and student variables was also run on this data. The results of this analysis yield similar results as the stepwise models. Table 6 represents the standardized coefficients for the variables using this model.

Table 6

Standardized coefficients for an ordinary least squares regression model

Variable	Standardized Coefficient β	t	Sig.
Constant		3.498	.001
SES	-.848	-2.874	.005
ACHIEVE	-.227	-.759	.450
COLLEAG	.193	1.816	.073
BELIEF	-.072	-.748	.456
EXP	.032	.294	.770
EDUCATE	-.123	-1.041	.301

n=96

As with the stepwise model, the ordinary least squares regression model indicates that the socioeconomic status of students is the strongest predictor of Mini-Society implementation, and is significant at the .01 level of probability. The standardized coefficients indicate expected change in the dependent variables associated with a one standard deviation change in an independent variable holding the remaining variables constant. Collegial support, while not significant at the .05 level, could still be considered an important factor in determining Mini-Society use.

The simple correlation between achievement and implementation indicated a positive relationship between the two variables meaning that Mini-Society implementation was more likely to occur in buildings where students performed successfully on the 4th grade state math assessment. The OLS regression formula

now shows a negative relationship between implementation and achievement, and this reversal in coefficient is likely a consequence of multicollinearity. However, because the contribution of achievement is not significant, it is not relevant.

To further assess teachers' implementation of Mini-Society a fidelity score was calculated for each respondent. The fidelity score was designed to measure teachers' attitude toward Mini-Society and how well the individual teachers adhered to the goals of the program. It was calculated as the sum from teachers' responses from Items #4-#16. An assumption was made that teachers' self-reported score on implementation (Item 3, Appendix B) would correlate with their fidelity score (Items 4-16, Appendix B). That is, those teachers who indicated that they were regular users of Mini-Society would adhere to the goals of the program and have a positive impression of it. The simple correlation between these two dependent variables was .678, $p=.000$. The strong simple correlation between these two variables indicates teachers' attitudes and classroom practice matched their self-reported score for implementation. Scores for fidelity ranged from 7-56 with a mean score of 38.62 and a standard deviation of 10.03 among the entire sample of teachers. The mean score for regular users of Mini-Society (level 5 and 6 on Item #3) was 44.04, with a standard deviation of 6.19.

Below is a summary of the findings of the quantitative analysis in light of research questions 1-3.

Research Question 1: How do years of teaching experience, level of education, and teachers' beliefs toward their students relate to implementation of the Mini-Society instructional program?

This study suggests that teaching experience, level of education, and teachers' beliefs toward their students are not significant in understanding implementation of Mini-Society. The most significant relationship among these variables and implementation is the simple negative correlation between teacher belief and implementation, meaning that more humanistic (as opposed to custodial) teachers are more likely to implement Mini-Society, but this simple association was not significant ($p=.159$), and when more sophisticated methods for assessing its impact are utilized, it is not a significant factor.

Research Question 2: What is the relationship between the number of teachers in a building who have been trained in Mini-Society and implementation of the curriculum?

The correlation matrix in Table 3 indicates that the simple relationship between colleagues and implementation is significant, $p=.000$, and in the first stepwise regression model shown, it is the most significant factor in determining implementation of Mini-Society, accounting for 11 percent of the variation in use of the program. However, as the second model indicates, its contribution is overshadowed by the student variables measured for this study. Using the ordinary

least squares model, its contribution is reduced to a non-significant level, $p=.073$, although, considering all evidence, one might conclude tentatively that having colleagues in a building who also have been trained in the Mini-Society curriculum increases a teacher's chance of implementing the program.

Research Question 3: How does Mini-Society implementation vary by students' ethnicity, SES, and achievement?

The near linear relationships among the student variables of ethnicity, SES and achievement have posed some problems in assessing the contributions of each of these variables in determining the use of Mini-Society, consequently this researcher decided to eliminate ethnicity from the analysis. Entering the remaining student variables as a block into a stepwise regression model, SES was shown to be the stronger predictor in determining Mini-Society implementation, accounting for 19 percent of the variance in implementation in one model presented. In the ordinary least squares model, its significance is also apparent ($p = .005$). This study suggests that the socioeconomic makeup of students is a strong predictor of a teacher's decision to implement Mini-Society. It is the most significant variable of those measured for this study in determining use or non-use of the program. The stepwise and OLS models indicate that student achievement is not a significant determinant in Mini-Society implementation, ($p = .450$).

The following chapter addresses the final question in this study which relates to differences between those teachers who implement Mini-Society and those who do not on attitudes toward their students, the curriculum, and social studies in general.

CHAPTER 5

THE QUALITATIVE DATA

The qualitative portion of this investigation addresses research question #4. How do teachers who implement Mini-Society® and those who do not perceive their students, the Mini-Society curriculum and the goals and purposes of their social studies curriculum? The purpose of this aspect of the study was to gain additional insight into how teachers who use Mini-Society differ from those who have been trained but do not regularly use the program.

Four structured interviews were conducted from the pool of teachers who completed and returned their surveys. All teachers were asked on the survey if they would consider talking further about their impressions of Mini-Society for this portion of the study. Two of the teachers interviewed identified themselves as regular users of Mini-Society, and two identified themselves as non-users. Use of Mini-Society was defined by their responses to question number 3 on the survey mailed to each participant. [See appendix B.] The two teachers who implement Mini-Society were both scored as a six on this question. The first non-user described in this chapter ranked as a level one, as she never fully implemented Mini-Society. The other non-user of Mini-Society ranked as a level two, as she implemented the program only one time.

All four teachers interviewed were female and each had attained a master's degree in education. In addition, all could be considered experienced in the classroom, having taught at least ten years. For the purpose of this write-up, the teachers have been given pseudonyms. Polly and Wendy identified themselves as users of Mini-Society, Beth and Mary identified themselves as non-users of the program. Section 1 of this chapter is an introduction to each teacher interviewed. Additional sections summarize the teachers' perceptions of social studies, their students, and their views of the Mini-Society curriculum. A discussion of these findings is found in section 5.

Section 1: The Teachers

Polly

I met Polly at her small, two-bedroom duplex that she had recently moved into to be closer to her 97-year-old mother. Polly, a short, white-haired woman, met me at the door and invited me into her den where the interview took place. We talked on a warm September afternoon, surrounded by books and photographs of her five children and numerous grandchildren. It was difficult not to get drawn into this bright, enthusiastic woman, who, despite her age (at 66) and recent knee surgery, moved easily and quickly.

Polly began her teaching career after raising her five children and eventually earned her master's degree in special education. I got the feeling that her tremendous energy derives from her own children as well as her students. She

seemed to enjoy the challenges of being in new situations and learning new things, for she had nearly as many questions for me as I had for her. I found her quite eager to talk about her experiences with the Mini-Society instructional program.

Polly described herself as having wanderlust and has not tended to stay in one place for too long. She has worked in many different school settings including teaching science to students in a middle school, language arts to children in Mexico, and “life skills” to learning disabled students at an alternative high school. After “retiring” from an inner city elementary school where she spent the majority of her teaching career, she applied for the Peace Corps but instead went to a village of indigenous people from the Upek tribe in Alaska. She taught there for two years and then discovered and went to another job in a gold mining camp in Mali, Africa. Despite this myriad of different settings, Polly always managed to incorporate Mini-Society into her curriculum. And several times during the interview she popped up to show me photographs of her students doing Mini-Society in the different places she has taught. At the time of the interview, Polly was teaching Special Education to second, third, and fourth graders in an inner city school district in a large midwestern community. Eighty percent of the students qualify for free or reduced lunch, and 27 percent of the 4th grade students in her building passed the state math assessment in the year 2000.

When asked to describe her students in terms of their intelligence, ability and behavior, she said, “They are so bright.” But she felt that they are often forgotten and neglected by society. Characterizing their behavior, Polly took a

broader, philosophical approach and seemed to sum up her students from her many years of teaching, “I’ve always taught inner-city children. And I’ve had the behavior problems. They’re just there because of their lifestyle, because of their homes, all kinds of things. They just have so many problems and they bring their problems to school.”

Describing her philosophy of education, Polly said, “Well, I do think this sounds trite that all kids can learn, but I do think that. But I am also a very firm believer in positive reinforcement. ...I think that you have to keep it really interesting. And if you do that then everything else falls into place, the behavior and everything as long as you’re excited about it.”

Wendy

The second teacher who identified herself as a consistent user of Mini-Society, Wendy, has been teaching since 1972, primarily with 5th grade students, although she spent four years teaching 4th graders and three years teaching 6th graders. At the time of our interview she worked in a growing and affluent district in a midwestern metropolitan area where the median annual income of the surrounding households was \$84,000, and less than 1 percent of the students in her building qualified for free or reduced lunch. Like most of the large homes in the area, her school was less than five years old. We met at her school just as her students were bustling out the door on their way to their after school activities on a sunny Fall afternoon.

While Polly was quite outgoing, Wendy had quite a different demeanor. Wendy, a petite, blonde-haired woman with large glasses, was somewhat reserved, and of the four women interviewed, was the most difficult to draw information from. But even though Wendy was subdued and almost restrained, I got the feeling that she valued enthusiasm in the classroom for we started the interview by talking about a recent in-service that she had that left an imprint on her and her teaching. This in-service was conducted by, of all places, a fish company. Wendy explained, "It [the fish company] was just this place and their goal is to sell fish, but they keep the people coming just because their attitude, their fun, the way they do things. It was just a neat way of thinking that you've got to do this in the classroom. We could relate it to how you do things...that, you know, it's not just structure, structure, structure. You've gotta have fun. Your attitude has got to be positive."

Unlike the other three teachers interviewed for this study, Wendy appeared to have very few concerns with student conduct in her classroom. In fact, she seemed almost puzzled when asked specifically about her students' behavior, as if it were never an issue or consideration for her. To Wendy they were a "good group" in terms of their behavior and their academics and that was all there was to say. Indeed, the students in Wendy's building were relatively high achievers with nearly 90 percent of the students consistently passing the state math achievement test.

Unlike Polly, who did not talk about getting support from other teachers to implement Mini-Society, Wendy attributed a lot of her success with the program to

having colleagues who also implemented the program. “Well, there were two of us who started it, and a third who was very willing. It was the enrichment teacher I went with [to the training] and she went into this other classroom and I mean the way it evolved and there was so much support, and we could talk to each other. If it were just me it would be a lot more difficult.”

Mary

Mary, the third teacher interviewed for this study, started her career in education just as Polly had done, after raising her family. But unlike Polly and Wendy, Mary never fully implemented the Mini-Society curriculum even after going through the training. “I started to implement it and it was a disaster. Nobody wanted to do it. Nobody cared. ...So I just stopped it because it was not working.”

I met with Mary, a tall woman with salt and pepper hair, during her extended lunch period in the early fall. Sitting at the small desks in her classroom, she answered questions in between bites of her hot dogs and fruit cocktail. Mary had spent all fourteen years of her teaching career in the same large suburban district in a midwestern metropolitan area. At the time of the interview she was teaching 3rd grade in a thirty-year-old building where nearly 38 percent of the students qualify for free or reduced lunch, and 69 percent of the 4th grade students pass the Kansas state math assessment at the satisfactory level or better. Mary’s building, like many built in the late 1960s and early 1970s, was built as an open

concept, so Mary shared her space with two other teachers. No walls separated the three teachers in this “learning community” as she referred to her area. Only bookshelves and large cabinets, which the teachers put up themselves, divided the space.

Mary spoke quietly and carefully. She came across as being quite knowledgeable not only about where her students were cognitively, emotionally, and socially but also about district and state mandates, and the changing federal and state laws and regulations. For example, when asked about her students’ ability, Mary got quite specific stating that seven of her twenty-one students read at the pre-primer/grade 1 level and five were reading at the 5th grade level, while the rest were somewhere in between. According to Mary most of the behavior problems that she had in her classroom could be attributed to the nature of the classroom task. In other words, the higher ability students acted out when they were not challenged, and the lower ability students often exhibited behavior problems because they did not understand what was being asked of them.

Student mobility was a real problem for Mary. She reported that 80 percent of the students in her building change from one year to the next. “We ended up with about 12 children in the 6th grade that had been with us for the full three years of 3rd, 4th, and 5th [grade].” She attributed her students’ migratory patterns to the number of apartments in the area, many of which have leases lasting six months or less. Expressing some of her frustration she said, “...just today I got a new student. And two weeks ago I got a new student. And I’ve got two others who are telling

me that they are going to be gone.” Coupled with this relatively unstable population was the added burden she felt to improve her students’ reading scores. She explained that because her building qualified for Title 1 assistance, as defined by the Federal Government’s 1994 Elementary and Secondary Education Act, “Everything we do is to help the kids become better readers. ... We may be getting children who come in two days before testing, or they may come in half-way through a unit, or they come in the day of the test and they have no background information.”

Beth

The final teacher interviewed for this study, Beth, also identified herself as a non-user of the Mini-Society curriculum. Beth taught kindergarten at a school for the deaf after earning her degree in deaf and hard of hearing education from a midwestern state university. After having her own children, she decided to go into the public schools, so that her schedule would coincide with her children’s. Up until the mid-1990s all of the district’s deaf and hard of hearing children attended Beth’s school, but as the district adopted an inclusion program for deaf and hard of hearing students, the number of hearing disabled children attending her school dropped. She thought that the inclusion program did a disservice to these students leaving them more isolated in their neighborhood schools. “Because they’re all spread out, they don’t have a community to talk with.”

The first thing that I noticed about Beth, a tall, attractive woman with long brown hair, was her resounding voice. She attributed her forceful voice to working with the hard of hearing community basically all of her life. She grew up with a father who was deaf and her husband is also deaf. She said that sometimes parents complain about how loud she is in the classroom, but she brushed off this criticism saying that sometimes parents are just too sensitive. Overall, she felt that her background has been good for her students because she could understand when a student had a learning disability. After talking to Beth, I got the feeling that her voice wasn't the only thing that was powerful, she also had very strong opinions, many of which she shared with me, and she came across as a confident, capable teacher.

We met at Beth's school late in the day as she was preparing for her slate of parent conferences scheduled for the next day. Throughout the course of the interview, Beth expressed a deep appreciation of history, not only of herself and her family, but also of the area. Her building, which opened in 1953, was surrounded by small, two- and three-bedroom homes, and had experienced declining enrollment in recent years. Describing the location of her building, she said, "It didn't used to be like that because at one point this building had like 650-750 kids in it in the '50s and '60s, (When we spoke, enrollment in the building was 317 students.) and it was all upper-middle class." At the time of the interview, 15 percent of Beth's students qualified for free or reduced lunch. The area in which her school was located was similar to the area in which she was raised. And during

the interview Beth talked a great deal about her own childhood and how she wanted to pass on many of the experiences that she had to her students.

Also like Mary, Beth saw a lot of variation as far as her students' ability. "I think we're very broad here. I think we have the lowest of the low. I think we have the highest of the high." With respect to her students' behavior, Beth was blunt "This particular group of kids is terrible."

As in other areas, Beth was upfront with how she prepared for the various assessments that her students take. "We do have access to what the quarterly exams look like so I will design problems that mimic the ones on the test but they aren't exactly that problem. And I feel like that's not cheating, it's really just teaching the format of the problem and that they're going to come across." And she admitted that she "crams" for the assessments. Doing well on these assessments was especially important for Beth saying that, "if your class does not score well on something, you get a little lecture." Sixty-two percent of the students in Beth's building passed the 4th grade state math assessment at the satisfactory level or better.

Section 2: Views of Social Studies

When asked about the goals of their social studies curriculum, three of the four teachers specifically mentioned district objectives. A common denominator among the teachers related to how closely each teacher's social studies curriculum

followed their respective district curricula. For example, all four teachers stated that district objectives and individual student goals were an important source of their goals. Wendy said, “My main goals are the district objectives.” Mary’s response to the question was, “... I have to follow the curriculum. So whatever the objectives of the curriculum is what I have to cover.” And Beth stated, “We have a book that is huge and is thick. We have to get through every region of the United States plus Native Americans plus Kansas, so we have a huge curriculum in 4th grade to get through,....and yes we are *commanded* to get through [emphasis hers]...” Even Polly, who as a special education teacher was less concerned with district aims and more focused on individual student plans said, “It’s difficult to be in special ed. because you can’t just do what you want to do. I’ll start doing things and I’ll hear, ‘Is that in your IEP?’” Her remark suggests that like the regular education teachers interviewed for this study, she was quite cognizant of the goals that have been established for her students, and she worked to meet those goals. On the other hand, Polly seems to have not felt confined by the objectives established for her students and had already changed one of her students’ IEPs and at the time of the interview and was in the process of changing six of her other students’ educational plans. The changes that she sought for her students were for the addition of social studies into their individual educational plans.

While Beth, a non-user of Mini-Society, expressed some disdain for the objectives with her comment about being *commanded* to get through the curriculum, Mary indicated that while the objectives made for a certain “lack of

flexibility” they also seemed to protect her from “going off on any tangent...I think it’s better for the kids to end up with those in the 3rd grade basically having the same set of information so you don’t have the ‘Swiss Cheese’ type of learning. ...The objectives and the curriculum basically give us a framework which I can work within.” As previously indicated, Mary was quite concerned with her students’ rate of mobility.

Both non-users of Mini-Society emphasized the importance of maps and globes as far as their goals of social studies. Mary said, “We teach a lot of things that are just the basics and I’ve covered those already and it’s like maps and globes and where do you fit in the world. And there are maps and globes. So my goal is to try to cover the information as well as I can and yet make it as personal as possible to the children so they can have a tie-in.” Beth’s wish for her students was for them “to be able to look at a map and be able to recognize everything on that map...I want to give the kids that same sense of love of maps.”

The two users of Mini-Society, on the other hand, described their social studies goals differently from the non-users. For example, while Wendy explicitly mentioned geography as key component of her social studies curriculum, there was no specific reference to maps and globes. Her geography focus, rather than on place and location, was on the culture of different geographic regions. She also mentioned history and current events as being significant to her social studies curriculum. Wendy discussed her study of the African continent in previous years

and her focus on Europe as her students studied the American Revolution and the colonists.

Polly seemed to have a different way of looking at social studies altogether from the other three teachers for she never mentioned geography as an important component of her social studies curriculum, nor did she mention any of the social sciences with the exception of a brief reference to economics. Rather, Polly focused on community, cooperation and problem solving as being key to her social studies curriculum. These are three areas that she felt Mini-Society teaches exceptionally well. More than once during the interview she discussed how Mini-Society helped the students to solve their own problems. “Social studies is one of those areas that gets pushed to the rear, but [after] I started teaching Mini-Society my social studies curriculum just grew. I put more emphasis on it. ...[with Mini-Society] there’s a wonderful bonding of the children and the ability to hire and fire, and to settle problems...It’s so important for businesses and life itself.”

Section 3: Teacher views of their students

Another distinction that emerged from the interviews between users and non-users of Mini-Society was how they characterized their students. Both non-users of Mini-Society focused on the negative behavior of their students. While Mary was not as direct in her description of her students’ behavior as Beth, who said that her kids were “terrible”, Mary described her previous year’s students as

“difficult...I had some [students]...who were very needy with social/emotional problems that I couldn’t cope with.” And for Beth, the trend for student behavior was “more for bad than good.” As already indicated, Wendy apparently had no issues concerning behavior, and Polly, while she dealt with negative behaviors, did not elaborate or spend any time discussing issues related to behavior.

The original question of this study dealt with how users and non-users of Mini-Society viewed their students with respect to their ability and their behavior. A distinction that developed from the interviews was the apparent difference between users and non-users with respect to how they viewed their relationship with their students, and their perceived role with them. Both non-users saw themselves in many ways as almost surrogate parents to their students. For example, at one point after the official interview had ended, Mary lamented about the different types of behaviors that she had to teach her students. “When we take them to the symphony at the Folly, we have to train them about how they can talk and what they can say, and how they’re supposed to sit...These are things that my mother and dad instilled... It’s just the basic things that you should do in the home. Nobody sees or does much with them and so those skills aren’t passed along.”

Beth’s conception of her relationship with her students emerged when she talked about what she wanted for her students. She wanted them to know and appreciate their ancestry, just as she appreciated hers. “I love to tell stories and I have lots of stories that I tell the kids about when I was a kid or when my dad was a kid. They love to hear my stories.” In many ways she expressed a desire to give

her students what her parents gave her through the family vacations that they took together. “We went to museums. We went to parks. We went to battlefields, everywhere you could think of...I would love for the kids to have a love of their country to say that, ‘yes I’d love to go to North Dakota and see what’s there.’ Because so many times people haven’t been outside their little town, and they have no desire to go outside their town, to see what’s out there. I really want to give that to the kids. And I want them to love the history of the United States. I want them to understand that our ancestors went through hell to get us where we are today, and we need to appreciate every single struggle that they took to give us what we have today.”

In contrast, Wendy never suggested that her relationship with her students was anything more than an academic one, that she had to do anything more than to teach students social studies content. Both users of Mini-Society, seemed to be more interested in getting their students to be enthusiastic about school, and the content that they had to teach. Polly indicated that her desire was for her students to have a “true” education, which for her meant giving her students opportunities to interact and solve problems. As she said, “true education is when kids get in and they interact and solve problems on their own and they help each other.”

Section 4: Teacher impressions of Mini-Society

All four teachers had positive things to say about the Mini-Society curriculum, and all four mentioned the creative aspect of the program specifically, indicating that they liked the fact that the students were able to produce their own products for their classmates. Even Mary and Beth as non-users had good things to say about it. Mary liked the fact that it is “very relevant to children.” She further explained that she liked it because “the idea of giving a child the belief that they could own their own business. That’s very empowering to me.” The downside of the program for Mary is the amount of noise associated with implementing it. She explained, “To me Mini-Society is an interactive, active activity, and the noise really bothers a lot of people.... I can control them as far as noise goes but even the good noise ends up being too loud. So keeping them quiet and enthusiastic has been difficult. So it’s not so much that Mini-Society has negative sides to it, it’s just that the plant size and my awareness and my ability not to disturb two other classes or three other classes. I know that when they get involved with stuff they really want to talk about it and they want to share and they want to visit. We work on 6-inch voices... and we’ve practiced various things...but they don’t get to do very much hands-on.” Because Mary was in an open plan school, she was sensitive to noise, and she structured her activities around the schedules of her colleagues in the “community.”

Beth implemented Mini-Society one year and indicated that both she and the students enjoyed doing it. Elaborating on how her students behaved the year that she implemented Mini-Society, she said that the students didn't understand it at first. "You know, it was like, 'Make something?' And I was, 'Make a magnet'. And they were, 'How do you do that?' And I said, 'I've got the magnet tape and I've got stamps here and you've got to color it in.' 'How many of these do you have to make?' 'You have to make enough to sell.'"

When asked what she felt the goals of Mini-Society were, Beth indicated that she thought it helped teach the kids about supply and demand. "Some kids made stuff that didn't sell. They didn't understand why. I knew immediately why it wouldn't sell, either the quality of the product was poor or they didn't make enough of it, or they weren't good sales people. They were goofing around when they should have been selling their wares. Those that took the time, the effort to sell it correctly, they really enjoyed it."

Beth did not believe that the students understood what had occurred even after the debriefing session that followed focusing on supply and demand. "No. I don't think they understood. Because those kids weren't willing to change when I suggested, 'Do you think you should try some other color other than black?' Or 'Can you think of a color that a 2nd grader might like? Blue? Red? Yellow? Do you think girls are gonna want to buy Kung Fu stuff? Think of your market!'"

Beth has been reluctant to implement Mini-Society for a number of reasons, the first of which is that she did not feel that she could afford to purchase the

materials needed to have a society. She was hesitant to ask her students' parents, many of whom are financially unable to afford extra expenditures. The most important reason that she did not implement Mini-Society, however, is that she felt that her district put too much pressure on her to help get her students' test scores up. "I feel like right now in [our district], we are totally test driven."

Of the four teachers interviewed, Polly seemed to value Mini-Society the most. Going through the training seemed to be a pivotal event for her, as it had a significant impact on her teaching style. "I always thought that I had to be the 'big thing'. I'm the teacher. I'm the center. I'm the one who makes things fun!...[After the Mini-Society training] I went from being a stand-up teacher who insists on things being one way. I've always been a good disciplinarian. I've never had any trouble with that, any more than most. But I began to realize that true education is when kids get in and they interact and solve problems on their own and they help each other."

On the other hand, Polly appreciated the amount of time that Mini-Society implementation takes as she told a story about another teacher who had given up the program because it took too much time. In Polly's words, "I talked to one of the women at school and asked her if she was doing Mini-Society because they were doing a section on economics. And she said, 'Yes' that they had done it before but she couldn't do it anymore because it took up too much time because they were getting ready for the [state assessments]." But for Polly, after being introduced to Mini-Society she said, "I realized that I had time. I made time to do it."

Beth, as a non-user of the program valued the math element of Mini-Society. Not only did she value having the students practice counting change after their sales transactions, but she also liked the behavior component where the students would get paid for doing their jobs, or having their library books. This appreciation is in contrast to the two teachers who use the program, neither of whom mentioned math as being an important reason for implementing the program. Rather, the two users of the program focused more on the social aspects of the program. Polly said, "One of the things that I love is that it breaks up a lot of cliques. The oddest couples would get together and have a business in Mini-Society...so it does wonderful stuff there." One of Polly's favorite Mini-Society stories involved two little girls who had gotten together for their business. One of the girls, who had actually started the business, fired her employee during one of the market days. Polly was concerned with how the fired employee was going to handle the situation, for the student who had done the firing was not as highly regarded by her peers as her employee. But during the debriefing, when the student who had started the business told everyone how many times she had warned her employee to get to work or get fired, the rest of the class seemed to understand. Polly was relieved that she did not have to do a thing to resolve the situation, and she expressed pride that her student handled the situation on her own.

Another one of Polly's favorite Mini-Society experiences took place when she was in South Africa. Two of her younger students were making flowers to sell for their market products. One of the girls' older siblings, who was also in the

class, said that the flowers would never sell. But Polly said that the girls were not to be dissuaded. “They stuck right with it and did their thing. And they absolutely loved it.”

Wendy also spoke fondly of her Mini-Society experiences and she related a story about a particular girl in her classroom who was very meek. According to Wendy, “she never said a thing”. This very shy girl made animals out of clay for her Mini-Society product. When she set up her desk covered with these animals, the other kids took immediate notice, and her business was very profitable. “That kid felt so successful, and here she didn’t have to talk.” The other particularly appealing aspect of Mini-Society for Wendy is the variety in the products that the students make and the fact that they are not told what to make.

Mary, who stopped Mini-Society almost immediately after starting it, explained that her students “thought it was dumb. The kids were planning on duplicating the money as soon as they heard about it. I just stopped it because it was not working.” While Mary has little first-hand experience using Mini-Society, she indicated that some of her district curricular objectives could be taught using the program, especially economics vocabulary. Thus far, however, she has found other ways to teach those terms.

Mary mentioned that a real problem for her getting started using the curriculum is that there is no one else in her building who uses Mini-Society. “I want somebody that I can talk about it with. Once I’ve seen it done or I could go and do it with somebody for a while I think it would be easier for me to know what

to do. But I'm not comfortable doing it by myself because I don't know what to do if I get stumped."

Another aspect of the Mini-Society program that was consistent for the users of the program was the parental involvement and attitude toward the program. While Polly did not specifically mention the role of her parents to play in the program at her current school, she did discuss how parents and members of the community were involved when she taught Mini-Society in Alaska and South Africa. Polly also seemed to fit her Mini-Society into whatever culture she found herself. For example, she incorporated the Eskimo custom of a tribal council when she was in Alaska, and when a situation arose in her society, her students took their concerns to the council. When she was in Africa, since there were not a lot of other children around, her class advertised and sold their wares to the nearby miners, who had earned their Mini-Society currency by coming into the classroom and talking to the students about their work in the mines.

Wendy went to great lengths to involve her parents in the program. For example, while she typically implemented Mini-Society during the spring semester, she spoke about the program at the beginning of every school year at back-to-school night. She would also send a letter to her parents discussing the program and telling them how they could support the students in their endeavors. Every year her class hosted a market day specifically for parents. All these strategies helped her parents feel connected to their students during their Mini-Societies.

The positive parental responses reported by Polly and Wendy contrast to the response that Beth stated that she received when she implemented Mini-Society. Asked about her parental response, Beth said, “They were kind of like why are you doing this? And I said it was part of the curriculum for a class that I took for teaching the economy. And they were, ‘Well, why?’”

This data suggests that there are some differences between those who use Mini-Society and those who do not especially with respect to how they perceive their students, the purpose of their social studies, and the goals of the Mini-Society curriculum. What follows is a discussion of the qualitative data and those differences that were apparent from the data. This section includes the addition of some research by Barr, *et al.*, (1978) and sociologist Dan Lortie (1975), of which help to provide a framework for understanding the teachers’ perceptions of the purpose of their social studies curriculum and their role in the classroom.

Section 5: Discussion

Several distinctions between the users and non-users of Mini-Society emerged from these interviews. For example, an interesting, and perhaps important finding relates to how the two users of Mini-Society viewed their curricular objectives, for both users seemed to perceive their objectives as being more flexible than the two non-users. Beth, a non-user, felt “commanded” by her district objectives; Wendy used the term “guided” when describing how she felt about the

district curriculum. Polly's ability not to feel constrained by guidelines established was evident when she said that she had already changed one of her student's educational plans to incorporate something that she felt worthy of including, and her intent to change six other students' IEPs.

From Mary, one could sense that having and knowing curricular objectives brought a certain amount of comfort. As stated previously, she was concerned with what she called "Swiss-cheese-type learning" in which there were gaps in students' learning presumably because there was not an emphasis on core knowledge in the students' classrooms. She seemed to appreciate the objectives, which gave her a focus for her plans so she could concentrate on improving reading skills.

The four teachers had different ideas on the purpose of their social studies curriculum. As previously mentioned, geography played a large part in three of the four teachers' social studies curricula, with Mary and Beth both specifically mentioning maps and globes as an important aspect of their curriculum. But beyond the content objectives that each of the teachers described, there appeared to be a difference in what the four teachers thought their social studies curriculum should entail.

The teachers' social studies goals can perhaps best be understood under the framework of Barr, *et al.* (1978). Barr and his colleagues suggest that although there is widespread agreement that the purpose of social studies is citizenship education, there is not agreement about what it means to be a good citizen. Further, they maintain that there are three separate and distinct social studies traditions, and

teachers use different methods to achieve citizenship education. For Barr and his colleagues, social studies is seen as a means for the direct transmission of citizenship, as a social science, and as a means for reflective inquiry.

Those teachers who see the purpose of social studies as the transmission of citizenship perceive that there is a body of knowledge that students should acquire, and learning this information will make them better citizens. But, in addition to obtaining this body of knowledge, there is a correct interpretation of this content. Summarizing this tradition, “The students are to learn about their history, heritage, and the workings of the American government and economy.... The students are also to learn a particular interpretation of this body of knowledge. i.e., there is a right ‘understanding.’ But most important, the students learn a particular feeling, attitude, or value from the knowledge and the interpretation. The student is to learn to ‘appreciate’” (p. 48). Instilling positive, patriotic attitudes is fundamental to followers of this tradition, for a good citizen is one who conforms to certain accepted practices, holds particular beliefs, and participates in certain activities.

Those teachers who follow the tradition that social studies ought to be taught as one or more of the social science disciplines maintain that students should be taught to understand how social scientists perceive their world. If teachers are successful in this endeavor then the students will be able to make effective decisions as citizens. When thinking about complex social issues, students will have the tools to be to hypothesize, gather data, and reach conclusions in a rational way. For example, because economics is the study of how people allocate limited

resources, teaching economics would mean teaching students how economists think, and perhaps how the notion of opportunity cost affects them in their daily lives.

The third and final view of social studies is that it ought to be taught as reflective inquiry. These advocates see that the purpose of social studies is the enhancement of students' decision-making skills. As with advocates of the social science tradition, those who maintain that social studies ought to be taught as reflective inquiry, believe that students need to think deliberately in order to make decisions and be effective members of a democratic society. But instead of teaching students the tools social scientists use to analyze situations, this tradition is more focused on the students themselves and their thoughts and beliefs. Experience is also key for those who advocate reflective inquiry, for in order to truly understand a social issue, they must have some experience with it. Teachers guide students by helping them experience different issues, seek out information, and discuss the problem in order to clarify their individual belief structures.

Three of the four teachers in this study seem to fit into two of the three traditions as laid out by Barr and his colleagues. But interestingly, none of these beliefs came out when the teachers were asked what their goals for social studies were. Rather, they emerged when the teachers talked about other things that they wanted for their students. For example, Beth was straightforward when she said that she wanted her students to "understand" their ancestry, and "appreciate every single struggle that they took to give us what we have today." Clearly, her

response fits in with the tradition of citizenship transmission, as she expressed the desire for her students to value their past. And she was the vehicle for providing that understanding to her students.

Like Beth, Mary had a lot of skills and values that she felt she had to pass on to her students, illustrated by the comments regarding the social skills she had to teach her students. Mary was concerned with teaching her students how to behave on field trips, having good manners in the lunch room, and learning skills so they can fit in with society. Her comment regarding “Swiss cheese-type learning” could also then be interpreted that she was concerned that her students were missing out on core knowledge, which is part of this social studies tradition of citizenship transmission.

Polly’s, perception as to the purpose of social studies was quite different from Mary and Beth’s, and it seemed to fit within the tradition of reflective inquiry, for a primary purpose of her teaching was the enhancement of students’ decision-making abilities. Polly used Mini-Society to help her students solve their problems. As she stated, “... true education is when kids get in and they interact and solve problems on their own and they help each other.”

As already mentioned, Wendy was difficult to draw information from, and perhaps because these differences in the nature of social studies did not emerge from the specific questions regarding the goal of social studies, Wendy’s understanding of social studies was not apparent from this interview. From the

data collected during the interview, it would be difficult to determine where she would fit among these three traditions.

While Wendy's understanding of the purpose of social studies was not clear from her interview, her understanding of her role as a teacher was a little more evident. Wendy, who worked with the most economically advantaged group of students of the four teachers, equated her role as an educator with selling fish, and she wanted to excite her children into wanting to get more. This finding is similar to findings by Dan Lortie (1975) in his analysis from nearly 6000 questionnaires and 94 interviews with elementary and secondary teachers. Lortie found that teachers have a different understanding of their purpose in the classroom. Some instructors, like Wendy, see it as their responsibility to pass on a love of learning to their students; while others, especially those teachers who work with lower socioeconomic students, see school as needing to do the work that the family has failed to do. Using Lortie's findings, one could surmise that Mary and Beth saw themselves as supplementing the parents' role and preparing their students for life with the skills that they taught them. This desire for helping the students behave in socially acceptable ways was most apparent for Mary who specifically mentioned that the skills she wanted to teach her students were things that her parents taught to her and that she taught her own children. From the interview, it was also clear that Beth wanted to pass on attitudes to her students that her parents instilled in her such as being excited about their ancestry, and wanting them to want to discover America.

Both Polly and Wendy generally had a more positive attitude with respect to their students, and their perceived roles with them were quite different than Beth and Mary's. For rather than seeing their roles as parental, Polly and Wendy were more like cheerleaders. Wendy suggested that one of the things that the in-service from the fish company made her realize was that her attitude had to be positive, and that school should be fun. Polly also indicated that her philosophy of education revolved around positive reinforcement and that if she kept things interesting and fun, everything else would fall into place including student behavior.

A manifestation of this difference in teachers' perceived roles with their students was evident in how they conducted their classroom and the type of pedagogy in which they engaged. Intuitively it makes sense that the two users of Mini-Society had a more varied approach in their teaching style than the non-users, for Mini-Society is a student-centered curriculum during which students take responsibility for much of the learning that goes on in the classroom. But it is noteworthy that the two users of Mini-Society appeared to use more student-centered activities even beyond their Mini-Society implementation. Wendy indicated that one of her favorite social studies activities during the past few years was a research project the students did over someone from the past century. For Polly, as already indicated, Mini-Society changed her from being "the center" to one who allowed the students to assume more responsibility for their learning.

These activities contrast with Mary and Beth, both of whom described more teacher-centered activities that they utilized. Beth talked about playing a lot

of “Jeopardy!” to get through the tremendous amount of content in her district’s curriculum. Mary discussed the open nature of her classroom and how concerned she was with the amount of noise. She indicated that her students did not get to do very much “hands-on” because of the limitations of her classroom.

Another interesting finding from these interviews centers on the apparent differences between the users and non-users of Mini-Society with respect to their attitude toward their students. Both users were quite positive about their students, while the two non-users were more negative not only in terms of their behavior but also with respect to their abilities. Mary described how “emotionally needy” her students had been in the past, and as previously mentioned, Beth was perhaps the most negative of all. And Beth’s negativity transcended her students, whom she described as “terrible”. Beth’s remarks about how neither her students nor their parents could understand why they were implementing Mini-Society, and her almost sarcastic description of when she did implement Mini-Society indicate that she did not have much faith in her students’ abilities.

Beth’s comments are in stark contrast to Polly who believes that her students are “so bright” and what a shame it is that they are neglected by society. As already mentioned, Wendy did not have any issues with student behavior, and she appeared to have a lot of faith in her students’ abilities.

It should be noted that Wendy was in a unique situation as compared to the other three teachers in this study with respect to the socioeconomic status of her students. Clearly her students had more economic advantages in terms of their

backgrounds, and there was an established pattern of success in school for them. Wendy did not face the same concerns for her students as Polly, Beth and Mary did, and her perception of her role with her students has to been seen in that light.

With respect to the Mini-Society curriculum, again there seemed to be a difference between the two users of the program and Beth. Beth appeared to appreciate the program for its behavioral component. She liked how the students would get paid for doing their jobs. She also focused on the math aspect stating that she felt it was effective at teaching the students to count out change. Mary, the other non-user, had a little different understanding of the program, which seemed to be more like the two users of Mini-Society. For example, Mary liked it because it gave the students' the belief that they could own their own businesses, which she found very "empowering."

Both Polly and Wendy focused on the affective gains made by individual students rather than the cognitive achievements of their classes as a whole. The stories shared by Polly and Wendy made it clear that they appreciated the empowering nature of the Mini-Society program. Lortie (1975) discussed the importance of these psychic rewards for teachers. According to Lortie, the accomplishments of individual students are more important for teachers than broader goals such as raising test scores, and this source of pride is especially true for elementary teachers. The data from this study support his conclusions.

A finding that was outside the scope of this paper involves the issue of gender and the impact of Mini-Society on girls. It could just be coincidence that

the three stories shared by Polly and Wendy involved female students in their classrooms, and how Mini-Society empowered the girls that they described.

Kourilsky (1984), in her study with 938 children in grades 3-6, found that prior to Mini-Society implementation, children reported entrepreneurship to be primarily in the male domain, and there was less stereotyping after they participated in Mini-Society. However, her study did not look at perceptions of teachers with respect to males and females. Further research on the Mini-Society curriculum and its impact will be needed to shed additional light on student empowerment and any gender-related issues.

One final noteworthy distinction between the users and non-users of Mini-Society focuses on standardized tests. Data from the interviews indicate that the two non-users of Mini-Society were much more concerned with state assessments than the two users. Mary indicated that she felt pressure to increase her students' reading scores because she works in a Title 1 building. Beth spent a significant amount of time discussing how she prepared her students for state assessments, and if her students did not perform well then she would get a "little lecture". Neither Polly nor Wendy spent much time or seemed as concerned with state assessments as the two non-users of Mini-Society, although Polly did share a colleague's concern about testing and how she had given up Mini-Society as a result of that worry. Interestingly, while socioeconomic status was found, in the quantitative analysis, to predict teachers' implementation of Mini-Society, student achievement did not. Further research is needed to further unravel this complicated relationship.

Conclusion

This chapter closes with a restatement of the research question posed at the beginning of this study:

What are the differences between those teachers who implement Mini-Society and those who do not on attitudes toward the curriculum? Their students? and Social Studies in general?

These interviews indicate that there are some notable differences between users and non-users of Mini-Society in terms of how teachers view their social studies content, their students, and the Mini-Society curriculum. With respect to their social studies content, the two non-users seemed to have more focused objectives as far as their social studies content. Both nonusers emphasized geography location and place; whereas two teachers who implement Mini-Society seem to have a broader approach to social studies content. While geography is an important component of Wendy's social studies content, her focus was on culture as opposed to location and place. The other teacher who regularly uses Mini-Society sees her social studies content mainly as an avenue for civics education.

Mini-Society is a student-centered curriculum, so it is not surprising that the two users of the curriculum are comfortable with types of activities where students assume a certain amount of control over their learning. From these interviews, it

would appear that the two users of the curriculum engage in more student-centered activities apart from their Mini-Society implementation. In other words, the two non-users of Mini-Society seem to engage in more teacher-dominated pedagogy in other areas of their social studies curriculum than the two users of the curriculum.

With respect to their students, neither Wendy nor Polly, users of Mini-Society, emphasized the negative behaviors of their students, and while Mary was somewhat philosophical to understand her students' conduct, Beth was blunt about her students' behavior, and quite negative. These findings suggest that teacher perceptions of student behavior could be an issue with respect to Mini-Society implementation, and those teachers who have less faith in their students' abilities could be less inclined to implement Mini-Society.

All four teachers appreciated the creative element of the Mini-Society program and the opportunities that it provided the students in that respect. However, the two teachers who use the program seem to be most satisfied with social aspects of the program and how it empowered their students.

The final chapter of this dissertation is a discussion of the major findings from the qualitative and the quantitative portions of this study. It also places this study into context with other research. In addition, there is a discussion of the limitations to the study and suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

Introduction

This chapter is a discussion of the major findings of this study. It is divided into five sections. The first part focuses on the findings of the quantitative portion of the study. Part 2 centers on the interviews and a discussion of what was discovered. This is followed by an analysis of the findings, limitations of the study, and suggestions for further research.

Major Findings from the Quantitative Data

While all of the teachers in this study were trained in Mini-Society®, many of the teachers have chosen not to implement the program. What this study suggests is that the socioeconomic make-up of students is the most important predictor in determining whether a teacher will implement Mini-Society. These results confirm earlier studies (Becker, 1952; Methany, 1980) that suggest that students from different socioeconomic backgrounds are exposed to different curricula, and that teachers tend to engage in different pedagogical behaviors depending on the socioeconomic make-up of their students. That is, students from

lower SES receive more teacher-centered instruction (Hemmings and Metz, 1990; Oakes, 1985; Anyon, 1981).

How this study differs from those earlier works is that Hemmings and Metz (1990) and Anyon (1981) were solely qualitative in nature. The researchers relied on small samples of teachers, and the researchers did not conduct quantitative data analysis. While Oakes (1985) worked with a larger sample of teachers and schools, her focus was on tracking and the classroom experiences of secondary students. In addition, none of those studies focused on teachers' decisions to implement specific curriculum. The quantitative piece of this study presented an analysis of 96 teachers in 59 different schools, and the results confirm that students' socioeconomic status matters. Mini-Society is a highly interactive program in which students assume much of the responsibility for the society that is created in the classroom. This study suggests that it is not being offered as frequently to students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, nor does the training seem to appeal as much to teachers who work with students from lower SES backgrounds.

The finding that SES is the most significant variable that explains Mini-Society use would parallel the notions of critical theorists like Bowles and Gintis (1976) who argue that the dominant culture is imposed and reproduced in our schools. Schools are tools to sort students in ways that perpetuate social stratification. By exposing Mini-Society primarily to students from higher socioeconomic backgrounds, as the empirical data from this study suggests, there is an underlying message that only higher SES students need entrepreneurship

curricula. Or perhaps the message is that lower SES students need other types of instruction that are more teacher-centered.

Among teacher variables, only collegial support approached near significance ($p=.073$), using the ordinary least squares model, in determining whether a teacher will implement Mini-Society. This discovery is consistent with the work of others (see Fullan, 2001) who found that curricular innovations are likely to occur in buildings where there is a strong, collaborative relationship among the teachers.

Teacher belief was measured using Willower's (1969) pupil control ideology index. This instrument was designed to assess whether teachers were more humanistic or custodial in their relationship with their students. While a simple correlation found that there was a relationship between belief and implementation, meaning that teachers who were more humanistic in their perceptions of their students also tended to implement Mini-Society, this relationship was not shown to be significant ($p=.117$). The failure of the relationship between belief and implementation which is contrary to what other research has suggested is a strong predictor of curriculum implementation (Nespor, 1985, 1987; Olson and Singer, 1994) could be related to instrument used in this study. Willower's (1967) pupil ideology index measured teacher beliefs on a continuum ranging from humanistic to custodial. It could be that use of Mini-Society is not related to that aspect of beliefs and there is another dimension that this study has failed to capture. Pajares (1992) suggested that beliefs are often

poorly conceptualized, and perhaps that is what has occurred with the present study. Further research will be needed to shed light on this issue.

While this portion of the study failed to quantify teacher beliefs, the qualitative portion of the study indicates that there are some distinct differences between users and non-users of Mini-Society with respect to their beliefs about their students, their social studies content and the Mini-Society curriculum.

Major Findings from the Qualitative Data

The qualitative analysis in this study supports some of the conclusions from the quantitative investigation, but in some ways, more questions are raised than answered. Confirming one of the tentative findings from the quantitative data, the qualitative data suggests that collegial support is a significant factor in a teacher's decision to implement Mini-Society.

But as will be discussed below, the qualitative data also illustrates the difficulties in determining reasons for curricular implementation, and the complexities of individual teachers who as Thornton (1991) said serve as the instructional gatekeepers.

To further support the quantitative finding that collegial support contributes to a teacher's decision to implement Mini-Society, Wendy, a user of Mini-Society, mentioned the support she received from other teachers in her building. She did not believe that her Mini-Society implementation would be as successful had she

not received support from her peers. In addition, Mary, one of the non-users, indicated that perhaps she would not have given up the curriculum so easily had there been someone in her building with whom she could have conferred.

According to Fullan (2001), a positive, collaborative working environment is needed to make any curricular innovation work. He states, “Change involves learning to do something new, and interaction is the primary basis for social learning. New meanings, new behaviors, new skills, and new beliefs depend significantly on whether teachers are working as isolated individuals or are exchanging ideas, support, and positive feelings about their work” (p. 84).

The teacher interviews also lend some support to the finding that children’s socioeconomic background is a determinant of teachers’ implementation of the Mini-Society curriculum. Both non-users of the curriculum worked in buildings where a relatively larger portion of students qualified for free or reduced lunch. The two teachers interviewed, however, attributed their non-use to either behavioral problems with the students or the extra academic needs of the students so that they would perform well on state assessments. Mary, working in a Title One* building, felt compelled to increase reading scores for her students. Beth was straightforward saying that if your students did not do well on an exam, “You got a little lecture.” While, in the quantitative data analysis, the step-wise regression did not indicate that achievement added significantly to an understanding of who implements Mini-Society, multicollinearity problems between achievement and

socioeconomic status may be confounding this analysis. Further research may be needed to gain more insight into this relationship.

Both Mary and Beth, non-users of Mini-Society, worked in the same school district, the district that Beth referred to as “totally test driven.” This district has experienced a shifting population over the past fifteen years as many families have moved into other, more affluent areas, such as the district in which Wendy teaches. One possible explanation for the pressure that these two teachers experienced could be that district administrators have put pressure on lower performing schools in their district. This researcher speculates that by attempting to maintain standardized test scores, these officials may be, in effect, attempting to show the public that their schools can still compete with the newer, more prosperous areas of the city. As a result, these teachers, and those working with similar student populations in this district, might not find the benefits of using Mini-Society worth the trade-offs associated with implementing it in terms of the time needed to prepare their students for the assessments.

Researchers such as Darling-Hammond & Wise (1985) and more recently, Kahne, *et al.*, (2000) have found that teachers who spend a lot of time preparing for standardized tests spend more time on teacher-dominated curricula. The results of this study support those findings. Through their comments, one could glean that Mary and Beth spent more of their classroom time than Polly and Wendy did on

* Defined by the 1994 Elementary and Secondary Education Act, this act provides federal resources to schools that need extra assistance in strengthening core academics

teacher-centered instruction. Mary specifically stating that her students did not do a lot of “hands-on” activities.

There is some irony in the fact that the very facility in which Mary works, one that was built as an open plan so that students would presumably be free to move about in a more flexible environment than a traditional classroom has had the exact opposite effect. Mary indicated that she felt restricted in this open environment, and her students engaged in less student-centered activities because of it. Further work with Mini-Society teachers who work in open plan facilities would shed light on this phenomenon, for perhaps Mary’s experience is not unique.

While the two non-users had similar populations of students in terms of achievement and socioeconomic status, the two users of Mini-Society interviewed for this study, worked with highly disparate clientele in terms of those variables. Wendy worked in a building where less than one percent of the students qualified for free and reduced lunch, and Polly worked with students where nearly sixty percent were eligible for free or reduced lunch. As already mentioned, both Polly and Wendy seemed to appreciate Mini-Society for the way that it impacted individual students.

Interpreting teacher perceptions of social studies proved to be more speculative than this researcher’s initial expectations. When asked specifically about their social studies, all four teachers mentioned either their district objectives or individual student plans as the goals for their social studies curriculum. It was only when the teachers spoke of what they wanted for their students that one could

infer their intent with respect to social studies instruction. Using Barr, *et al.*'s (1978) framework for understanding the nature of social studies education, one could see a distinct difference between the non-users and one of the users of Mini-Society. From the interviews it appeared that the two non-users followed the tradition of citizenship transmission. For followers of this tradition, the purpose of social studies instruction is to transmit a particular set of knowledge, behaviors, and values. Beth was quite clear in her desire for her students to appreciate the sacrifices of proceeding generations. Mary, on the other hand, wanted to train her students in certain more socially acceptable behaviors.

Polly, apparently, had a different approach to social studies than the two non-users of the curriculum, for she focused on community and problem solving. Her goals for instruction seemed to fit the model of reflective inquiry. The purpose of this tradition is for the students to clarify their own values. The goals of Mini-Society would seem to fit with those teachers who follow the reflective inquiry tradition, as identified by Barr and his colleagues. Further research in the area of teacher perceptions regarding the purpose of social studies education is warranted to determine if there is a difference between non-users and users of Mini-Society. One could hypothesize that non-users are more likely to fall into the category of citizenship transmission, while users are more likely to follow the tradition of reflective inquiry.

Users and non-users of Mini-Society also described their social studies objectives differently. For example, Beth felt very limited by her district's goals,

saying that she was “commanded” to teach them. Wendy, on the other hand, appeared to feel less restricted, using the term “guided” to describe how she felt about her district aims. Polly clearly did not feel confined by her objectives, for she was willing to get students’ IEPs changed if she needed to, and had already been successful in doing so for at least one student.

Polly would appear to be a unique teacher in terms of her use of Mini-Society, and how she perceived her role in the classroom. How does one draw meaning from Polly who is an outlier in terms of the quantitative data? For example, she works, and always has worked with students from a lower socioeconomic status, and she does not appear to need support from her colleagues to implement Mini-Society. Research in the career life of teachers can perhaps shed light on this anomaly. In his study of teachers of 160 teachers in Switzerland Huberman (1988) found that some teachers depending on their personality, life experiences, and their career stage, have a greater sense of efficacy than others. One of his main research questions dealt with how teachers construed their activity at different times during their careers. Polly, being close to retirement, with her unique experiences of teaching in such varied places around the world, is perhaps more self-actualized than the other teachers in this study. And no matter what educational setting she finds herself in, she will do what she thinks is best for her students, and if that includes changing students’ individual education plans or using the Mini-Society curriculum, she will find a way to do it. For her, Mini-Society offers the opportunity for her students to be creative, solve their own problems, and

see themselves as productive members of society. Polly perceives that Mini-Society allows her students to interact in a meaningful way and solve problems, and that for Polly is “true education”.

Perhaps it is significant that Wendy, who worked with the most affluent group of students in the study, talked about her inservice from the fish company during her interview. She drew a parallel between selling fish and teaching students, as if education is a commodity for the students to acquire. Wendy focused on the intellectual function of schooling, and saw her work as making her students get inspired to attain more. This role is vastly different from how Mary and Beth perceived their function in school. Both Beth and Mary saw themselves as taking a more parental role with respect to their students’ lives. These two teachers saw themselves as needing to provide skills and attitudes that they had acquired from their own parents. Because Wendy’s inservice was a district sponsored event, it would be interesting to contrast the types of programs offered by the various districts to determine how the teachers’ perceptions of their roles fit with the different districts ideas on the purpose of education. As already discussed, Beth and Mary worked in the same district, a district that has put a lot of pressure on them to raise test scores. So, by contrast while Wendy was being motivated by a fish company and learning ways to make education more “marketable” to students, Mary and Beth were perhaps learning techniques to improve student test scores.

Of the two non-users, Beth would appear to be the least likely to ever implement Mini-Society even if her students excelled on state assessments. She had a different perspective on the value of Mini-Society than the other three teachers, focusing on how it helped to control student behavior through the use of rewards. She also focused on the math skills that could be taught using the program. She never mentioned any affective gains that her students might receive from the program, nor did she describe any positive outcomes from students when she did implement Mini-Society. In addition to her different perception of the Mini-Society curriculum was the fact that she seemed to have a pretty negative attitude toward her students, her district, and her students' parents. Her comments and the sarcastic tone of her remarks indicated that she did not have much faith in her students' abilities. Fullan (2001) found that teachers have different assumptions about student learning, and that those who have a more positive outlook regarding student abilities are more likely to engage in curricular innovations. So from this perspective, Beth would be an unlikely candidate for Mini-Society implementation or any other curricular innovation. And it would be interesting to investigate Beth's use of other curricular innovations and how she responded to them.

For Polly and Wendy, both users of the curriculum, it seemed that they appreciated Mini-Society for how it empowered their students. Polly was pleased that one of her less popular students was able to stand up to and assert herself with a more popular one, and Wendy was proud that one of the most withdrawn students

in her class experienced real success with her business. One suspects that all consistent users of Mini-Society would be able to share similar stories of the impact that the curriculum had on individual students, especially in terms of the social benefits as opposed to the cognitive ones.

It is interesting that neither Polly nor Wendy shared a story involving a male student in their classes, instead focusing on female students, and how Mini-Society empowered them. Further research with other users of Mini-Society would lend insight into the effects of Mini-Society on male and female students, and its impact on less empowered students.

Limitations of the Study and Implications of the Findings

As with other mail surveys, respondents to this study could differ from the entire population of Mini-Society trained teachers. Nearly 67 percent of the teachers who responded to the survey indicated that they are regular users of the Mini-Society program. It is likely that more teachers who use Mini-Society returned questionnaires than did those who do not use the curriculum.

Another limitation is the difficulty in isolating and measuring all of the relevant variables in the quantitative data analysis. Multiple regression analysis explained only 26 percent of the variance between the users and non-users of Mini-Society and teacher beliefs did not add significantly to the explanation. On the

other hand, data from the interviews added to the picture, indicating that beliefs are important in determining use, even though they may not have been successfully quantified in this study.

The finding that those who have colleagues in their buildings that also use Mini-Society are more likely to use the program themselves indicates that it is important to encourage more than one teacher from a building to seek training. Implementation of the program is different enough from traditional instructional methods that collegial support may be necessary in expecting teachers to continue to implement Mini-Society. The notion of collegial support is perhaps especially important when working with those teachers from lower socioeconomic schools who appear from the empirical data to need the most encouragement to implement it.

Data from the interviews indicates that teachers were aware of their curricular objectives, and worked to ensure that they were meeting them. Further, those teachers who did not implement Mini-Society were those who felt more restrained by the goals that have been established for them. If a goal is to increase rates of Mini-Society implementation, or other types of student-centered curricula, teacher educators need to understand the school district's objectives and include direction on how the curriculum can be taught to meet those objectives.

Direction for Further Research

Because only twenty six percent of the variance could be explained using the multiple regression model, additional research is needed in an attempt to isolate other factors related to implementation of Mini-Society. The study of other Mini-Society teacher populations across the country might also add to the understanding of its use and non-use.

The finding that the two non-users of Mini-Society appeared to differ from Polly with respect to how they defined their social studies through their teaching could be researched further. Refining beliefs to include teacher perceptions of social studies could also add to our understanding of implementation. Barr, *et al.*, (1978) developed a 45-question survey to assess teacher feelings toward social studies education. Use of this instrument with a larger population of teachers could shed light on Mini-Society implementation. This might provide additional insight into the proposition that non-users of Mini-Society may view social studies as citizenship transmission, while users see social studies as an avenue for problem solving.

Further research might also elucidate teachers' perceptions of the benefits to their students. Appropriate questions might be if and how this curriculum empowers less-empowered groups of students, such as females, less popular, and lower-achieving students?

Conclusions

Mini-Society is a student-centered, experiential economic and entrepreneurship curriculum designed to teach students about their roles as producers and consumers in a market economy, enhance their decision-making skills, and increase students' understanding of their roles as citizens (Kourilsky, 1996). A teacher's decision to implement Mini-Society is likely made by weighing the costs in terms of time and energy against the perceived benefits to their students.

The quantitative part of this study was designed to determine which specific teacher and student variables were significant in determining Mini-Society implementation across a broad population of teachers. In the qualitative portion of this study, the researcher sought detailed impressions and viewpoints of a four teachers concerning Mini-Society, social studies, and students. An attempt was made to determine how these dimensions influenced a teacher's decision to implement the curriculum. Although more research is indicated, both parts of the study offered insights into the types of teachers who implement Mini-Society.

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Appendices

Appendix A
School Data

Table A-1

District 1

<u>School</u>	# of Teachers trained in Mini-Society	Percent of students receiving free/reduced lunch*	Ethnic Composition %				Achievement**
			Caucasian	African-American	Hispanic	Asian	
1	2	.85	94.5	1.5	0.8	3.2	80.5
2	3	.8	97.8	2.1	1.6	5.6	87.1
3	1	.85	82.9	3.4	2.7	11.0	89.6
4	1	9.1	83.4	7.8	4.4	4.4	76.7
5	3	3.3	93.7	2.3	2	1.5	70.4
6	1	1.5	93.6	2.5	1.0	2.5	86.6
7	1	.4	92.0	1.7	0.9	5.5	89.1
8	1	7.4	87.6	4.5	2.1	5.6	67.4
9	6	2.8	98.7	0.4	0.8	0	72.7
10	1	0	94.8	1.0	1.0	3.0	74.7
11	6	1.4	88.8	2.1	2.9	6.2	85.2

*Data from information supplied by schools for Quality Performance Assessment on the state board of education website

**Percentage of 4th grade students scoring at the satisfactory level or above on the state math assessment

Table A-2

District 2

School	# of Teachers trained in Mini-Society	%age of students receiving free/reduced lunch	Ethnic Composition				Achievement
			%				
			Caucasian	African American	Hispanic	Asian	
1	5	75.6	4.3	85.5	8.4	1.8	14.8
2	1	81.9	5.0	93.5	1.0	0.5	8.4
3	4	88.8	1.6	88.0	7.2	2.0	6.1
4	1	80.3	41.4	5.1	50.7	2.3	27.3
5	2	47.5	25.1	67.6	4.8	1.5	28.6
6	2	80.0	16.6	66.9	13.1	2.9	17.1
7	1	72.6	33.7	36.0	24.0	6.3	46.4
8	3	58.2	42.7	44.5	9.6	1.9	44.1
9	2	57.0	57.5	34.6	4.7	1.2	42.4
10	1	79.4	19.3	26.7	47.5	6.1	12.3

Table A-3

District 3

School	# of teachers trained in Mini-Society	students receiving free/reduced lunch	Ethnic Composition				Achievement
			%				
			Caucasian	African American	Hispanic	Asian	
1	4	0.0	92.1	1.6	0.1	5.5	82.9
2	2	0.0	94.4	1.8	1.2	2.2	84.4
3	4	2.5	93.9	2.2	2.0	1.8	83.6
4	3	52.8	64.6	18.8	10.8	5.9	52.7
5	4	1.9	95.4	0.9	2.1	1.6	96.4
6	1	18.1	83.7	6.1	6.1	3.6	68.3
7	1	5.2	90.0	4.2	1.6	2.4	66.7
8	1	1.8	91.7	2.1	1.8	4.2	74.4
9	1	27.5	83.9	8.4	4.8	1.8	56.5
10	4	7.9	93.0	3.3	1.9	1.4	85.1
11	2	1.7	92.0	5.6	1.2	0.1	88.8
12	3	11.8	90.5	4.8	3.0	1.8	85.0
13	2	59.9	61.3	7.4	29.4	1.1	48.5

Table A-4

District 4

School	# of teachers trained in Mini-Society	%age of students receiving free/reduced lunch	Ethnic Composition				Achievement
			Caucasian	African American	Hispanic	Asian	
1	1	14.6	89.3	3.9	4.5	2.2	57.9
2	2	4.6	91.4	3.0	1.5	3.8	81.0
3	2	13.6	84.7	2.1	8.2	4.8	74.1
4	4	6.3	91.7	2.5	2.8	3.0	92.9
5	2	5.0	85.6	4.8	1.8	7.2	86.1
6	4	2.0	96.6	0.2	1.0	2.2	89.4
7	3	7.8	86.7	4.3	5.9	2.4	75.6
8	5	2.5	95.1	1.0	1.5	2.5	94.7
9	3	37.6	72.3	18.1	6.0	2.4	69.4
10	4	23.0	83.0	7.5	6.9	2.2	69.6
11	4	17.6	73.4	15.7	2.2	8.7	77.6
12	1	6.5	93.1	3.8	1.9	0.8	72.1
13	3	0.0	91.0	2.6	3.0	3.0	93.0
14	2	5.8	91.2	2.9	2.2	3.3	80.5
15	2	9.4	92.9	4.0	1.4	1.7	82.9
16	6	14.3	88.2	2.2	7.4	1.6	76.8
17	5	5.9	85.6	31.7	6.9	3.3	88.4
18	1	17.9	77.9	7.3	11.8	2.8	80.9
19	1	14.7	95.2	1.0	2.6	0.7	62.8
20	4	21.9	77.4	7.3	8.0	7.3	79.2
21	4	11.0	90.4	3.0	4.0	1.3	69.0
22	1	25.9	77.6	16.7	3.4	1.9	61.5
23	6	2.4	93.7	3.7	0.8	1.8	85.9
24	1	11.0	87.2	5.2	4.7	2.1	92.6
25	3	11.3	87.7	4.2	6.1	2.4	88.3

Appendix B
Teacher Questionnaire

1. How many years of full-time teaching experience do you have? _____
2. Which of the following best describes how many college credits you have obtained?

Bachelor's Degree
+ fewer than 10 hours

Bachelor's Degree
+ 10-19 hours

Bachelor's Degree
+ 20 or more hours

Master's Degree
+ fewer than 10 hours

Master's Degree
+ 10-19 hours

Master's Degree
+ 20 or more hours

3. Please check the statement that best describes your implementation of the Mini-Society® Instructional Program.

_____ I went through the training program, but I have never implemented Mini-Society.

_____ I have implemented Mini-Society at least one time, but I didn't implement it during the 1999-2000 school year and I won't use it this year either.

_____ I implemented the program during the 1999-2000 school year, but I probably won't implement it this year.

_____ I implemented Mini-Society last year and most likely I'll implement it this year.

_____ I implemented Mini-Society last year, and I'm planning when and how I'll implement it this school year.

_____ I implemented Mini-Society last year, and I can't imagine a school year when I won't implement it.

Additional comments:

4. I speak with colleagues about my implementation of Mini-Society

Frequently Often Occasionally Sometimes Never Not
apply

5. When implementing Mini-Society, I typically have:

5 or more markets 2-4 markets 1 market Not applicable

6. I give a great deal of assistance and direction to my students during Mini-Society.

Most of the time Some of the time Almost never Not applicable

7. I debrief my students after:

Every market Some markets Few markets Not applicable

8. I have helped my students come up with ideas for their Mini-Society products

Frequently Often Occasionally Sometimes Never Not
Apply

9. I integrate Mini-Society into my language arts curriculum

Frequently Sometimes Never Not applicable

10. I integrate Mini-Society into my math and or science curriculum

Frequently Sometimes Never Not applicable

11. I have attended at least one Mini-Society follow-up conference at the Fairmount (Ritz Carlton) Hotel hosted by KU's Center for Economic Education. (Circle One.)

Yes

No

SA = Strongly Agree
A = Agree
D = Disagree
SD = Strongly Disagree

12. I do not foresee myself implementing Mini-Society in my classroom.

SA A D SD

13. My students are not able to handle the amount of responsibility that Mini-Society gives to them.

SA A D SD

14. Mini-Society takes too much time to implement.

SA A D SD

15. I would like to talk to another teacher, or teachers, about how Mini-Society is used in their classrooms.

SA A D SD

16. There are programs other than Mini-Society that are more useful for teaching my social studies curricula.

SA A D SD

17. If you did implement Mini-Society during the 1999-2000 school year, how many weeks did you spend on it? _____

18. What grade(s) did you teach during the 1999-2000 academic school year?

19. What grade(s) do you teach this year? _____

20. During how many school years (not including 2000-2001) have you implemented Mini-Society? _____

21. In addition to you, how many teachers in your building implemented Mini-Society during the 1999-2000 school year?

Following are fourteen statements about schools, teachers, and students. Please indicate your personal opinion about each statement by circling the appropriate response at the right of the statement.

SA = Strongly Agree
 A = Agree
 D = Disagree
 SD = Strongly Disagree

- | | | | | | |
|---|----|---|---|---|----|
| 22. It is desirable to require students to sit in assigned seats during assemblies | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 23. Students are usually not capable of solving their problems through logical reasoning. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 24. Beginning teachers are not likely to maintain strict enough control over their students. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 25. Teachers should consider revision of their teaching methods if these are criticized by their students. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 26. Students should not be permitted to contradict the statements of a teacher in class. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 27. It is justifiable to have students learn many facts about a subject even if they have no immediate application. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 28. Too much student time is spent on guidance and activities and too little on academic preparation. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 29. Being friendly with students often leads them to become too familiar. | SA | A | U | D | SD |

- | | | | | | |
|--|----|---|---|---|----|
| 30. It is more important for students to learn to obey rules than that they make their own decisions. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 31. Student governments are a good “safety valve” but should not have much influence on school policy. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 32. Students can be trusted to work together without supervision. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 33. If students are allowed to use the bathroom without getting permission, this privilege will be abused. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 34. It is often necessary to remind students that their status in school differs from that of teachers. | SA | A | U | D | SD |
| 35. Students cannot perceive the difference between democracy and anarchy in the classroom. | SA | A | U | D | SD |

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey.
Your participation is very important to this study!

Appendix C Interview Questions

Questions for those who have never taught or no longer teach the Mini-Society curriculum.

Teacher Education & Teaching Experience

1. Formal education
2. What significant non-degree educational experiences have affected your approach to teaching (such as independent reading, in-service activities, professional associations, etc.)?
3. Describe your years of teaching experience.

General Philosophy and Approach to Teaching Social Studies

4. What are your main goals for students in teaching social studies?
5. Do you include certain content because of external pressure rather than because you think the content is important? (i.e., pressures from state or district policies, testing programs, parents, etc.) Do you exclude certain content because of such external pressures?

Beliefs about Mini-Society

6. How did you find out about the Mini-Society instructional program?
7. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the Mini-Society program?
8. What would you say is the primary reason you have never or no longer implement Mini-Society?

9. What, in your opinion, are the primary goals of the Mini-Society curriculum?
10. Please describe your students.

Intelligence? Ability? Classroom behavior?

Interview questions for those who implement Mini-Society.

Teacher Education & Teaching Experience

11. Formal education
12. What significant non-degree educational experiences have affected your approach to teaching (such as independent reading, in-service activities, professional associations, etc.)?
13. Describe your years of teaching experience.

General Philosophy and Approach to Teaching Social Studies

14. What are your main goals for students in teaching social studies?
15. Do you include certain content because of external pressure rather than because you think the content is important? (i.e., pressures from state or district policies, testing programs, parents, etc.) Do you exclude certain content because of such external pressures?

Beliefs about Mini-Society

16. How did you find out about the Mini-Society instructional program?
17. What are the strengths and weaknesses of the Mini-Society program?

18. What would you say is the primary reason you implement Mini-Society?
19. What, in your opinion, are the primary goals of the Mini-Society curriculum?
20. Please describe your students.

Intelligence? Ability? Classroom behavior?