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Students' Meaning of Power in Democratic Education

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STUDENTS' MEANING OF POWER IN DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION

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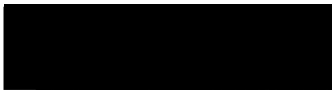
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ABSTRACT

STUDENTS' MEANING OF POWER IN DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION

by Mor Yorshansky

We live in an inequitable society. Despite our democratic governments and liberal democratic states, citizens do not enjoy their rights and do not carry their duties equally. This ought to not be so. Scholars of democracy claim that power mechanisms which allow privileged groups to prevail must be eradicated and participatory democracy, as it was envisioned, must be restored. Our public spheres should be replenished with active citizens arguing and shaping our common world. For many this important role can be only carried out through education and more particularly through democratic education. Proponents of democratic education claim that we must educate the younger generations, the citizens to be, for participating and shaping democracy. To do so well, we should follow radical visions of democracy, and employ progressive and re-constructivist pedagogies which acknowledge children's role in shaping democracy.

However, this vision of democratic education is underpinned by distributive conceptions of power. Such notions are founded on sociological analysis of stratification and thus complicate the way in which democratic education scholars understand everyday power in the classroom in three ways. First, contributors to this discourse often reduce power inequalities to social references inequalities. Second, due to this emphasis of social references, students' individual manifestations of enacting power and agency are

often overlooked. Third, despite the desire to emancipate youth from the injustice that power inequalities create, scholars of power in education employ preconceived notions of liberation and do not explore youth's perceptions and meanings of power in the class in their own voices. Accordingly, despite the desire to empower students, they are viewed as entities that can be filled with power by adults and not as persons who have, know, or enact power by themselves. I argue that students' own meanings and use of everyday power should inform emancipatory and democratic understandings of power and consequently also attempts to transform classrooms into democratic spaces of possibilities. I also believe that these conceptions should be explored with students and in students' own voices.

By utilizing interpretive and constructivist qualitative methods in this dissertation, I explored what meanings students attribute to power and to the ways in which they exercise their influence as they expressed in their own voices in a middle school in Northern New Jersey that is described by the school and district as influenced by principles of a democratic reform in its pedagogy, known as the Small Schools reform. I identified four categories in the participants' meanings of power, as I elaborate below. These categories, when viewed together, show that students' meanings of everyday power appropriate action-based theories of power, which are meaningfully different from distributive theories of power, and also clarify important confusions of terms related to power. For these reasons, I suggest a new understanding of power in democratic education, which strengthens the role that students carry in democratic education through

their own voices while also refraining from some confusions of terms that may jeopardize

the democratic education vision.

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DEDICATIONS

This dissertation is dedicated to my family members whom I never knew and to my grandparents, Sima and Zvi Shulman, who survived the Holocaust. In particular, I would like to thank my grandfather, Zvi, who dedicated his life to public works and who taught me to use power positively.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Students' engagement with power has intrigued me since I started teaching and intensified as a result of my exposure to political theory, as well as democratic education theory. During my years of teaching I noticed that students in various schools understand the ways power operates in educational settings and also respond to it in their thoughts and actions. These informal observations of students' interactions with adults and among themselves situated my beliefs about how students' behavior is a power-related phenomenon and thus how it could be further explored and conceptualized as such.

Students who influence learning, whether academically or socially, influence the interpersonal dynamics, and also the actions and thoughts of the people with whom they interact in classrooms and schools. Students' voices influence school authorities and peers, as well as collective agendas that develop out of their interactions with others (Powell, Farrar & Cohen, 1985). To be sure, additional manifestations of students' engagement with power and influence come to live in actual classrooms around the world. Some may have escaped educators' attention, as I am sure a lot escaped mine. In this dissertation I hope to focus on these aspects of power and influence in one house unit in Northern City in New Jersey, and to explore students' meanings of power through their perspectives. In a qualitative study I examined what meanings students attribute to power and to the ways in which they exercise their influence, as they expressed in their own voices.

Statement of the Problem

A substantial body of theoretical and empirical literature discusses the effects of power in education (e.g., Anyon, 1981; Apple, 1993; Apple and Beane, 1995; Bowles and Gintis, 1977; Cummins, 2001, 2009; Fine, 1991; Gee, 1996; Giroux, 1992; Grinberg and Saavedra, 2000; Gutierrez, Rymes & Larson, 1995; Hayward, 2000; Hooks, 1994; Jencks et al., 1972; Labaree, 1997; Ochoa and Pineda, 2008; Walkerdine et al., 2001; Weis & Fine, 2004; Weis McCarthy & Dimitriadis, 2006; Willis, 1977). Contributors to this discourse, particularly those influenced by critical sociological stances, argue that power is not equally possessed by all the participants in educational communities, because unjust arrangements of schooling perpetuate privilege and prejudice, domination and subordination – power-related phenomena which mainly disenfranchise students of color and minority groups (e.g., Anyon, 1981; Apple, 1993; Delpit, 1988; Fine, 1991; Grinberg and Saavedra, 2000; Hooks, 1994; Weis McCarthy & Dimitriadis, 2006). This literature generally advocates for changing educational policy and practice in order to empower and liberate students, and to reconstruct the political configuration of classrooms, schools and democratic societies (e.g., Apple and Beane, 1995; Cummins, 2001,2009; Fine , 2000, 2005; Giroux, 1992; Hooks, 1994; Meier, 1995, 2005; Shur, 1992).

In this respect, abundant transformative practices have been recommended, among them those concerned with appreciating and fostering students' contributions to social reconstruction through democratic education (Burgh, 2010; Burgh & Yorshansky, 2011). According to such various models of democratic education, participatory and

inquiry-based practices can transform power relationships in education because through them students' interests and agency can be expressed, provided for and met (e.g., Apple, 1993; Burgh, 2010; Dippo et al. 1991; Ellsworth, 1999; Giroux, 1992; Hill, 2009; McFeat, 2005). Democratic education, in this regard, is a liberating practice. It aspires to liberate students from external influences of social, economic, cultural and political constraints and empowers them to use their agency, and to voice plural identities (Apple and Beane, 1995; Benites, Davidson & Flaxman, 2009; Burgh, 2010; Capellaro, 2005; Cummins, 2009; 2001; Dewey, 1916; Fine, 2000; Freire, 1970; Gutmann, 1999/1987; Hooks, 1994; Kraft, 2007; Meier, 2005; 1995).

Despite these genuine concerns, the treatment of the terms *power* and *empowerment* and their realization through transformative practices, such as those recommended by proponents of democratic education, create some difficulties and contradictions. First, practically, studies and evidence show that empowering practices designed to distribute power more equally do not always equally empower students to express their agency and social identities in their democratic classrooms, and do not always lessen the conflicts that cause students' power-related behaviors. (Delpit, 1988; Dippo et al., 1991; Ellsworth, 1999; 1992; Gore, 1992; Lather, 1992; Lewis, 1992; Ochoa and Pineda, 2008 ; Orner, 1992; Powell, 1997; Reda, 2007; Sharp, 1993; Walkerdine, 1992). Second democratic pedagogies may not be wholly democratic and may contribute to indoctrination (Freedman, 2007).

I argue that these two problems are not isolated, and in fact relate to the way power is conceptualized by scholars of power in education. Particularly because

conceptions of power in education were underpinned by sociological theory they overlook individual students' contributions and meanings of using power in their local classroom communities. Despite their acknowledgments of students' contributions to the political construction of classrooms through domination, subordination, resistance, and related phenomena, scholars of power in education, and proponents of democratic education[1] alike, appropriate power frameworks which portray students' power-related behavior and thinking as grounded in forces outside the self and in mystified judgment and consciousness. In most of these explorations, power, resistance, and students' behaviors that emerge through them, originate in social references adversaries. Students are grouped as members of racial, class and gender social groups, and often perceived as one choice-making social unit. These theories do not discuss students' ability to use power as individual creative agents, and do not differentiate between students' choices as they are rooted in individuals' perceptions and contextual relationships.

This means that the treatment of the term power by democratic education is insufficient and requires further theorizing. I contend that first, the kind of theorizing that is missing and needed should explore students' perceptions, reason, judgment, consciousness, decision making, agency and the like, through meaning making in particular contexts of educational power relationships, and second, that such exploration must focus on individual students' meanings because their power-related behaviors are not necessarily grounded in social representations and mystified thinking entities. More

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[1] In this chapter I will refer to all those as democratic education theories for convenience

so, if students' voices, contributions and empowerment are what democratic education practices seek to cultivate, these should not be pre-conceived through theoretical or pedagogical notions of students' thinking but explored empirically with students and in their own voices. If we are sincere about providing democratic spaces for youth, we should listen to their own interpretations of power and its meaning in the classroom. Perhaps students would contribute new ideas to understanding power in education and democratic education; I for one believe that they can.

Justifications of the Study: Exploring Students' power

Three theoretical gaps in understanding power in education require further attention to which I intend to devote this study. First, empowerment and democratic education discourses explicitly position youth as members of essential social reference groups, but not as individuals. This neglect of contextual and individual lenses portrays students' resistance, success and failure as part of a social phenomenon of power and domination in education which students can hardly influence or change. Students are viewed as members of social groups that could be empowered by different educational systems, suitable curricula or enlightened teachers (Chang, 2003; Cummins, 2001; Delpit, 1988; Hicks, 1990; Hubbard and Datnow, 2005). Their individual behavior is understood as part of a social system and they are described as entities that can be filled with power (be empowered) by adults or academic experts (Cummins, 2001; Delpit, 1988; Dippo et al. 1991; Ellsworth, 1999; 1992; Gore, 1992; Hooks, 1994; Orner, 1992; Taylor & Robinson, 2009). Democratic education strives to change the culture of power, but students in it are seldom described in either theory or empirical studies as powerful

individuals (Henkin, 1998; Lensmire, 1994; Price, 2000).

Second, while students and their behaviors are viewed and analyzed as inherently embedded in and responsive to relationships of power, rarely are students asked how they understand power in schools, and how they respond to and express power. Despite concerns for their voices, there are few theoretical discussions with students on how they use their own power, and few empirical studies of how their power is manifested in schools. This problem pays attention to issues of students' voices and to the meanings that they attribute to their identities and behaviors when they engage with others and demonstrate agency and power.

Third, there has been little exploration of how students perceive and describe their agency, and what forms, strategies and meanings individual students employ when exploring or using their power. In concentrating on individual students instead of social reference groups, I want to look at the processes through which power becomes a reality. The theory of power and its relation to students' meanings of power in school is my emphasis here. Similarly, there has been little discussion of how students explain and give meaning to their choices to voice their interests, resist, dominate and exhibit other power-related behaviors, nor to their understandings of the specific classroom context which influences their choices. Students are treated as potentially powerful agents, but not as active, knowledgeable, choice-making agents by themselves. As I explained above, despite the aspiration to empower students, their individual behavior is understood as part of a social system and they are described as entities that can be filled with power (be empowered) by adults or academic experts (Cummins, 2001; Delpit, 1988; Dippo et al.

1991; Ellsworth, 1999;1992; Gore, 1992; Hooks, 1994; Orner, 1992; Taylor & Robinson, 2009). How students contribute to the process through which power manifests and changes contextually requires further research and theorizing.

Research Purpose

As I argued, in my view, it is important to understand the meanings that students attribute to power, to their power-related behaviors, and to their social identities in a setting where critical engagement by students is encouraged to challenge power inequalities. It is important to understand how power is manifested and understood in a localized social context by youth with reference to their situated life experiences, their originality and individuality. This study explores what meanings students attribute to power and to the ways in which they exercise their influence, as expressed in their own voices in a house unit in Northern City, New Jersey that is described by the school and district as a democratic school setting.

Organization of Dissertation

The following chapters will focus this inquiry on students' meanings of and engagement with power. Chapter Two provides a theoretical framework on democracy and education. Throughout this chapter I present Burgh's distinction between education for democracy and democratic education, and use his framework to review different practices of democratic education.

In Chapter Three I review theoretical definitions of power to create a theoretical foundation for contemporary educational discourse interest in power. I use this theoretical foundation to examine pedagogical attempts to undermine unequal distribution of power,

particularly democratic education theories, and to present the theoretical problems that these conceptions of power and pedagogy raise.

Chapter Four presents my qualitative research methods including site and sample selection, data collection, treatment and analysis. Due to their epistemological and ontological stances, these were selected to help ponder my questions on students' engagement with power.

In Chapter Five I present four major themes that my analysis of the students' perceptions of power in the Brown house yielded: 1. Teachers' power as an ideal, 2. Teachers' legitimate power is conditional, 3. Students interests in schooling are different, and 4. Students' power is enacted upon necessity and in relation to the students' interests and the teachers' discourses. Each of these themes will be demonstrated below with references to students' quotes.

Finally, in my discussion in Chapter Six I compare the students' perceptions of everyday power in the classroom to prevailing theoretical concepts of power, particularly those that were introduced in Chapter Three. By discussing and comparing various conceptions of power I answer my research questions, engage in a theoretical conversation with dominant theories of power and question how concepts that the students used relate, support or problematise prevailing definitions of power. In answering the research questions in this dissertation I hope to contribute new understandings to the theory of power in education and democratic education.

CHAPTER TWO: DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION; EDUCATION FOR

DEMOCRACY – DIFFERENT MODELS FOR FOSTERING DEMOCRACY IN

THE CLASSROOM

Introduction

Democracy is a complex and contested concept. Theoretical debates about it have been ongoing for centuries. In the last few decades, however, there seems to be a consensus that social liberal-democracy has become the rising political form of government in the western world (Barber, 2003/1984; Benhabib, 1996; Marion Young, 2000). Yet, scholars of democracy disagree about the appropriate education that could develop the social and intellectual capacities and dispositions needed for active citizenship in a social liberal-democracy (Burgh, 2010; Gutmann, 1999/1987).

Such debates, particularly the point of strengthening the relationship between citizenship and democracy, have been manifested for quite some time in educational philosophy, theory, and practice (e.g., Apple and Beane, 1995; Bredo, 2007; Burgh, Field & Freakley, 2006; Dewey, 1916; Glassman & Kang, 2011; Gregory, 2004a; 2004b; Gutmann, 1999/1987; Kyle & Jenks, 2002; Meier; 2005; 1995)[1]. Education has embraced democratic ideas, and while liberal theory has predominately informed educational scholarship, it has, at the same time, incorporated communitarian notions of democratic theory (Boyte, 2003; Burgh, 2010; Fendler, 2006; Strike, 2004; 2000). On the whole, scholars of democracy and education contend that consideration needs to be given

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[1] How power is divided among teachers and students is an ongoing educational debate that is related to questions of democracy, rights and citizenship as I will show in the ensuing chapter.

to the kind of educational provisions and teaching practices that will encourage the development of human freedoms and democratic traits necessary for participation in democratic ways of life (Apple and Beane, 1995; Burgh, 2010; Glassman & Kang, 2011; Gutmann, 2003; 1999\1987; Kyle & Jenks, 2002; Lefrancois & Ethier, 2010). However, the literature on the role of education in a democracy, or democratic education, as the terms are often synonymously used, includes many ideas that are difficult to clearly separate in theoretical and pedagogical terms. It is difficult to outline what democratic education actually is, how it should translate to and be manifested pedagogically and what responsibilities or skills it requires from students and teachers in schools and as citizens.

In this chapter I provide a theoretical framework on democracy and education[2] as a background for the review of the related term *power*, for my questions on students' engagement with power, and also to situate the house unit chosen for this research as one influenced by theories of democratic education. I begin this chapter with a short review of attempts to clarify the relationship between democracy and education during which I discuss Burgh's distinction between education for democracy and democratic education. Throughout this chapter I use this distinction as a framework to identify and review different practices of what Burgh termed as democratic education. First, I present the two models of democratic education that have emerged according to Burgh's analysis: one which emphasizes self-regulation and progressivism, and another which is concerned

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[2]This overview is not an exhaustive one, as a lot has been written on democracy and education. The purpose of this overview is to provide a framework for the discussion in this dissertation.

with cultivating communicative and deliberative skills. Second, I present two representatives of American scholarly focus on democracy and education: Critical Pedagogy and the Small Schools movement to reform American education, which includes small learning units, or houses - a structure that characterizes the research site of this study. By reviewing selected literature of these two democratic practices I show how Critical Pedagogy and Small Schools are too practices of democratic education according to Burgh's terminology. Based on this theoretical framework I will characterize democratic education, discuss questions of power and pedagogy in Chapter Three and justify the research question and site selection for this study in Chapter Four. Finally, in answering the research questions in this dissertation I hope to contribute new understandings to the theory of power in education and democratic education

Democracy and Education

An earlier attempt to clarify the relationship between democracy and education was made by R.S. Peters (1966), who offered three distinct categories: (1) the democratization of education, (2) the school as a democratic institution, and (3) education for democracy. Much later Gutmann's (1999/1987) well-known contribution looked critically at democratic education with an emphasis on the shortcomings of liberal democratic theory. In her book *Democratic Education* Gutmann examined three liberal theories of democracy and portrayed the implications and challenges of their realization in education: (1) the family state, (2) the state of families, and (3) the state of individuals. Gutmann concluded that none of the three satisfy the necessary conditions for educating citizens in a democracy, and offered a fourth model: a democratic state of education,

which emphasizes the deliberative strand of democracy with which Gutmann is identified. In her view, this last model is considered adequate to support conscious social reproduction in democratic societies, because rational deliberation, freedom and choice-making between different virtues are necessary for children learning to lead good lives, and for collective existence.

More recently Burgh (2010) and Burgh, Field and Freakley (2006) distinguished between education for democracy and democratic education in order to delineate the relationships between theories of democracy and education. According to Burgh, "Whereas education for democracy focuses on the acquisition of knowledge and skills as a means to improve the capacity of future citizens to exercise competent autonomy, democratic education recognizes the social role of schooling as that of reconstruction and that children and young people have an integral role to play in shaping democracy" (2010, pp.62).

Burgh's classification of the relationship between democracy and education, like Gutmann's, manifests an epistemological critique of liberal and communitarian theories of democracy, both of which were nested in political foundationalism that has been eroded by the postmodern demolition of political certainty (Barber, 1996; Burgh, 2010; Gutmann, 1996). Yet, unlike previous classifications, which focus on political theories, Burgh makes a serious attempt to outline the relationships between democracy and education in pedagogical terms. It is a scholarly attempt to examine and separate various ideas in education which pertain to democracy, and illustrate how they have been applied to pedagogies of democracy in actual classrooms in the western world. Burgh's

classification will be useful here as a framework for my review of education and democracy in the US education system and the theories of democracy that have shaped it, as I outline in this chapter and in the ensuing discussion on power in the next chapter.

Burgh, like Gutmann, looks at the relationship between democracy and education from a radical understanding of democracy - "a deliberative model … that provides a vision of an ideal democratic society which supports greater participation and deliberation as necessary conditions for democratic life and responsible citizenship" (Burgh, 2010, p. 61). Deliberative democracy goes hand in hand with a conception of democracy that Dewey (1916) referred to as associated living and Barber (2003/1984) calls strong democracy. Burgh claims that this model of democracy offers a constructivist vision that is suitable for a practical understanding of democracy without the appeal to pre-political or certain knowledge about justice or rights (Burgh, 2010). Accordingly in Burgh's classification, *education for democracy* is a model that is primarily aimed at developing future citizens toward a preconceived notion of democracy and citizenship, whereas *democratic education* refrains from conditioning educational processes and outcomes by such preconceived notions and encourages youth to actively reason, deliberate and engage in their schooling experience as preparation for citizenship.

The primary goal of education for democracy is to initiate students into the established traditions and institutions of democracy in a way that would allow them to cope with the challenges of participation in the democratic life as autonomous and choice-making individuals. The assumption of this approach is that the values, principles and procedures of liberal democracy can and should be attained and reinforced thorough

schooling. Democracy in this approach is understood as a body of knowledge and is taught through using one of the following approaches or some combination of them: (1) a character education approach which focuses on a particular set of appreciated values that should guide the behavior of citizens in a democracy, (2) a cognitive development approach which promotes moral reasoning, (3) civics or political education curricula that enhance students' familiarity with important institutions and processes of their country's political heritage, and (4) a critical education approach that cultivates students' social understanding and judgment so that they have the capacity to think intelligently about public issues (Burgh, 2010; Burgh and Yorshansky, 2011). In Gutmann's terms these are all conservative endeavors "not in the narrow sense of maintaining the status quo, but in the broad sense of supporting existing social ideals" (Gutmann, 1999/1987, p.20). They all fall under liberal and communitarian classifications, which do not address current challenges for democratic theory as critiqued above.

Democratic education is also concerned with educating future citizens toward participation in democratic life. However, it recognizes that students also have an integral role to play in contributing new ideas for shaping democracy. Two models of democratic education have emerged according to Burgh: one which emphasizes self-regulation and progressivism, and another which is concerned with cultivating communicative and deliberative skills (Burgh, 2010; Burgh and Yorshansky, 2011). Both these models, and this approach as a whole, can be dated back to Dewey's influential book *Democracy and Education* (1916) and to his educational philosophy as I show throughout the chapter.

Democratic Education as Self-regulation and Progressivism

The self-regulating model of democratic education was founded on a radical or anarchistic interpretation of progressivism, according to which the aim of education is to change school practice in accordance with child-centered methods of teaching and learning (Burgh, 2010; Campbell, 1979, Labaree, 2005, Martin, 2004). This view's philosophical influences can be traced back to the French philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau, educational reformer Johann Pestalozzi, educator Friedrich Froebel, and also, to some extent, to the educational philosophy of Dewey (Burgh, 2010; Reese, 2001).

Although he was an early proponent of progressive education, Dewey never aligned himself with the movement, and in fact distanced himself from it, but his principles that schools should reflect the life of the society and that the process of upbringing and teaching is an end in itself influenced the progressive movement in the US and other parts of the world (Burgh, 2010, p.64; [see also Reese, 2001, Labaree, 2005]), especially voices in it dedicated to democratic education.

The progressive education movement was not a unified one, particularly in the U.S (Grinberg, 2005; Price & Grinberg, 2009), although there was general agreement that in its romantic, child-centered strand that was influenced by Dewey's writing and model school in Chicago, there is a connection between education and democracy mainly because "progressivism advocates a curriculum that follows the interests of students and emphasizes active learning and deep understanding" (Burgh, 2010, p. 64). In addition, many in the progressive movement agreed that rigid hierarchical structures of traditional

schooling were counter to learning and to children's nature and should be replaced by benevolent and egalitarian ones in which students are at least more equal in power and participation to teachers and administrators (Burgh, 2010; Campbell, 1979; Labaree, 2005; Reese, 2001; Semel, 2009; Tzuo, 2007)[3].

This self-governance model of democratic education, which has also been referred to as free schooling (Martin, 2004; Strike, 2004), was experimented with in various ways in different countries, predominantly the U.S and the UK, but is more closely aligned with progressivism in the UK, particularly with A.S. Neill's Summerhill School (Martin, 2004). Neill shared Rousseau's belief in non-interference (although he insisted on not having read Rousseau until he was 88 years old [Swartz, 1986])—that is, that freedom exists only where students govern themselves in an environment where they are able to learn and play at will. Neill believed that if students were given freedom and self-governance in relation to school practices they would develop the capacity to share responsibility with adults for positive social reconstruction. This progressive model of democratic education provided opportunities for students to participate in decision-making, and to enhance their ability to self-regulate their roles within community life through learning and sharing (Burgh, 2010, p. 65; Swartz, 1986; Martin, 2004).

In reality, few schools actually practiced school democracy in this full sense of the term. "Mostly, schools were less permissive, leaving administration mainly to

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[3] In the context of this study I refer to progressivism exclusively based on the type of practices and arguments defined in Burgh's classification. This classification can be connected with some progressive romanticism that has its origins in the 18th-19th centuries. I do not intend to enter the discussion about the progressive traditions in the US, which include much more than what Dewey argued. Yet, I will utilize Dewey since his views on democratic education are relevant.

professionals with varying degrees of input from students and parents" (Burgh, 2010, p. 65). While Dewey's underlying principles are well discussed among democratic and education scholars, this model is practiced much less due to its seeming incongruence with conventional methods of schooling, or because administrative progressivism with its traditional methods of teaching has won control of American education (Burgh,2010; Labaree, 2005; Shyman, 2011). Furthermore, it is not evident that freedom and self-governance are sufficient to foster an educated citizenry competent to participate in democratic societies because "children have neither the responsibility for making actual school policy decisions, nor information and deliberative competence adequate to the task" (Weinstein, 1991, p.16; see also Arendt, 1977b).

Democratic Education as Communicative and Deliberative Practice

The second sense in which the term democratic education is used by Burgh is social reconstruction, which views education as an instrument for on-going social change in school and society - a view that can be also traced back to Dewey's fundamental concern that schools and civil society needed attention to strengthen democracy. This emphasis on democratic education as social reconstruction relies on a pragmatist interpretation of Dewey's educational philosophy, meaning Dewey's ideal of communal dialogue as being synonymous with social life, accompanied by a recognition of the importance of education for effective communication (Ancess, 2003; Burgh, 2010; Dewey, 1916, p.8; Shyman, 2011). Accordingly, democracy in its full-fledged form as a way of life could only be obtained through a civil society comprised of citizens with the capacity for public deliberation. In other words, it is concerned with the reconstruction of

civil society as the root of democracy, which has as its beginning point the transformation of student thinking and deliberation skills (Burgh, 2010, p. 66).

Social reconstruction speaks for incorporating student participation in community development projects and other social activities to foster an understanding of the process of self-governance, as a potential mechanism to bring about social change. By applying their inquiry skills to actual situations students purposefully reconstruct their social-cultural environment (Bleazby, 2004). In this sense democratic education requires members of the school community to understand the connection between themselves, the school of which they are a part, the greater community, and responsible decision-making. The school and the community to which it belongs become a microcosm of a greater deliberative democratic community (Burgh, 2010).

A theoretical exemplar of democratic education which focuses on nurturing communicative and deliberative capabilities rather than on participation and self-regulation is Philosophy for Children (P4C). Underpinned by the community of inquiry (CI) pedagogy, P4C aspires to cultivate reasoning, communication, and social skills among young members of a classroom community and their teachers (Sharp, 1993). Matthew Lipman, the founder of P4C, argued that philosophical inquiry could improve the relationship between deliberative judgments and democratic decision-making. Lipman was influenced by pragmatist theory (Pardales & Girod, 2006) and placed ongoing inquiry, dialogue, self correction, communication, caring relationships and fallibility among the core values of communal democratic and associated living (Gregory, 2004a; Gregory, 2004b). In particular, Lipman was heavily influenced by John Dewey,

who characterized the purpose of schooling as that of a miniature democratic community in the radical sense of associated living.

These values of ongoing inquiry, dialogue, self correction, communication, caring relationships and fallibility, advocated by Lipman, if practiced appropriately, could generate qualitatively different and more equal power relations among the members of a classroom community and influence the participants' understandings and habits of sharing their common world with others in their communities inside and outside school (Gregory, 2004a). The common good of the community is believed to depend on the group's ability to generate as many opinions as possible before reaching collective decisions, since such broad articulation of interests allows the best social solutions to evolve.[4] Hence, time and ideas must be distributed as equally as possible during the inquiry, and preferably allow all members to voice their interests and claims before any collective understanding is reached.[5] How time and ideas are shared influence the outcomes of the collaborative inquiry and shape the community members' individual and collective habits and practices of social life.

The ability to think critically and creatively about disputes involving one's interests; the disposition to be curious about views different from one's own,

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[4] The concept of voice in P4C is different than that employed by critical pedagogy and theory, two additional practices of democratic education that I will explore below. P4C does not relate voice to students' social references, but rather to their understandings of philosophical concepts that are explored together in a community of equals (CI). (See Ellsworth, 1992, for a definition and discussion of the concept voice in critical pedagogy)

[5] The community of inquiry is founded on narrative inquiry, which is grounded in particular conflicts and circumstances of individuals. This choice to inquire about the particular, rather than general, principles is another way to empower children to rely on their private experience and their knowledge while generating their understanding and knowledge of the world; it is another opportunity to challenge official curricula and dominant narratives and their influence on students' interests (Nussbaum, 1992).

and to investigate them with the expectation that they may be useful in

correcting or evolving one's own views; the willingness to avoid coercion to

advance one's commitments – these are the collective habits that democratic

communities take to be normative because they are the most likely means of

turning conflict into growth. And education is the best means available for their

cultivation (Gregory, 2004a, p. 276).

Much of what has been written about P4C tends to emphasize the virtues of employing

CI in the classroom, and "has been treated by many of its proponents as being invaluable

for achieving desirable social and political ends through educating for democracy"

(Burgh & Yorshansky, 20011, p.1).

Appropriating Burgh's Framework to Theory and Practice of Democratic

Education in US Education

Critical Pedagogy and the Small Schools Movement are two known educational

enterprises in the US which also advocate democratic education. Just as I examined the

progressive and social reconstruction movements as somewhat unified movements in

education, I shall examine these two movements here as representatives of American

scholarly focus on democracy and education. Clearly, Critical Pedagogues and Small

Schools proponents such as Apple, Ayers, Fine, Giroux, Klonsky, Meier, Shor, and many

others did not conceive ideas in reference to Burgh's classification as I have outlined in

this chapter. These contributors discuss democratic pedagogy through various lenses and

projects, which constitute their philosophical influences and inspirations. Yet, in my

opinion, these movements, which are philosophically influenced by similar concerns,

share both the spirit and the understanding about what constitutes democratic education in U.S. society with Burgh. Viewing these ideas as particular practices of democratic education according to Burgh's terminology is a useful framework for defining democratic education in this chapter, and for understanding the use of the term *power* in these perceptions of democracy in the following chapters.

Democratic Education as Critical, Dialogical and Empowering Practice

Critical Pedagogy is a third scholarly project of democratic education. It is founded on a particular integration of progressive and social reconstruction ideas as described by Burgh.

Duncan-Andrade and Morrell (2007), two well-known practitioners of Critical Pedagogy, pull from the major contributors to Critical Pedagogy (Darder 1991; Frerie 1970; Giroux 2001; Hooks 1994; Kincheloe 2004; McLaren 1994; Shor 1992) to nicely summarize it as: an approach to education that is rooted in the experiences of marginalized peoples; that is centered in a critique of structural, economic, and racial oppression; that is focused on dialogue instead of a one-way transmission of knowledge; and that is structured to empower individuals and collectives as agents of social change (Duncan-Andrade and Morrell, 2007, p. 183 as cited in Edwards, 2010, p.227).

This desire to empower students to seek social change reveals critical pedagogy's commitment to democratic education since, as Edwards writes, its end goal is "the formation of pupils that will be able to answer the 'deregulated global capitalism' that currently impedes the realization of more participatory and deliberative democracy"

(Edwards, 2010, p.223). Like the two democratic models previously reviewed, Critical Pedagogy promotes a conception of democratic education that seeks to produce participatory citizens in a deliberative or radical model of democracy. Its ends constitute a more just society characterized by lived democracy, meaning that individuals are instilled with human dignity, are able to exercise personal autonomy, and can participate meaningfully in political affairs (Edwards, 2010).

However, different from the other two models of democratic education this model broadens the critique of knowledge as governed by mechanisms of power and inequality and purports to reconstruct society more radically by applying the focus of critical theory to education (Edwards, 2010). Thus, although in rhetoric Critical Pedagogy nourishes students' ideas for shaping democracy, its political project is actually preconceived. This is not to say that Critical Pedagogy does not recognize students' role in shaping democracy, nor that in teaching for democracy it follows some predesigned formulas because "critical educational theory acknowledges the contextual and political nature of teaching and learning, its application and realization is always in flux…. While the ideals … might remain more or less constant, the actual practice changes depending upon with whom one works, the historical moment, and the context in which one works'' (Goldstein and Beutel, 2007, p.4 cited in Edwards 2010). Critical pedagogy is thus a practice of democratic education not education for democracy. It is a pedagogy that teaches not only about but also through democracy (Fernandez-Balboa, 2007). It is not only a theory; it is a practiced approach (Edwards; 2010).

It is through cooperative and reflective teaching and learning that students and

teachers alike are able to evolve beyond the classroom and into the world. Critical educators engage students, providing them with an opportunity to transcend textbooks and ditto-sheets, enabling them to think differently and more democratically, not simply for the sake of doing it, but so that it becomes a state of being in action. (Goldstein and Beutel, 2007, p.5, [cited in Edwards, 2010, p. 229])

Critical pedagogy begins its work towards social justice and empowerment, in accordance with the issues just mentioned, by asking questions in the classroom in a problem-posing way (Freire 1970; Shor 1992; Wallerstein 1987). As Edwards explains,

This means that practitioners take issues that are central to the lives of the students in the class and use them as the centerpiece of discussion. The issues serve as the entry point for ontological and epistemological exploration and critique. Students learn how to question official knowledge (Apple 1993) and come to see that all knowledge is value-laden and tied to a complex historical and cultural locale. Together, teachers and students bring the problems in the lives of the students into the classroom and come to question the operation of the world around them, including traditional teacher-student relationships and traditional methods of teaching (Edwards, 2010, p. 228; see also Cummins, 2009; 2001; Ochoa and Pineda, 2008; Shur, 1992).

In reality, Critical Pedagogy is practiced by individual teachers and scholars, many times in post secondary education, and not necessarily as a school wide commitment (Ellsworth, 1992; Kraft, 2007; Shur, 1992). However with the birth of the Small Schools

movement this pedagogy found many supporters and is practiced by critical educators in small schools (Benitez, Davidson & Flaxman, 2009; Capellaro, 2005; Kraft, 2007; McFeat, 2005). Yet, the Small School movement's philosophical roots and therefore its pedagogy are not identical to Critical pedagogy's as I show next.

Democratic Education as Critical, Community-Committed, Communicative and Deliberative Practice

Small Schools historical roots. The Small Schools Movement to reform American education is a fourth practice of democratic education. It developed out of intellectual influences, similar to those of Critical Pedagogy, known as critical theory, and is also founded on a particular integration of progressive and social reconstruction ideas as described by Burgh. The Small Schools movement has affected public debates and school reorganization across the US for over 25 years (Benitez, Davidson & Flaxman, 2009; Fine 2005; Klonsky & Klonsky, 2008; Lee, Ready, & Welner, 2002).

Small Schools made its appearance during the 1980's, after studies about the inadequacy of US comprehensive schools had been published (Lee, Ready, & Welner, 2002; Oxley, 1994;1989; Powel Farrar &Cohen, 1985; Wasley et al., 2000) among them Theodore R. Sizer's *Horace's Compromise* (1985), which described how the typical structures of schools helped to make these inadequacies all but inevitable (Benitez, Davidson & Flaxman, 2009). Sizer, who many view as the founder of the Small Schools movement (Miner, 2005), offered new principles for reform and with twelve schools in seven states which agreed to redesign themselves on the basis of his ideas formed the Coalition of Essential Schools (CES) (Benitez, Davidson & Flaxman, 2009). Hundreds

of schools joined this movement by 1994 and to support them CES founded

geographically diverse affiliate centers, which are independent organizations guided by

the CES Common Principles that provide long-term coaching, professional development,

and technical assistance to schools (Benitez, Davidson & Flaxman, 2009). Additional

independent networks as the Chicago's Small School Workshop joined the efforts to

support new small schools in the early 90's (Ayers &Klonsky, 2006; Rethinking Schools,

2005, 19(4), p. 34; Wasley et al., 2000; http://smallschoolsworkshop.wordpress.com). By

2009 there were hundreds, even thousands, of schools and twenty-six centers affiliated

with CES, and other small affiliated schools with similar organizations, some connected

to CES and some not, across the US (Benitez, Davidson & Flaxman, 2009; Miner, 2005;

Wasley et al., 2000; wolk, 2010). Affiliated small schools are 'small by design', not

'small by default' (Lee, Ready, & Welner, 2002, p.8). Most of these schools are located in

urban areas; however, as a whole, the body of schools is diverse, representing various

geographic regions and demographics across the United States (Benitez, Davidson &

Flaxman, 2009, p. xix).

One of the structures that is employed within this movement is the school within

a school model (SWS), also described with labels such as *houses*, *academies*, *blocks*, or

small learning communities (Lee, Ready, & Welner, 2002; Oxley, 1994;1989; Strike,

2008; Wasley et al., 2000). These structures, with historical roots in Britain's elite

boarding schools, are inspired by similar concerns about justice, equity and social

reconstruction as their sibling small schools. Houses vary considerably. They have

common features but no single blueprint and are usually characterized by several of the

following:

- A team of teachers who collaborate with a house leader and paraprofessionals to meet the needs of a diverse student body.

- A coordinator or leader who organizes the activity of the house with decision making autonomy on matters such as discipline, attendance, instruction, guidance and even the allocation of portions of the school's budget

- Common planning periods to address house concerns

- Ideally, parents' involvement in governance

- Extracurricular activities in house and school-wide as electives to open opportunities for leadership and participation

- Heterogeneous grouping and commitment to low-achieving students ' diverse academic needs and equity (reducing special education programs and coordinating mainstreaming special needs students in regular classes with specialist education instructors, or special inclusion teachers)

- Physical resources which maximize the community feel and easy access among house participants

- Sense of community, tightly knit social bonds, higher attendance and academic achievements (Lee, Ready, & Welner, 2002; Oxley, 1989, 1994).

The Small Schools movement's expansion to a nationwide reform was supported by several foundations among them the Annenberg Institute, the Carnegie Foundation and the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation (Benitez, Davidson & Flaxman, 2009; Fine, 2005; Hirota, 2005; Lee, Ready, & Welner, 2002; Miner, 2005). This last

partner helped turn numerous schools into small schools nationwide, but also threatened

the movements' unity. Some of the progressive and activists leaders saw the foundation's

agenda as one which pushes top-down, privately subsidized interests, and a downsized

version of the movement's original well rounded and democratic vision (Ayers

&Klonsky, 2006; Benitez, Davidson & Flaxman, 2009; Christensen, 2005; Cook &

Tashlik, 2005; Fine, 2005; Klonsky &Klonsky, 2008; Miner, 2005). As Michelle Fine

(2005) articulated "It breaks my heart to see the Small Schools movement commodified,

ripped from its participatory and radical roots, and used to facilitate union busting,

privatization, faith-based public education, and gentrification" (p. 12).[6]

Small Schools intellectual and democratic education influences. From its

very beginning the Small Schools movement was not just about size (Benitez, Davidson

& Flaxman, 2009; Fine, 2005; Strike, 2008; Wasley et al., 2000) but about utilizing

several progressive[7] pedagogic principles to transform public education, particularly

secondary education and comprehensive urban high schools into democratic spaces of

possibility, equality, community, participation and social justice for youth of color and

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[6] The Small Schools movement, as evident from this description, is not unified and yet it is difficult to set clear boundaries and alliances between groups in it, as writers affirm a similar vision of education and criticize the different tendencies with great caution and no name dropping. Therefore, I write about the movement while relying on prominent and committed activists and progressive leaders and scholars from different relevant academic circles including the periodical *Rethinking Schools*, CES, and the *Small Schools Workshop*. Scholars such as Michelle Fine, Michael Klonsky, Deborah Meier, William Ayer and others whom I quote belong to and write within several of these circles, regardless of the sometimes contagious tones. Accordingly, this review represents these voices in the Small Schools movement, who are also very productive in writing about the movement and its democratic vision of education.

[7] I am using the term progressive here loosely following writers within the Small Schools movement self identification, in which their progressive roots are referred to but not explained (Apple & Beane; 1995; Benitez, Davidson & Flaxman, 2009; Fine 2005; Kraft, 2007; Miner.2005), and based on Burgh's definition of progressivism above.

other underprivileged groups of students (e.g. Ancess, 2003; Ayers, Klonsky & Lyon, 2000; Benitez, Davidson & Flaxman, 2009; Fine, 2005; Greene, 1995; Klonsky &Klonsky, 2008; Kraft, 2007; Meier, 2005;1995 Wasley et al., 2000). This conception of democratic education and pedagogy was influenced by Freire and more so by Dewey's educational philosophy (Ancess, 2003; Apple and Beane, 1995; Benitez, Davidson & Flaxman, 2009; Capellaro, 2005; Kraft, 2007; McFeat, 2005; Schubert, 2000). However, in my analysis, the movement has its philosophical and democratic education influences in the new sociology of education, in the work of Michael Apple and many scholars who have followed his critical program to expose power relationships in what seems to be benign bureaucratic arrangements of schooling, particularly school knowledge which Apple critiqued for being epistemologically flawed (Kraft, 2007; Weis McCarthy and Dimitriadis, 2006).

Apple was one of the first scholars to bring a neo-Marxist perspective to issues of the curriculum and its knowledge as a site of power to the US (Weis McCarthy and Dimitriadis, 2006, P. 4). Throughout his career, Apple has worked steadily "to challenge the idea that schools are neutral institutions. In particular he has highlighted how the appearance of neutrality often, paradoxically, works to reproduce extant [and unjust] social, cultural, and economic arrangements" (Weis McCarthy and Dimitriadis, 2006, P. 6). The desire to change, or reconstruct, such social arrangements constitutes Apple's commitment to democratic education as a strategy for social justice by:

> …teachers and students contest[ing] taken-for-granted meanings 'naturally' distributed through schools, thus promoting emancipatory educational practices

both inside and outside of formal educational institutions….[as] this ethic is evidenced especially in popular pedagogical books such as *Democratic Schools* (1995) (created with Jim Beane) (Weis McCarthy and Dimitriadis, 2006, P. 7).

In *Democratic Schools* (1995), Apple reveals Dewey's influence on his understanding of democratic education as the eternal re-birth of society, as an obligation to maintaining a democratic way of life by teaching how this life might be experienced through schooling. Democratic education to Apple means that schools are responsible to present empowering and relevant experiences to all young people so that they can become familiar with democratic deliberation through their own experiences and reconstruct society accordingly (p.7). This vision of democratic education, which is reiterated by the Small Schools' proponents, is pursued by an appropriate school structure, a curriculum that fosters democratic experiences and emancipatory educational practices such as: bottom up community activism and planning, participatory and inclusive decision making, equity, full access to schools' programs, elimination of tracking and biased testing, prizing diversity, participatory pedagogy that is based on issues that are connected to students' lives, critical reconstruction of knowledge with students taking an active role in learning, performance-based assessment, strong community, and above all social reconstruction for justice against racism, centralized power, and gross inequalities (Ancess, 2003; Apple and Bean, 1995, pp. 9-25; Benitez, Davidson & Flaxman, 2009; Capellaro, 2005; Christensen, 2005; Fine, 2005; 2000; Kraft, 2007; Meier, 2005;1995).

This vision of democratic education is also demonstrated in CES fourth

principal. It is an example of how Apple's ideas are manifested in the Small Schools'
literature:

> The last Common Principle, referred to as 'Democracy and Equity', provides the
> overarching motivation for this expanding view. It states: 'The school should
> demonstrate non-discriminatory and inclusive policies, practices, and
> pedagogies. It should model democratic practices that involve all who are
> directly affected by the school. The school should honor diversity and build on
> the strength of its communities, deliberately and explicitly challenging all forms
> of inequity' (Benitez, Davidson & Flaxman, 2009, p. 10).

Justice, equity and voice[8] are among the values that Small Schools' educators
identified with the movements' origins wish to reconstruct through these particular
educational practices with students. These values have been the focus of past and recent
debates and research in education. The hidden curriculum, tracking, the dominant
culture's influences on curricula, silenced voices of underprivileged groups of students,
denial of access to rigorous education for all but the privileged, high-stakes testing, and
the No Child Left Behind legislation are among the many issues that have occupied the
attention of voices in this academic cry for making American society more democratic
and just through education (Ancess; 2003; Anyon, 1981; Au, 2005; Ayers and Klonsky,

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[8] According to Ellsworth (1992), "by speaking in their 'authentic voices', students are seen to make them-
selves visible and define themselves as authors of their own world" (p. 100). In this dissertation I define
students' voice accordingly as students' use of their voice to make themselves visible and define themselves
as authors of their own world. In this way voice is seen as part of agency as it is defined above. Critical
Pedagogy and Critical Theory proponents see students' voice also as a strategy for students' empowerment
and as a skill that should be encouraged by teachers and educational reform (Cook-Sather, 2006; 2002;
Ellsworth, 1992; Levine, 2000; Lodge, 2005; Warwick, 2008

2006; Ayers, Klonsky & Lyon, 2000; Fine, 2005; Greene, 1995; Kraft, 2007; McFeat, 2005; Meier, 1995; Weis & Fine, 2004; Wolk, 2010). To the principles of democratic structure, curriculum, and pedagogy Small Schools' proponents add an effort to create small, committed and cooperative learning communities that can follow the democratic pedagogy envisioned without the bureaucratic limitations that disrupt education in conservative settings from reaching goals of justice, social activism, innovation and excellence for all (Ancess, 2003; Ayers, Klonsky & Lyon, 2000; Fine, 2005; Kraft, 2007; Meier, 2005;1995; Oxley 1989; Strike, 2008).

       The Small Schools reform movement is a strategic vehicle for democratic reform (Fine, 2005). These small schools try to create alternatives to school structures that foster privilege and deprivation based on social and economic inequalities. They represent bottom up models that are created by community leaderships of educators and parents. Small Schools stress school autonomy in structure and pedagogy as means to break the mechanisms of power, inequality and prejudice that inflict comprehensive schools with alienation, anonymity, failure and high dropout rates. These schools foster community and caring relationships, engage students in decision-making through authentic instruction, portfolio evaluation and thematic curricula, (Ancess, 2003; Apple and Bean, 1995; Ayers, Klonsky & Lyon, 2000; Christensen, 2005; Fine, 2005; Kraft, 2007; Meier, 2005;1995; Strike, 2008; Wasley et al., 2000), and "prepare them to engage in authentic dialogue across differences to better understand how people experience oppression, power, privilege, and hegemony in and out of schools" (Benitez, Davidson & Flaxman, 2009, p.19).

Small Schools' practice of democratic education in accord with Burgh's terminology is revealed by its commitment to progressive ideas but mostly through its emphasis on students' role in social reconstruction. Small Schools' pedagogy focuses, first and foremost, on students' contributions to social reconstruction and change. Students are involved in service learning projects, research projects and dialogue; they bring their life realities into the classroom and critically examine the influences of power mechanisms on social arrangements. They are educated to act and contribute to shaping democracy in the public sphere (Apple and Bean, 1995; Ayers, Klonsky & Lyon, 2000; Kraft, 2007; Meier, 2005; 1995). In Apple's words the point which distinguishes these democratic schools from

> other kinds of "progressive" schools, such as those that are simply humanistic or child-centered [is that] democratic schools are both of those in many ways, but their vision extends beyond purposes such as improving the schools climate…. Democratic educators seek not simply to lessen the harshness of social inequalities in school, but to change the conditions that create them (Apple and Beane, 1005, p. 11).

This goal of social reconstruction for social justice against influences of power and privilege echoes Critical Pedagogy's idea of democratic education. Undeniably there are similarities between these two critical movements for democratic education. However, the emphasis and pedagogy of the Small Schools movement are not identical to those of Critical Pedagogy and therefore its vision for teaching for social justice is not as preconceived. Particularly because each small school is designed together with

community representatives in a bottom-up fashion to meet specific students' needs, Small Schools cannot follow predesigned models for schools' structure, curricula and pedagogy. More like the P4C vision of democratic education, Small Schools involve students, teachers and community members in decision making in as many school issues as possible to reach the best solution for social amelioration (Apple &Bean, 1995; Fine, 2005; Meier, 2005; 1995).

Current practice and challenges. However, despite all this proliferation of democratic reform, not all the small schools practice the democratic vision of its founders. The small schools that are part of this movement vary considerably, (Christensen, 2005; Cook &Tashlik, 2005; Wasley et al., 2000). "Quite a few of these schools are amazing, a number are weak, and most are somewhere in between" (Fine, 2005, p.11). Michelle Fine represents the movement's founders when she further elaborates on these differences in implementation:

At times, I have lauded these schools as 'sites of possibility', criticized some as 'large schools in drag' and others for 'confusing hugs for calculus'. All too many small schools have the same authoritarian principals, disempowered and uninspired educators, dubious highstakes tests, and Eurocentric curricula as the large schools they were designed to replace. … But despite their uneven implementation and wide variation, many small schools consistently and courageously educate a broad band of poor and working-class youth, disproportionately African American, Latino and/or immigrant, who prove more likely than peers in demographically comparable large schools to graduate,

move on to higher education, contribute to community life, and continue to be a

part of extended school communities well after their graduation (Fine, 2005,

p.11).

Small schools, perhaps more than other models of democratic education, are practiced

nationally (Benitez, Davidson & Flaxman, 2009; Strike, 2008; Wasley et.al, 2000; Wolk,

2010). Their democratic pedagogies and structures are strategic mechanisms that

challenge and reconstruct classrooms, schools and society for justice and equity.

Democratic Education

A deeper examination of the four models that I have presented can clarify how

these different models of democratic education overlap; what properties and

characteristics these approaches to education have in common. After comparing these

four models, I found six qualities that these four approaches to democratic education

share:

- A radical definition of democracy as deliberative, or participatory

- A list of democratic traits that should be cultivated

- An experiential vision coupled with a designated pedagogical practice to cultivate students' participation and democratic experience first hand

- An understanding of students' role in social reconstruction

- A collective end goal to improve democracy (usually social and political)

- A view of power, and how its distribution or effects should be altered (equalized) to improve democracy

Table 2.1 compares these six qualities among the four democratic practices reviewed.

Table 2.1: A Comparison of Six Qualities between Four Practices of Democratic Education

	Definition of democracy	Democratic traits	Experiential practice of democracy	Students' social role in social reconstruction	Collective end goal of improving democracy	View of power and equality
Self regulation	Positive view on human nature when people are free and self govern their lives	• Freedom • Self government	• Involve children in decision making processes, that pertain to school community's situations • Active learning • Deep understanding	• Students' learn to self-govern responsibly for positive social reconstruction • Share responsibly with adults for positive social reconstruction	Foster educated citizenry competent to participate in democratic societies	• Power opposes self regulation and freedom. • School structures should be altered to be less rigid. • Students should share decisions on pedagogy, teaching and learning with adults. • Egalitarian – students should be more equal in power to teachers and administrators
Social reconstruction	• Communal dialogue is synonymous with social life • Radical democracy as associated living • Pragmatism influences	• Deliberation • Communal dialogue • Self-correction • Fallibility • Dialogue • Social skills • Communication • Reasoning	• Community of inquiry • Participating in communal projects • Ongoing inquiry	Applying inquiry skills to situation from life to facilitate better understanding and purposeful social reconstruction	• Social amelioration • Instrument for change in schools and societies • Achieve desired social and political ends through changes in education • On-going social change	• Generate more equal power relationship among the members of CI. • Influence the students' habits of sharing the world Interpreted as equal distribution of expression in relation to time and other participants' contributions
Critical pedagogy	• Participatory and deliberative democracy • Lived democracy	• Freedom • Personal autonomy • Deliberation • Public participation	• Problem posing approach to knowledge • Dialogue • Cooperative and reflective teaching and learning • Ontological and epistemological exploration starting from issues central to the students' lives	• Formation of pupils that will be able to answer the deregulated global capitalism • Students come to see that all knowledge is value laden, question traditional teaching methods and teacher students relationship	• Empower individuals and groups as agents of social change • Reconstruct society more radically • A more just society characterized by lived democracy • Individuals can participate meaningfully in political affairs	• Power interpreted as unequal distribution based on sociological research • Question power distribution as mirrored in the epistemology of school knowledge • Critique of knowledge as governed by mechanism of power and inequality
Small Schools	• Participatory and radical democracy • Community that is based on and committed to social justice • Ongoing re-birth of democracy through changing students' thinking skills	• Deliberation • Innovation • Justice • Equity • Voice • Community • Social activism • Cooperation • Reconstruction of knowledge	• Dialogue across difference • Thematic curricula • Service learning projects • Portfolio evaluation • Authentic instruction • Emancipatory educational practices	• Focus on students' contribution to the reconstruction of unjust social arrangements • Expose power relationships • Act and contribute to shaping democracy in the public sphere • Critically examine the influences of power mechanisms on social arrangements	• Making American society more democratic and just through education • Social reconstruction for justice against power • Strategy for social justice • Utilize progressive principles to transform public education • Change unjust social arrangements	• Power as a sociological concept that is based on sociological analysis of stratification • Power is the opposite of social justice • Concerns about justice and equity against power • Expose power relationships in benign bureaucratic school arrangements

This comparison between practices of democratic education is helpful in clarifying what democratic education is, and what it expects from students and teachers. Democratic education is founded on a radical, deliberative or communicative strand of democracy. It encourages students to reason, deliberate and develop the necessary traits for democratic participation, as they were defined. Democratic education invites students to practice these democratic traits by engaging actively in their schooling experiences, because it recognizes that students' ideas have an integral role to play in shaping democracy. Democratic education also recognizes the social role that education has in improving democratic collective existence and in redistributing power for better social justice[8], which is another way that democracy could be improved.

In this dissertation, I will rely on and engage with this definition of democratic education, particularly with its last reference to power and social justice. As I showed, the phenomenon of power is central in practices of democratic education since, power, or its unequal distribution, is analyzed as a major obstacle to justice and equity in extant social and educational arrangements. According to democratic education scholars, power is a meaningful phenomenon to be challenged while transforming schools and classrooms into democratic ones. In the following chapter the theory of power and democratic education's complex stance toward its distribution will be further discussed.

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[8] Power in those democratic education visions is analyzed by sociologically influenced concepts, primarily as distributive and while examining its non-egalitarian affects on social stratification.

CHAPTER THREE: POWER IN EDUCATION AND DEMOCRATIC

EDUCATION

Introduction

Social theory has addressed the influences of power on various spheres in society since the emergence of the discipline (Marx, 1987; Weber, 1978). In the last few decades there has been a proliferation in educational theory and research attempts to also connect issues of power to schooling (e.g. Anyon, 1981; Bowles, 1977; Bowles and Gintis, 1977; Cummins, 2009; De Lissovoy, 2010; Fine, 1991; Gee, 1996; Hayward, 2000; Jencks et al., 1972; Labaree, 1997; Ochoa and Pineda, 2008; Walkerdine et al., 2001; Willis, 1977). As I mentioned in the preceding chapter, scholars within educational discourse[1] claim that unequal distribution of power influences students' ability to benefit from public education and access justice, rigor, excellence, social and economic opportunities, and success. This imbalance of power affects groups such as African American students (Cummins, 2009; Fine 1991; Fine et al., 2004a; 2004b; Gee, 1996; Henza, Lucas & Scott, 1998; Kozol, 1991), females (Fordham, 1993; Walkerdine

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[1] Gee (1996) defines discourses as "ways of behaving, interacting, valuing, thinking, believing, speaking, and often reading and writing that are accepted as instantiations of particular rules (or 'types of people') by *specific groups of people*… Discourses are ways of being 'people like us'. They are 'ways of being in the world'; they are 'forms of life'. They are, thus, always and everywhere *social* and products of social histories" (p. viii). In my arguments here I accept that 'being in the world' and 'making sense of the world', whether by scholars within schools of thought, or social groups, including groups of students, are activities that reflect certain values, beliefs and ways of using language, rather than ontological truths about the world and human lives within it. This view is also related to understanding power, since, as the two- and three-dimensional views of power discussed in this chapter show, domination and subordination are also constituted by discourses, and by the ways identities and interests are framed by particular social points of view that struggle to be recognized publicly as legitimate ways of existing in the public realm (Lukes,2005; Scott, 1990). This claim is also true in the case of educational visions. Various scholars, including myself, understand and explain education in light of their academic underlying beliefs. Such different views struggle to be recognized as the correct and justified method that should influence schooling and related public policy.

et al., 2001), the working classes (Bowles, 1977; Bowles and Gintis, 1977; Walkerdine et al., 2001), and different minority students (Cummins, 2009; 2001; Fine 1991; Fine et al., 2004a; 2004b; Grinberg and Saavedra, 2000; Ochoa and Pineda, 2008). These scholarly projects usually mirror sociological theory, meaning that it is usually framed by macro and essentialist approaches. Thus, educational analysis underpinned by social theory, more often than not averts its gaze from individual students' contributions and opportunities of using power in their local classroom communities. The following discussion of power is intended to inform readers about various treatments of the term power which pertain to this tension between structural and individual understandings of power in education and pedagogy.

I begin this chapter with a review of theoretical definitions of power, its mechanisms and its influence on social and institutional arrangements. The purpose of this discussion of power is to create a theoretical foundation for contemporary educational discourse use of the term power. In the second section I review prevailing understandings of power's influences on students' access, achievements, resistance, and participation in education. In the third section I examine pedagogical attempts to undermine unequal distribution of power, particularly those of Critical Pedagogy and theory, as outlined in the previous chapter. The fourth section discusses the contradictions in these conceptions of power and pedagogy. This portrayal of the complexities inherent in the treatment of the term of *power* in education provides the theoretical foundation and partial justification for the research reported in this dissertation. In the remaining chapters I attempt to address the questions that this overview leaves open.

Power: A Contested Theoretical Concept

Most sociologically influenced educational theories employ some understandings of how education should liberate students, particularly those students less privileged, located in lower social strata, and subjected to domination in their social and economic spheres (e.g. Cummins, 2009; Dewey, 1916; E. D. Hirsch junior, 1988; Fine, 1991; Freire, 1970; Giroux, 2001;1992; ; Kozol, 1991; Ravitch, 2000;1995;1985). As Aronowitz (1981) claims, schools were always viewed as the best hope for leveling class differences, even if there was disagreement as to how much repair was needed to achieve this goal. What then is social domination and how is it related to power and to schooling? According to Lukes (2005) this question cannot be answered easily since there are at least three views of power, each inherently implying value judgment in moral, political, ideological and philosophical controversies. In other words various theoretical views of power have colored what exercising domination means and how it relates to power and education differently.

Traditionally, the conception of power was influenced by Max Weber's theory[2] in which A exercises power over B when A affects B in a manner contrary to B's interests (Lukes, 1986; 2005, Weber, 1986)[3]. In this view, power is a resource that individuals or groups do and do not have. The greater one's ability to influence another's action or will is, the more power he or she has. Those able to secure power are able to dominate those unable to secure it, who become obedient to the formers' rule and

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[2] Although other definitions also exist, Weber's is the most renowned (Lukes, 2005; 1986).

[3] See Lukes (2005) for a more detailed explanation of how Weber's conception of power was employed by different theoretical frameworks.

interests (Lukes, 1986; Russell, 1986; Weber, 1986).

How are power, domination, and influence manifested? Scholars dispute this question by pointing to what they believe are the salient phenomena for explaining power. Hence, in democratic societies, in which contemporary educational theory is usually framed, the ability of dominant agents to influence others and gain power is understood to be demonstrated in concrete, observable, and conscious behavior measured in relation to apparent conflicts and interests of individuals and groups. This conception of power was named the *one dimensional view* by Lukes (2005), who concludes that "… this first, one-dimensional, view of power involves a focus on *behavior* in the making of *decisions* on *issues* over which there is an observable *conflict* of (subjective) *interests*, seen as express policy preferences, revealed by political participation" (p.19).

One-dimensional power is understood to be distributed pluralistically, with no consistent prejudice, open to all parties, as manifested in the free democratic negotiation between interested agents (Lukes, 2005). Dahl's study, *Who Governs?* (1961), influenced this view of American society as a pluralist democracy. Dahl measured the frequency of winning and losing between representatives in the results of decision-making processes of a local government with respect to various local issues. His conclusion was that "since different actors and different interest groups prevailed in different issue-areas, there was no overall 'ruling elite' and power was distributed pluralistically" (Lukes, 2005, p. 5).

This view was developed with respect to access and achievements in education mainly by conservative scholars of education, who claim that historically many minority

groups were able to influence educational policies to accommodate their demands,

interests, and access to education (see Ravitch, 1985). Therefore, both access and

benefits of education are open to all students who can choose to voice[4], compete, and

influence educational circumstances with their interests. Limitations and domination in

education, which exist[5], can be resolved by accommodations the system supplies for

minority groups' students to overcome their *temporary* deficiencies, and by students' and

their families' serious *efforts* to succeed (Bloom, 1987; E. D. Hirsh, Junior, 1988;

Ravitch, 2000;1995;1985). The one dimensional view of power in education

concentrates on observable, measurable limitations on students' access to knowledge, and

claims that these obstacles can be challenged and removed to a large extent by

appropriate policy measures and individual agency[6].

This individualistic view of power as an accessible resource was challenged by

other theoretical frameworks which view power as multidimensional, institutional, and

discursive. For example, in Marxism, Neo-Marxism, and Feminism power is also viewed

as a relationship of domination and influence, but its scope, mechanisms of operation and

measurement differ considerably. In those theoretical frameworks power is channeled

through social institutions and reference groups, rather than individual decision-makers.

Power is understood as an institutional phenomenon that operates through social classes,

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[4] In this dissertation I define students' voice as students' use of their voice to make themselves visible and define themselves as authors of their own world. In this way voice is seen as part of agency as it is defined above.

[5] See for example Ravitch's discussion of the political oppression of Native American students (Ravitch, 1985, pp. 192-197).

[6] In social settings such as schools, agency is defined as the "person's ability to shape and control their own lives, freeing self from the oppression of power" (Kincheloe, 2004, p. 42).

communities and social groups and allows dominant agents to influence resource

allocation and decisions in their favor, while limiting the resources and freedom of other

agents, regardless of individuals' conscious intentions, interests and choice (Lukes, 2005;

1986; Poulantzas, 1986). Two such understandings of power should be mentioned: the

two-dimensional and the *three-dimensional* views, which will be discussed shortly and

respectively according to Lukes' rigorous treatise on power.

The *two-dimensional view* of power considers agents' power as decision-

making and as non decision-making and is mainly attributed to the work of Bachrach and

Baratz (Lukes, 2005, pp. 6- 7, 20-25 and PASIM). They argued that powerful agents can

influence and create institutional biases that suppress the demands of dominated agents

for changes in allocations of benefits and privileges before these are even voiced. Thus,

latent conflicts and interests, which were not included in the decision making-process, but

were clearly demonstrated in agents' behaviors as grievances, were included in this

framework of understanding power. Such latent conflicts were understood as expressions

of the dominated agents' resistance to their subjugation, resistance they could not have

explicitly articulated (Scott, 1990). This approach also influenced various understandings

of young agents' expressed resistance within educational institutions, but, in my view (as

discussed below)[7], is not always clearly separated from the three-dimensional view.

According to some Marxist and Neo-Marxist approaches, particularly the

Frankfort school, as well as more radical views like those of Focault and Bourdieu, power

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[7] My discussion in Chapter Six demonstrates how these two views of power may overlap, and the questions that employing them in educational analysis raise.

is also understood to influence the dominated agents' process of identity and interest

formation through various cultural apparatuses, thus securing their consent (Anderson

and Grinberg, 1998; Focault, 1980; Grinberg and Saavedra, 2000; Herr & Anderson,

2003; Horkheimer and Adorno, 1976; Lukes, 2005; Marcuse, 1964; Pines, 1993). Lukes

(2005) named this the *three-dimensional view* of power. In this view, power is

manifested in the absence of conflict or resistance and in the ability of the dominant

agents to influence the dominated agents' perceptions of their interests. In other words in

this approach A exercises power over B by influencing, shaping or determining B's own

will and therefore preventing conflict from arising in the first place (Lukes, 2005, p. 27

and PASIM; Dowding, 2006).

Lukes (2005) claimed that the one and two-dimension approaches to power

assume that social actors are always aware of what their interests are and are mired in

behaviorism (Anderson and Grinberg, 1998; Lukes, 2005). The *three-dimensional view*

breaks with previous behaviorist notions of power and shifts attention to more

unobtrusive and cognitive modes of control associated with the Marxist understandings

of hegemony and false consciousness, as Gramsci's portrayal demonstrates well

(Anderson and Grinberg, 1998). According to Gramsci the ruling class[8] secures its

domination through its hegemony over ideological or cultural apparatuses, which present

prevailing social arrangements as common-sensical (Horkheimer and Adorno, 1976;

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[8] The ruling class is understood to dominate society in Marxist framework, as much as men were
understood to dominate society in feminist frameworks, and white, heterosexual, western agents were
considered dominant in other frameworks, who adopted the method of understanding society as ruled by
particular dominant groups according to Marxist conceptions.

Marcuse, 1964; Pines, 1993). Social arrangements, perceived as epistemologically

deterministic, result in consent and diminution of revolutionary possibilities or social

resistance, since the dominated cannot envision alternative options for thought and

action, and willingly conceive their interest within the framework prescribed by the

powerful (Lukes, 2005). As Lukes (2005) states, "Consent is a psychological state

involving some kind of acceptance – not necessarily explicit – of the socio-political order

or of certain vital aspects of that order" (p. 8).

This *three-dimensional view* of power shifts the discussion from agents'

articulated interests to their real interest or consciousness, as opposed to false interest or

false consciousness. This approach attempts to understand dominated agents' failure to

even try and better their lives by expressing their interests as resistance and objection to

the social order and to their domination.[9] It understands power and domination as the

ability of agents to cause non-events (Lukes, 2005, p.53), meaning decide what does not

happen, mainly through structural arrangements and normalizing practices, which

determine the unconscious choices of all involved in relationships of power (Lukes, 2005,

pp. 48-59 and PASIM). Power relations, in this view, seriously limit the freedom and

autonomy of social agents to exhibit reason and judgment and pursue their interests in

accordance with what could constitute their well being according to general criteria of

human needs and welfare (Lukes, 2005; Nussbaum, 2002; Sen, 1999). One does not have

to follow pre-prescribed notions of social justice and revolution, as Marxist and different

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[9] Three-dimensional view of power often interprets resistance and struggle, rather than voice and agency, as the dominated's strategy to even out power.

feminist theories do, to accept this understanding of power. Foucault's philosophy is an examiner of a more radical understanding of this three-dimensional view of power which is less value laden.

Foucault examined the structural mechanisms that create subjects' identities and interests, and prevent action, and showed how these structures are all-embracing for subjects in all social strata and for each social ideology. In his radical writing Foucault expands the three-dimensional view of power further and purports to address the mechanisms by which compliance and domination are secured. Foucault's work is a portrayal of power mechanisms which exposes how consent and domination are secured and how non-events created (Lukes, 2005). Power in Foucault's view is a technique, a mechanism that disciplines agents' minds and souls, inscribed in their bodies, produces individuals and is carried through them. Power is created through knowledge and produces knowledge-particularly applied social scientific disciplines that render its effectiveness due to the shaping impact of experts' knowledge; "it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse and more specifically subjects, forging their character, disciplining and 'normalizing them', rendering them capable of and willing to adhere to norms of sanity, health, sexuality, and other forms of propriety" (Lukes, 2005, p. 91). "Its success is proportional to its ability to hide itself" (Foucault 1980, p. 86 [in Lukes 2005 p. 90]). If power is to be effective, those subject to it must be rendered susceptible to its effect (Lukes, 2005. p.91).

In schools for example students are disciplined through the internalization of correct behavior or what Foucault named normalization. Students internalize the norms of

the educational discipline unknowingly and through self-discipline, therefore carrying power in their bodies and through group control. These disciplinary practices allow teachers to leave the classroom assured that students will keep working in the absence of the physical presence of authority, as students know they can get in trouble if they are caught in undisciplined behavior but most importantly want to follow normative behavioral conduct (Anderson and Grinberg, 1998, p. 335).

According to this reading of Foucault's ideas, power is ubiquitous and there can be no personalities that are formed independently of its effect since normalizing practices exist in all spheres of social and individual modern life (Lukes, 2005, p. 92). In this sense, democratic educators' desire to emancipate students from the influence of power is only one alternative to the discourse of power, and is also embodied and carried through disciplinary practices of knowledge and domination (Anderson and Grinberg, 1998; Lukes, 2005; Taylor & Robinson, 2009; Walkerdine, 1992)[10]. Subordinates can only choose between alternative discourses, which inherently embody practices of power (Lukes, 2005).

In his earlier writings Foucault assumed that there is no escape from domination and subordination, nor are there real and false interests, since power is located in discourses and disciplinary practices which subject individuals' whole identities, bodies, souls, minds and consciousness to structures of meaning, and agents have no free space to perceive themselves and their interests that is not already shaped by discourses of power.

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[10] For example, students may be reprimanded for not sharing their ideas equally, or for their unwillingness to transform their ideas,

To this end, some scholars contest this view as a three-dimensional view (Anderson and Grinberg, 1998; Foucault, 1980; Lukes, 2005; Walkerdine, 1992). But later in his writings Foucault still allows some agency of the subject (Lukes, 2005, pp. 92-99)[11].

Lukes shows that Foucault was investigating ideal not actual panoptical disciplinary practices, not their actuality but their design (Foucault, 1978; Lukes, 2005, pp. 92-93). Furthermore his later writings on governmentality express a more voluntaristic effect of power on free individuals who are faced with a field of possibilities in which several ways of behaving are available to choose from, even if molded by disciplinary discourses. As he writes, "The subject constitutes himself in an active fashion, by the practice of self. These practices are not something the individual invents by himself, but patterns that he finds in the culture and which are proposed, suggested and imposed on him by his culture, his society and his social group" (Foucault 1978 in Lukes, 2005 pp. 96-97). With this view Foucault's radicalism is lessened. Indeed the individual in modernity is created and self-created by normalizing practices that are inscribed upon him, and there is no overall doing away with power and domination, but the agent has also a two way power. People sometimes accept disciplinary practices and sometimes reject and resist them (Lukes, 2005, pp. 95-99; Taylor & Robinson, 2009).

In this respect, Levitt (2008) argues that "[Foucault] may have been suggesting a review of the process of power and how it is used and perpetuated: 'Society should recognize that power is always accompanied by resistance; therefore, resistance is

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[11] It is important to note that in Foucault's three-dimensional view, agency is not necessarily interpreted as resistance and struggle.

everywhere' " (p. 97). Resistance now becomes important and, though one cannot escape power and domination, people can still seek truth, resist normalizing practices and pursue alternatives. [12]

> Despite the difficult political pressures faced in literacy today, educators can remain true to their vision by utilizing Foucaultian power in positive discussion and resistance. To be critical is to create freedom, to unlock the power in regimes of truth, and to convey a response to those regimes. Teachers need to review and question old tenets and policies and propose novel strategies both individually and collectively (Levitt, 2008, pp. 58-59).

In the educational scholarship of power, it seems that the two and three-dimensional views of power are intertwined, thus portraying how disenfranchised students use their agency to protest and resist educational arrangements, voicing their alienation to the system to different degrees, while at the same time being unaware of the real causes for their anger and rage, or partially aware while still expressing self blame and shame (Fine, 1991; Fine et al., 2004a; 2004b). While it is clear from those who employ the two and three-dimensional views of power in education, that relationships of domination are caused by the inaccessibility of power to all the students, it is not always clear to what extent discriminated students are conscious or aware of their real interests (if such even exist) and if and how they choose to express their claims. It is possible, though, that methodologically those two approaches cannot be clearly separated, since

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[12] Pursuing alternatives in this framework does not require resistance and struggle as in other three-dimensional interpretations. Resistance according to this view is psychological rejection of beliefs, intellectual pursuit of alternatives, persuasion, education and more.

each examines different aspects of institutional phenomena - conscious views and thoughts, as opposed to resistance and unease - and the two contribute to a complex view of real and false interests of dominated students in light of researchers' theoretical and ideological views of reality in schools. As Weis and Fine (2004) argue, it is the researcher's responsibility to not only explore the reality of power and identify fractures within it, but to also imagine possibilities within those fractures and suggest alternatives for action and agency for the future[13].

These various understandings of power are intimately related to the ways democracy, decision making, behavior and communal life, particularly within schools, are understood[14]. Students' interests, and the ways they are formed, met, influenced, coerced and dominated, obey authority, resist and comply, depend on the way power is employed and analyzed. Each of these approaches has contributed to and influenced pedagogical grounded, albeit contradictory, of power in education. In the following section I turn to examine prevailing, and often sociologically underpinned, educational scholarships' analysis of such power-related terms.

Power, Social Stratification and Access to Knowledge in Education

If power is related to agents' ability to pursue their interests in various social spheres, how can students' interests during their schooling be conceptualized? What are the interests that students hope to achieve through education, and how should education

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[13] I shall examine this possibility further when I explore the participants' views' of implications on the one, two and three-dimensional views on power.

[14] While there are other theoretical views of power, Lukes' framework is the most extensive one, and these views are the ones that were applied in educational scholarship, due to their sociological focus on distribution of power. For these reasons, I will not review other theories of power in this chapter.

balance power-related inequalities? A simple answer would be, as I discussed in the previous chapter, that education is the appropriate social arena to increase young agents' power. [15] By acquiring education, children are prepared to participate in various social spheres and equipped with skills and knowledge that should inform the choices they make in pursuing their interests, talents and the leading of good lives (Dewey, 1916, Freire, 1970; Gutmann, 1999/1987). Education, at least ideally, is supposed to increase students' freedoms by cultivating their abilities to make autonomous choices and become active agents when they mature. How then are students' interests cultivated in education? Have modern democratic societies been able to create egalitarian educational systems through which all students' interests, talents, freedoms and choices can be realized? Contributors to educational discourse have examined students' participation, behavior and academic performance in relation to their positions in social strata in order to answer these questions.

Plato, one of the most significant philosophers in western tradition who was interested in the relationships between talent, education and social justice, outlined the discourse boundaries. Paradoxically, in his *Republic* (Cornford, 1941), Plato can be read as an advocate of both ends of several continuums which address access to knowledge (Gee, 1996). Throughout most parts of the treatise, Plato describes an elitist approach that favors differential education according to students' innate talents and abilities. However, in some other parts, Plato's philosophy can be understood as a call for an

[15] The idea of empowerment relies on the view that power is a resource, which can be given to students. Furthermore, in many interpretations this idea is underpinned by notions of equal distribution, as i showed in table 2/1, and as I will further discuss.

egalitarian education, or for considering the inequitable bias caused by particular pedagogies, cultures and environmental conditions on students' ability to realize their potential. Although Plato stressed the former approach, his discussion can be used as building blocks in exploring current thinkers' contributions to the discussion of educational systems' influences on students' interests and power in schooling.

Plato used a powerful metaphor to describe how innate talents differ among children and adults. Like natural resources, people are divided in their dispositions between Bronze, Silver and Gold capabilities. However, these differential qualities do not correlate with social class representations. Social stratification does not determine the natural talents of newborns. Like many other educators concerned with cultivating students' intellectual gifts (Gardner, 1999; Passow & Rudnitski, 1994; Renzulli & Purcell, 1996; Tannenbaum, 1983), Plato argued that the possession of intellectual talent is a potential that has to be realized and assessed in older age. He acknowledged that different constituents influence children's achievements in education including mental development, exposure to education and social circumstances. Only after these influences have taken their course can the state identify its true gifted members. Thus, Plato advocated access to education for all children. Talented students, as long as they succeed, should be exposed to more challenging education, and students who have some talents or no talents should not be allowed further access. In this view, students can become complete through education only to the extent of the natural potential with which they were born, and if society appreciates these talents.

Implicit in this description is Plato's suspicion that social class position, culture,

emotional states, educational practices, differential values that society allocates to various natural gifts, and additional variables, may influence students' abilities to realize their potential, and disqualify genuinely gifted students. In fact it may be argued, as Anyon (1981), Gee (1996) and many others[16] have, that Plato's solution for talent cultivation will not result in the identification of natural aptitude, but of certain cultural practices conceived as natural talent. Such educational hardships, critics claim, can be tolerated only by those immersed in similar cultural practices. Therefore, Plato's recommended institutional arrangements would have probably identified the students whose cultures prepared them to excel under such conditions, and reflect unequal power relationships in society. Although Plato would have probably rejected this criticism, by pointing to possible external influences on students' opportunities to realize their potential, he initiated a controversy about how students' talents are manifested through educational outcomes that continue today.

> If a society is competitive and rewards adults unequally, some parents are bound to succeed while others fail. Successful parents will then try to pass along their advantages to their children. Unsuccessful parents will inevitably pass along some of their disadvantages. Unless a society completely eliminates ties between parents and children, inequality among parents guarantees some degree of inequality in the opportunities available to children. The only real question is how serious these inequalities must be (Jencks, et al., 1972, p.4).

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[16] Including many who have laid theoretical foundations for the Democratic education practices that I reviewed in Chapter Two.

This quote taken from a study by Jencks et al. (1972) is but one example of Western educational sociology's concerns about issues of power, schooling and academic opportunities for the children of subordinated groups. Based on quantitative analysis, Jencks et al. (1972) showed that in American society there was little correlation between school attendance and economic opportunities, and similarly little correlation between cognitive skills measured in standardized tests and economic opportunities or educational opportunities. Rather, what seemed to explain economic success was what children brought to schools with them from their social environments. Likewise, Bowles and Gintis (1977) claimed that education in the United States has "evolved not as part of a pursuit of equality, but rather to meet the needs of capitalist employers for a disciplined and skilled labor force, and to provide a mechanism for social control in the interest of political stability" (Bowles, 1977, p. 137; Bowles and Gintis,1977). In other words, social institutions, including schools, seem to have internalized a consistent bias which empowers and dis-empowers certain social groups to be socially and economically successful or unsuccessful.

Much educational scholarly work supports this view of power in education. Scholars like Anyon, Apple, Bowles and Gintis, Fine, Gee, Hayward, Walkerdine, Weis and many others have demonstrated how educational systems' biases reproduce unjust social arrangements through various unconscious mechanisms. In other words, neither teachers and dominant students, nor disempowered students are aware of the ways their interests and power are manifested through what seems to be benign pedagogical practices. Bowles and Gintis showed how standardized testing, which was designed as

an unbiased means of measuring the products of schooling (Gardner, 1999, p. 13; Tannenbaum, 1986; Terman, 1926 p. 43 in Renzulli, 2002, p.68), further legitimized stratified education by classifying students and presenting their performance as objective. Anyon (1981) argued that teachers' attitudes constitute another mechanism, known as the hidden curriculum, that perpetuates class stratification. In her study students' perceptions of their participation in creating knowledge were influenced to a considerable extent by their teachers, in a way which matched the students' future expected positions in the capitalist job market. Anyon concluded that teachers' influences on students' aspirations disguised the ideology and reality of social inequality and caused students to believe that they make free choices in their attitudes towards schooling and their vocational futures.

Gee (1996) argued that schools reward certain mainstream culturally inculcated skills instead of talent and that the differences between rewarded school practices and others are cultural and ideological. That is so because the dominant group's power is used to determine what is considered good or bad according to their ideology, and as a result, students' cultural practices in schools are evaluated differently. Walkerdine et al. (2001) showed how powerful unconscious psychological orientations constituted both middle class and working class families' attitudes towards their daughters' success in schools. Thus, middle class and working class girls' identities were influenced and formed by class practices that were related and inter-related to school practices of knowledge and power.

Many more scholars of education acknowledge that power influences schooling in various and important ways (e.g. Apple, 1993; Cummins, 2009 ;2001; Delpit, 1988;

Emihovich, 2005; Fine, 1991; Grinberg and Saavedra, 2000; Gutierrez, Rymes and

Larson, 1995; Gutierrez, Lopez and Tejeda, 1999; Hicks, 1990; Hooks, 1994; Ochoa and

Pineda, 2008; Weis & Fine, 2004; Weis McCarthy & Dimitriadis, 2006). Many times

power is interpreted within the three dimensional view as a discursive phenomenon that

is manifested beyond conscious intentions of individuals and groups (Anyon, 1981;

Bowles, 1977; Bowles and Gintis, 1977; Fine, 1997; Gee, 1996; Powell, 1997,

Walkerdine et al., 2001). Accordingly, power is located in the normalizing practices of

educational institutions and of teaching and learning. Such normalizing practices define

curricular goals and pedagogical practices as obligatory truths that all, i.e., teachers,

administrators, students, and especially minority students, have to perform and follow,

and by which they are evaluated and assessed (Anderson and Grinberg, 1998;

Walkerdine, 1992).

However, the two dimensional view infiltrates as well when an imbalanced

power reality is described as favorable to certain dominant students and with suspicions

that institutions discriminate against certain students intentionally and behaviorally. The

dominant groups, it is claimed, have the ability to influence various aspects of school

discursive practices with their interests, and exclude or distort minority groups'

resources, identities, cultures and ways of knowing from influencing the inputs and

outputs of the educational process (e.g. Cummins, 2009; 2001; Delpit, 1988; Gee, 1996;

Gilmore, 1985; Gilmore et al., 1997; Grinberg, Goldfarb and Saavedra, 2005; Grinberg

and Saavedra, 2000; Gutierrez, Rymes & Larson, 1995; Henza, Lucas & Scott, 1998;

Mckinley Jones Brayboy, 2005; Taylor, 2005). In other words, educational analysis of

power often reads as a search after who is responsible for power inequalities.

In different ways the influences of the dominant groups on mainstream education limit the power and freedom of minority groups' students to influence educational processes with their alternative and culturally embedded narratives and interests (Ochoa and Pineda, 2008; Villegas, Strom & Lucas, 2012). In addition, these influences by the dominant groups in society advocate for a society of sameness instead of a diverse democratic society[17] in which different groups are free to form alternative identities according to different cultures, values and ways of life. Intentionally and consciously or not, the overall influences of powerful social groups on the educational system dis-empower minority students, limit their freedom, silence their voices, and contribute to their academic failure (Henze, Lucas & Scott, 1998; Herr & Anderson, 2003).

Yet, while disempowered and dominated students still influence schooling with their power, as we learn from resistance theory (which also seems to use some combination of two and three dimensional views of power)[18] (Fine, 1991; Gilmore, 1985; Gutierrez, Rymes & Larson, 1995; McFarland, 2001; Reda, 2007; Sekayi, 2001; Van de Kleut & White, 2010; Willis, 1977). According to resistance theory, social dimensions of life in schools are often translated into power struggles between students and teachers,

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[17] One of the problems of unequal power distribution, as I concluded Chapter Two, is that it is not democratic, according to more radical interpretations of democracy.

[18] Although what I am about to say is a simplified analysis of power theory, and may not appropriate Foucault's later view of power, logically, resistance is not even possible according to three-dimensional analyses because there are no free consciousness and interests. Resistance theory, often reads as articulations of real as opposed to false interests. This treatment of power, by itself, is problematic according to my discussion of power above.

especially if they belong to different social classes, races, genders, and ethnic groups (Cammarota, 2004; McFarland, 2001)[19]. These struggles are manifestations of minority students' sense of betrayal, rage and alienation from the educational system, in which they lack opportunities, freedom and power to voice their interests (Cammarota, 2004; Delpit, 1988; Fine, 1991; Gilmore, 1985; Gutierrez, Rymes & Larson, 1995; Sekayi, 2001; Weis and Fine, 2004; 1993; Willis, 1977).[20]

In his landmark study of students' resistance, Paul Willis (1977) claimed that the *lads'*- a group of working class male students' – resistance was directed towards their teachers, who the *lads* believed functioned as gatekeepers and enforced social conformity and submissiveness. Unlike previous institutional or structural interpretations of power in education, Willis attributed agency to the lads, and portrayed them as active, choice making actors, who influenced classroom interactions and contributed to the construction of the social world, alas in tragic ways (Mehan, 1992, p. 8). Similar conclusions were drawn by Gutierrez, Rymes & Larson (1995). In a qualitative study they showed how the micro-politics of a multi-racial middle school classroom influenced the construction and reconstruction of power relations between the teacher and the students. The students rejected the teacher's cultural knowledge, which portrayed them as ignorant, and used their own cultural identities to interrupt the teacher's domination and to suggest an

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[19] As I claimed before, resistance theory is another example of a sociologically underpinned view of power distribution's influences on education.

[20] Resistant students employ many forms of resistance: passive aggressive behavior, verbal expressions and aggressive behavior. In fact some of these forms of students' resistance contribute to their construction as ignorant and inferior, and to the perpetuation of social inequalities between social groups as commonly acknowledged in the literature discussing students' resistance (Christian-Smith, 1993; Delpit, 1988; Gilligan, 1993; Gilmore, 1985; Giroux, 2001; Gutierrez, Rymes & Larson, 1995; Sekayi, 2001; Willis; 1977).

alternative interpretation to knowledge that was based on their culture.

These studies are supported by others that understand cultural and social differences between students and their teachers as contributors to students' resistance and to symbolic political struggles in schools (Gilmore, 1985; Reda, 2007; Sekayi, 2001). Additional studies show that teachers who use pro-social attitudes and acceptance are more likely to reduce students' resistance. In other words, students who view their teachers as supportive of their voice and social identity are less likely to resist, or are more willing to negotiate their opposition with their teachers[21] (Chang, 2003; Gutierrez, Lopez and Tejeda, 1999; Hicks, 2005; Hill, 2009; Hubbard and Datnow, 2005; Lee, Levine & Cambra, 1997; Nasir, 2004, Weis and Fine, 2004).

Yet, in spite of all these acknowledgments of students' contribution to the political construction of classroom interactions through resistance and negotiation, these studies continuously portray power within two and three-dimensional frameworks, as institutional or discursive, thus grounded in forces outside the self and in a mystified judgment and consciousness. Resistance theory does not discuss students' ability to use power as individual creative agents.[22] In all of these explorations, power, resistance, and the behaviors that emerge through them, originate in social references adversaries. Students are grouped as members of racial, class and gender social groups, and perceived

[21] Being pro-social, interpreted as appreciating diversity in social references equally, or with a pluralistic approach, is the foundation for democratic education scholars' views on how power and democracy are related and consequently, how current inequality can be challenged.
[22] I pointed to this tension also in my review of the three views of power above. While the one-dimensional view is foundationally individualistic, the other two analyze power through collective social units, and power mechanisms that are not directly affected by agents.

as one or several choice making social units. Resistance theory does not differentiate between students' choices as they are rooted in individuals' perceptions and contextual relationships. Even Willis' original approach, which attributes social agency to students, still identifies powerful agents as members of a social class and does not differentiate their individual strategies of using their own individual resistance as a power related phenomenon[23].

Nonetheless, students' resistance, agency and relevant phenomena can be also looked at contextually, and thus be conceptualized as behaviors that are embedded in relationships rather than, or in addition to, social references. Such outlooks imply the active presence, consciousness and judgment of the self. Resistance, as well as domination and relevant phenomena, even if framed institutionally, provide the available channels for manifestation of agency for students of various social groups. And agency is an individual act; a "person's ability to shape and control their own lives, freeing self from the oppression of power" (Kincheloe, 2004, p. 42). Power relationships are contextually influenced by the available spaces children find to express their voice and agency in schools. When teachers and schools are experienced as oppressive, resistance and domination may be the only available chosen expression for students' power (Fine 1997; 1991; Fine et al., 2004b; Powell, 1997; Van de Kleut & White, 2010). However, when teachers and schools allow alternative spaces for students to represent their

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[23] This is another way to claim that these theories appropriate both the two and the three-dimensional views of power, with the complexities that they inherently carry, as I discussed.

cultures, voices, and various interests, other forms of power and agency may emerge[24]

(e.g. Cummins, 2009; Fine et al., 2004a; 2004b; Grinberg, Goldfarb and Saavedra, 2005;

Gutierrez, Lopez and Tejeda, 1999; Hill, 2009; Nasir, 2004; Powell, 1997). This last

premise and parts of my argument bear a resemblance to those of various democratic

education proponents, as I turn to discuss next.[25] According to the models of democratic

education, which I defined previously, and that recognize students' role in reshaping

democracy, students' interests could be expressed, provided for and met by appropriate

pedagogical practices which acknowledge the distributive injustice of power, and

accordingly transform power relationships in education.

Democratic Pedagogy Attempts to Undermine Unbalanced Power Relations in Education

Scholars of education expressed the concern that unequal distribution of power

in society is perpetuated by prevailing educational practices. As a response they devised

alternative practices, democratic education pedagogies, as I outlined in the previous

chapter, which could distribute educational resources, including power more equally

among students. [26]However, as most of this body of research criticized the influences of

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[24] This belief is the foundation for how democratic education scholars treat power as a resource.
[25] Table 2.1 and the following definition of democratic education, demonstrate how this logic is applied by the democratic education practices that I reviewed
[26] It is important to note that the underlying treatment of power by these approaches is as a resource that can be un-problematically redistributed for more equal social results. I argue that if power distribution is the problem of democracy, it cannot be also the solution. In other words, either power is not the problem in education, or the term should be defined with the appropriate complexities, as I will show.

power within democratic societies, democratic education[27] had to re-configure democracy itself.

As I discussed previously, a democracy that could reconstruct inequitable power relations in education (and society) has been conceptualized as radical, deliberative, participatory and communicative; as a form of associated living in which reasoning and moral commitments among community members deliberating in the public sphere about the good life are strengthened (e.g. Apple and Beane, 1995; Barber, 1984; Burgh, 2010; Cevallos-Estarellas and Sigurdardottir, 2000; Dewey, 1916; Ellsworth, 1992; Gregory, 2004a; 2004b; Gutmann, 1999/1987; Kyle & Jenks, 2002; Shor, 1992). Moreover, democracy has been understood as a social practice, not a mere form of government; in short as a strong democracy not a thin one (Barber, 1984).

Advocates of democratic education have examined the instrumental constraints on students' freedom, equality, access and social opportunities, and formed alternative educational practices that purport to allow democratic participation, more power and freedom for students in their schools [28](e.g. Apple and Beane, 1995; Benites, Davidson & Flaxman, 2009; Burgh, 2010; Cook &Tashlik, 2005; Cummins, 2009; Fine, 2005; Giroux, 1992; Hill, 2009; Hooks, 1994; Kraft, 2007; Meier, 1995; Ochoa and Pineda, 2008; Shur, 1992). In their view, it is education's role to secure both the negative and positive freedoms of future citizens during their schooling years (Hicks, 1990; Kyle and

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[27] I am using the term democratic education according to the framework offered in chapter two throughout all the manuscript.
[28] I iterate my argument that if students do not have social and political power, the change in pedagogy could not get them power, unless scholars of democratic education could explain how pedagogy can be related to social and political power. Such a theory would require a more complex understanding of power.

Jenks, 2002). Democratic education, in this regard, is a liberating practice. It should

liberate students from external influences of social, economic, cultural and political

constraints and empower them to use their agency, and voice plural identities first in

educational semi-public spheres and later in the full fledged public spheres as responsible

citizens in a democracy (Apple and Beane, 1995; Benites, Davidson & Flaxman, 2009;

Burgh, 2010; Capellaro, 2005; Cummins, 2001, 2009; Dewey, 1916; Fine, 2000; Freire,

1970; Gutmann, 1999/1987; Hooks, 1994; Kraft, 2007; Meier, 2005).

Through communal dialogue (such as CI), service learning projects and other

participatory and communicative practices, students can learn and practice public

deliberation in their school communities and be prepared to deliberate and act in the

public sphere when they become adults (Burgh, 2010; Capellaro, 2005; Cummins, 2001;

Fernandez-Balboa and Marshall, 1994; Giroux, 1992, Kraft, 2007; McFeat, 2005; Meier,

2005; 1995). If unequal power is perpetuated by standard curricula, testing and

instructional methods, it can be changed and transformed by more egalitarian approaches

to teaching, in particular inquiry-based pedagogies (Apple and Beane, 1995; Benites,

Davidson & Flaxman, 2009; Christensen, 2005; Cook & Tashlik, 2005; Cummins, 2009;

2001; Dippo et al. 1991; Fine, 2005; Hicks, 1990; Hill, 2009; Hooks, 1994; Kraft, 2007;

McFeat, 2005; Meier, 2005; 1995; Ochoa and Pineda, 2008).

Teachers in particular, but also educational policy makers, in this discourse are

understood to have enormous responsibility since they can choose to act as political

agents of change or conservers of social reality (Benites, Davidson & Flaxman, 2009;

Cummins, 2009; Ginsburg and Kamat, 1995; Giroux, 2001;1992). Teachers can follow

the official curriculum and become enforcing agents of the political status quo (a

transmission or banking model which includes strengthening citizenship by *education for

democracy*), or they can become aware of their role as political agents and challenge

unequal distribution of power by employing alternative pedagogical practices that

empower students and allow egalitarian distribution of power among them (a

transformational model that is based on the principles of *democratic education*)

(Cummins, 2009, 2001; Delpit, 1988; Emihovich, 2004; Hicks, 1990; Hill, 2009; Hooks,

1994; Kraft, 2007; McFeat, 2005; Ochoa and Pineda, 2008). In any event the power that

is channeled through the interactions between teachers and students in classrooms is

understood to be crucial for a democratic social reconstruction.

Cummins (2009; 2001) for example, recommends a few pedagogical

orientations within his empowerment framework, which are founded on the analysis of

the relationships between coercive power structures in society, instructional methods in

classrooms and students' academic achievement. Understanding these relationships, in

his view, can help educators locate alternative instructional methods, which will generate

different relationships between teachers and students based on different allocation of

power, leading to better academic achievement among minority students. Teachers, in

Cummins' framework, are the crucial link in the chain of coercive power enforcement.

Transforming this link into a liberating educational experience challenges the entire

structure of power. [29] Thus, empowering or Critical Pedagogies are pedagogies that

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[29] According to this assumption, which other democratic education scholars share, social power and
classroom power are of similar, if not equal, essence. Arendt (1986) and Habermas (1986), for example,

transform power in the classroom from a coercive model to a liberating model through teachers' relationships with their students.

Cummins describes the dominant instructional model in North American schools. He claims, as Freire did (1970), that this model is founded on transmission of knowledge from teachers who already posses it to students who do not yet have these skills. The implications of this model, in terms of power, are that the teacher controls the interactions, and the instructional objectives in the classroom (Cummins, 2001, pp. 666-667) in a way that has often been described as unilateral authority by others in democratic education discourse (Ellsworth, 1992; McFeat, 2005; Shor, 1992). The teacher functions both symbolically and structurally as an agent of the social structure, since his or her power, which in opposition to the obedient role of students, directly reproduces the power structure of the dominant/dominated in society. Transforming this power structure in the classroom can only mean distributing power more equally between teachers and students, therefore, allowing students the role of autonomous participants in the process of determining classroom instruction, interactions and objectives.

> In short, pedagogical approaches that empower students encourage them to
> assume greater control over setting their own learning goals and to collaborate
> actively with one another in achieving these goals. The development of a sense
> of efficacy and inner direction in the classroom is especially important for
> students from dominated groups, whose experience so often orients them in the

argue that such treatment of power is under-simplistic.

opposite direction (Cummins, 2001, p. 667).

If this first principle recommends that teachers lean toward distributing power in the classroom through participatory and dialogical practices, the second principle, in Cummins' work, and others, deals with the resources, knowledge in particular, but also identity negotiation that are allocated in classroom between participants – students and teachers. Knowledge is the resource around which dialogue and participation in classrooms and school communities are centered, and through which identities are developed, negotiated and constructed. While schools are influenced by unequal distributions of other resources, knowledge is the one resource that cannot be fully controlled by forces outside of the teacher-student relationship, hence its importance for the empowerment of students. By acknowledging the intellectual resources and ways of knowing that children bring to school, and using these resources to evaluate and expand the official curriculum during classroom interactions, teachers can help students affirm their cultural identities, challenge the power structure that is founded on one dominant perception of knowledge, and help students develop confidence in their knowledge, identity and agency (Capellaro, 2005; Christensen, 2005; Cummins, 2009; 2001; Fine, 2005; Kraft, 2007; McFeat, 2005).[30]

> Curriculum and instruction focused on empowerment, understood as a
>
> collaborative creation of power, starts by acknowledging the cultural, linguistic,
>
> imaginative, and intellectual resources that children bring to school. These

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[30]This use of the term power can be easily related to Foucault's concept power/knowledge, in which individuals' entire existence is subjected to discourses of power (Anderson and Grinberg, 1998; Foucault, 1980).

> resources reflect the funds of knowledge abundantly present in children's communities … Educators can explore with individual children and parents how these resources might be developed and expanded in classroom interactions (Cummins, 2001, p. 653).

Democratic educators, however varied, share the assumption that students' mutual responsibility for educational objectives is crucial in the process of becoming autonomous and active participants in a democracy. Sharing power and reconstructing the culture of power with teachers in classrooms is an important aspect of students' empowerment in democratic education (Apple, 1993; Burgh, 2010; Delpit, 1988; Dippo et al. 1991; Ellsworth, 1999; Giroux, 1992; Hill, 2009; McFeat, 2005). [31]

Contradictions and Difficulties in the Discourse of Democratic Pedagogy

Despite the similarities in our philosophical arguments, democratic pedagogies have not resolved my concerns about conceptualizing power as I identified earlier. These pedagogies present some practical as well as theoretical difficulties, predominantly in relation to power distribution among students in classroom communities and in understanding resistance. Empowering practices designed to distribute power more equally do not always equally empower students to express their agency and social identities in their democratic classrooms, and do not always lessen the conflicts that cause students' resistance and alienation (Delpit, 1988; Dippo et al., 1991; Ellsworth,

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[31] This chapter was dedicated, until this point, to exploring scholarly work on power, education and democratic education, from the writers' points of view, as much as such goal can be attained due to epistemological limitations. My comments were added as footnotes, to avoid confusion. The following section is where I present my argument.

1999;1992; Gore, 1992; Lather, 1992; Lewis, 1992; Ochoa and Pineda, 2008; Orner, 1992; Powell, 1997; Reda, 2007; Walkerdine, 1992). Furthermore, they may not be wholly democratic and may contribute to indoctrination (Freedman, 2007).

Ellsworth, (1999), for example, discusses how her attempt to give her students more power, meaning sharing with them the responsibility of shaping their undergraduate college class including deadlines, assessment, curriculum, attendance and other aspects of pedagogy and curriculum, was met with anxiety (and resistance), not ownership. She concluded that students needed help in assuming responsibilities for both deep and surface structures of learning, since they were not used to thinking and acting as "drivers" instead of "passengers". Turning classrooms into democratic ones is thus a process in which students gradually learn to feel competent in their abilities to share power with their friends and teachers. This process does not simply evolve in consequence of the employment of democratic pedagogies, and cannot be taken for granted.

In her frequently cited article entitled *Why doesn't this feel empowering?* Ellsworth (1992) questioned such taken for granted assumptions about students' empowerment in more depth. She argued that an analysis of her interactions with students in a graduate course she taught, questioned the feasibility that various practices influenced by Critical Pedagogy, such as students' voice, dialogue and empowerment, could contribute to equalizing power among the participants because: not all social identities were expressed and voiced by Ellsworth's students, equality in expression was not reached, and resistance persistently developed until new forms of expression emerged, which was part of an incessant process. As a result Ellsworth concluded that in

fact democratic practices perpetuated the very conditions of power she was seeking to challenge. This claim was reiterated by other contributors to this discourse (Dippo et al., 1991; Gore, 1992; Lather, 1992; Lewis, 1992; Ochoa and Pineda, 2008; Orner, 1992; Walkerdine, 1992).

Another critique is that of Delpit (1988), who claimed that the egalitarian discourse of progressive educators, which is believed to be less authoritarian and more process oriented, is but another side of unequal power relations and still reflects *the culture of power* of the dominant groups in society. Delpit suggests that students of minority groups should be given clues and assistance in understanding progressive aspects of the culture of power as well, before their autonomy, democratic participation, and self-direction can be cultivated. In her analysis, progressive and democratic pedagogies are discourses, which by themselves circulate power. Similarly, Powell (1997) describes how the final grading pattern of students' papers in a graduate class offered to explore leadership and authority in urban schools reflected a split, a 'pigmentocracy', despite using innovative teaching methods and despite evidence that all students responded and understood the materials and experiences offered. White and light skinned students achieved good grades and students of color did not. Powell concluded, after discussing the pattern with her students, that an unconscious relationship among the students' group as a whole caused a split among the students between emotional response to racial inequalities and a cognitive racial free response. The students of color, unconsciously, held emotional responses such as rage, failure anxiety and writing blocks for the whole group, thus, allowing the white students to hold their status of privilege and

write free of emotional distress. Resistance and power in Powell's analysis functioned in unconscious ways that connected the participants to each other and were influenced by the class's particular context and the larger social context.

The problem of equalizing power among students in a Philosophy for Children CI is also apparent in Sharp's (1993) description of a well functioning as opposed to blocked inquiry (pp. 338-340). In a well functioning CI participants move away from considering themselves and their accomplishments as all important. They become conscious of other members' contributions and allow themselves to *transform*, eventually becoming part of an interdependent whole (pp.338-339). But this process requires participants to take the risk of communicating with others while fully presenting their opinions beliefs and selves, and at times this is a real risk. Students could allow themselves to transform and risk becoming vulnerable only if the trust and care of the community are in place. The absence of care and trust often result in a blocked inquiry in which some members are overpowered by fear and other emotions. These emotions impede students from sharing their views and ideas with the community. In Sharp's view this is a sign that something is very wrong (Sharp, 1993, pp. 339-340). Like the other scholars, she also suggests that power is not a resource that can be casually redistributed, and that understanding power requires explaining its relationship to properties such as emotional states.

On top of these difficulties in equalizing power between students, one has to wonder if attempts to lessen the scope of power and authority in the classroom are even possible in light of the three dimensional and Foucault's views of power (Taylor &

Robinson, 2009). "The implications of Foucault's view are that educational practices that may appear more democratic, participatory, or progressive may in fact be more effective forms of disciplinary power" (Anderson and Grinberg, 1998, p. 340). As sincere as reformers' intentions are, they cannot escape the influence of their situated knowledge and experts' position on students' power and on their position of power. They may offer alternative discourses, but these will remain and further circulate discursive practices which some agents may choose to adopt and others resist.

These difficulties within democratic education practices suggest that the problems that I identified in my review were not resolved by sharing or equalizing power in the classroom, and actually may have intensified. Even in various democratic practices of education students are not always willing to share power equally, with either teachers or peers, and continuously exhibit domination, coercion and resistance by monopolizing the inquiry in the CI, by refraining from the attitude of fallibility, by reproducing privilege and failure and by responding emotionally to teachers' attempts at sharing authority.[32] Democratic pedagogies by themselves were insufficient in explaining how these phenomena could be lessened or eliminated, and concepts such as clues, process, care and trust were mentioned and considered to support gaps between theory and practice in sharing power with students.

While I do not question the importance of participation, or any manifestation of sharing power equally, it seems to me that more theoretical attention should be given to

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[32] The various manifestations of power relationships like domination and resistance are not always clearly separated in their actual appearance during learning processes.

two difficulties in democratic education pedagogy before classroom communities could be considered genuinely democratic, egalitarian, participatory and authentic. First, these practices do not pay attention to individual and contextual manifestations of students' domination and resistance either theoretically or practically. As with resistance theory and other sociologically underpinned theory, students' behaviors are continuously interpreted as representations of interests that are grounded in forces outside the self, in mystified judgment and consciousness and influenced by social representations of class, race, gender and the like. In these discourses, it is the educators' responsibility to liberate students to become autonomous agents of change, but should students give into such practices? Do students have informed and chosen reasons to question, resist and even reject such practices, as the literature above suggests?

The second and related difficulty is that democratic pedagogy assigns pre-set, essentialist, truth value to certain power related behaviors, such as voice, dialogue, self transformation, equal participation and others, which participants are expected to accept regardless of their expressed preferences and contrary to democratic education's goal to share important aspects of power with students. These two problems present democratic education practices with the risk of becoming another discursive practice, which defines students' interests externally, and ignores students' own voices, resistance and agency as false conceptions of their own interests.[33] These problems contradict the constructivist

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[33] The two difficulties I just outlined have been discussed mainly by feminist constructivist scholars of education. In this feminist discourse the concept of power is generally understood within the "three-dimensional view", mainly by applying Foucault's framework in which power relationships are constructed through regimes of truth and knowledge, and by viewing critical pedagogy itself as a regime of truth (Gore,

vision, acknowledges students' contribution for shaping democracy.

One possible explanation for the behaviors that I reviewed earlier and that I wish to consider is that they are examples of students' emotional responses (a form of resistance) to being required to change patterns of sharing power, even if those changes are defined as crucial for their individual and collective benefits. To begin with, letting go of one's opinions and dispositions and subjecting them to procedural practices, defined as critical, democratic and liberating, isn't easy and cannot be taken for granted (Ellsworth, 1992; Gore, 1992; Lewis, 1992; Orner, 1992; Taylor & Robinson, 2009). Furthermore, if we[34] wish to liberate students to express diverse personal narratives and ways of being in the world, should students alter their power related behaviors and consent to one certain and top-down imposed understanding of sharing power in communal life? If we are sincere about providing spaces for youth, shouldn't we listen to their own understandings and interpretations of power and its meaning in the classroom? Could students contribute new ideas to understanding power in education and democratic education?   I argue that these questions could be answered in the affirmative and should be examined. In my view, what is missing in democratic education's notions of empowerment and liberation is particularly students' thinking and perceptions of power. More so, scholarship of power in education is missing an exploration of diverse and

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1992, Orner, 1992; Taylor & Robinson, 2009; Walkerdine, 1992). Within this feminist discourse, despite the desire to challenge theoretical attitudes towards students' voice and agency, students' power is still interpreted as constructed and influenced by social forces outside the students' individual selves.

[34] I define myself as a member of the democratic discourse in education, which I review here, and also hope to expand. Thus, when I use collective pronouns such as we or us, I refer to this larger community of scholars and educators, who, like myself, aspire to understand phenomena of power in education and address in pedagogical practices.

varied meanings of power among individual students who use and manifest their agency resistance and power.

Open Questions in Understanding Power in Education

How should power, students' domination and resistance be conceptualized in education and democratic education? Are they unconscious manifestations of false interests as the *three-dimensional view* of power understands? Are they implicit, and restricted, expressions of students' interests, cultures and agency? Can we attribute reason, agency and social insight to youth as they manifest their interests, as the *two-dimensional view* of power argues? Can these manifestations challenge imbalances of power in the classroom? Answers to these questions and others should be sought with youth, whose interest we wish to fulfill through education and democratic education.

Students' resistance, domination, and related phenomena could be contextual forms of using power that are defined and influenced by relationships of power in classrooms and schools. Students' use of their power may be formed by specific and interpersonal circumstances and by individual personalities, not only by essential representations of social groups and institutional mechanisms. Students resist Mrs. Smith's teaching practices more than Mrs. Jones'; they dominate Chris's expression of voice and follow Tyler's clues to disrupt the class; they become quiet when Tanya speaks and are enraged when Sam asks a question.

Despite the evidence reviewed here about the possible relational nature of political life in schools, there has been little exploration of how students perceive and describe their agency, and what forms, strategies and meanings individual students

employ when exploring or using their power. Similarly, there has been little discussion

of how students explain and give meaning to their choices to voice their interests, resist,

dominate and exhibit other power related behaviors, nor to their understandings of the

specific classroom context which influence their choices. Students are treated as

potentially powerful agents, but not as active, knowledgeable, choice making agents by

themselves. Despite the aspiration to empower students, their individual behavior is

understood as part of a social system and they are described as entities that can be filled

with power (be empowered) by adults or academic experts (Cummins, 2001; Delpit,

1988; Dippo et al. 1991; Ellsworth, 1999;1992; Gore, 1992; Hooks, 1994; Orner, 1992;

Taylor & Robinson, 2009). However, creativity and originality is what is sought for a

change of power inequality; the unusual and extraordinary, not the norm. Youth's

originality, vibrant and unpredictable, could renew democracy rather than pre-conceived

notions of adults and experts that are based on old tenets we well know and recognize

(Arendt 1998; Greene, 1995; Gordon, 2001; Levinson, 2001; Schutz, 2001;

Vansieleghem, 2005).

      In this chapter I provided a theoretical review of power and its theoretical

treatment by education and democratic education scholars. Through this presentation I

presented my own theoretic concerns and my personal positionality, particularly how

students' own voices are misrepresented in the exploration of power in education, and

how preconceived notions of related theory may challenge the idea of liberation and

social justice for youth. In the following chapter I present my research question and the

research methods that I designed. These methods due to their epistemological and

ontological [35]philosophies can help explore my questions on students' engagement with

power.

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[35] These terms will be defined in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODS

Research Questions

The purpose of this study was to explore what meanings students attribute to power and to the ways in which they exercise their influence as they expressed in their own voices in a middle school in Northern New Jersey that is described by the school and district as influenced by principles of a democratic reform in its pedagogy, known as the Small Schools reform, as I described in Chapter Two (Anemone, 2008, pp. 58-59; Fine, 2000; http://www.northerncity.k12.nj.us/Article.aspx?Id=85; http://www. northerncity. k12.nj.us/WebPage.aspx?Id=122; http://northerncitypta.org/dynamic /htmlos.cgi /01127.1. 1015759735460834603/pta/pages/articles.htm)[1]. Four sub questions helped focus this exploration:

1. How do students explain power?

2. How do students explain why they choose to enact power?

3. How do students explain the school's environment, as a context to make sense of students' power?

4. Do social references of race, gender, social class, ethnicity, and possibly others influence the meanings that students attribute to power?

In this chapter I describe the methods that I used in implementing this study.

Design of the Study

Qualitative Design: Interpretive and Constructivist Lenses

This study utilized an interpretive and constructivist approach to qualitative

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[1] To protect the confidentiality of the participants, I used a pseudonym in all these links.

research (Erickson, 1986; Merriam, 2009; Porter, 2007). Qualitative research here is

defined in two ways; one relates simply to method – qualitative research uses verbal and

textual data; the other appeals to the grounding of qualitative research in particular

ontological, epistemological [2]and methodological assumptions, which are often described

interchangeably as interpretive and constructivist (Merriam, 2009; Porter, 2007, p. 80).

Ontologically, interpretive and constructivist research extends ideas, beliefs and thoughts

to the entities that are considered real and that can be explored. Unlike approaches to

research that examine reality as objective, constructivist/interpretive approaches

understand the real to be relativist and context constructed (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, pp.

108-110; Spector- Mercel, 2010). Furthermore, interpretivist and constructionist genres

are concerned "with subjective meanings - how individuals or members of society

apprehend, understand and make sense of social events and settings (the idea of

interpretation) and how this sensemaking produces features of the very settings to which

sensemaking is responsive"(Gephardt,

http://sociologyindex.com/interpretive_theory.htm)

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[2] Ontology is a branch in philosophy, which asks questions about the form and nature of reality and what can be known about it (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, pp. 108-110; Gephardt, http://sociologyindex.com/interpretive_theory.htm; Spector- Mercel, 2010). Denzin and Lincoln (2005) offer a generic definition of ontology as "a situated activity that locates the observer in the world" (p. 3). Epistemology is the branch of philosophy concerned with the nature and scope of knowledge. It addresses questions such as: what is knowledge? How is knowledge acquired? How do we know what we know? What is the relationship between the inquirer and what is explored? (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, pp. 108-111; Spector- Mercel, 2010, pp.212).

Epistemology in interpretive and constructivist approaches is closely related to ontology, since knowledge is also perceived as culturally constructed, subjective, and interpretive and is thus created as the investigation proceeds (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, pp. 108-111; Spector- Mercel, 2010, pp.212). From an epistemological standpoint interpretive/ constructivist qualitative inquiry developed out of concerns for issues of voice and power in human research, out of interest in the lives of marginalized people who had little or no voice, and whose meaning-making of their social world was not represented in traditional and positivist approaches to knowledge (Bogdan & Biklin, 2003; Erickson, 1986; Lemesianou and Grinberg, 2006). The notion of value-free research has been challenged, and it is believed that attempts to attain such a stance have resulted in the loss of certain kinds of knowledge about human experience, such as meaning making (Garza, 2007; Laverty, 2003; Levering, 2006).

Interpretive and constructivist researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them, with an emphasis on the subjective component inherent in the study of social reality (Spector-Mercel, 2010; see also Bogdan & Biklin, 2003; Ericson 1986; Garza, 2007; Laverty, 2003; Merriam, 2009). Their focus is on the particular, as they seek to expand the understanding of everyday phenomena through the medium of subjective meaning-making to the wider social world. According to Bogdan & Biklin, (2003) such approach to research shares five features which vary in degree among studies. Interpretive and constructivist research is *naturalistic*; it is conducted in a particular setting with the researcher being the key instrument. It is *descriptive* in both

data collected and the understanding that through thick description a more comprehensive understanding of what is being studied unfolds (Geertz; 1973). It is *concerned with process* rather than outcomes or products. It is *inductive* and concerned with *meaning* (3-7).

By using this interpretive/constructivist approach in this study I tried to unfold the meanings of power and influence that middle school students constructed within a learning environment influenced by democratic education principles in a middle sized city in Northern New Jersey. In concentrating on meaning-making and on the interpretations of the participants (emic), and through the employment of appropriate methods and ethics, I tried to represent a less powerful group, middle school students in one school, in the creation of knowledge (Fawcett& Hearn, 2004; Laverty, 2003; Merriam, 2009). I made experts of the students in this study (Barritt et al., 1985, p.32), meaning that I concentrated on the students' meanings of power and influence in their everyday world in school by asking them to examine their taken-for-granted experiences about the explored phenomenon (Laverty 2003; Patton, 2002).

To identify participants prior to exploring the students' meanings of the phenomenon of power, I used classroom observations adapting note-taking techniques from ethnographic work (Bogdan & Biklin, 2003, pp. 27-29; Geertz, 1973; Patton, 1990, pp. 67-68). This means that I engaged in thick and detailed descriptions in my observations, but these were mainly used for the selection of participants in the study and preparation for interviews, and were not analyzed thoroughly as data, since they could

not capture the students' meanings[3]. Through interviews I obtained rich descriptions of participants' perspectives and interpretations of what they considered to be students' influence and power and how they engaged with power and made meanings of their power-related behaviors. Further details about how I observed and how often, as well as details about participants' selection and interview process, will be described in other sections of this chapter.

Site and sample selection

    Site selection. The site was chosen through a purposeful sample [4] (Creswell, 2005; Maxwell, 1996; Merriam, 2009). Through an acquaintance, I had access to one teaching unit (called a *house*) in a middle school in a medium-sized city in Northern New Jersey that operates through a "house" system (a structure inspired by the Small Schools movement as I elaborated in Chapter Two). Three main characteristics contributed to my choosing the Brown house (pseudonym). First, the leadership and staff in the Brown house were committed to the house system inspired by the Small Schools reform in education (Anemone, 2008, pp. 58-59; Fine, 2000, p. 169). This is one model of democratic education, as I defined in Chapter Two (Lee, Ready, & Welner, 2002; Oxley, 1989, 1994; Strike, 2008; Wasley et al., 2000). Such schools, ideally, and as they are perceived and portrayed by their proponents, are more likely to present a hospitable environment in which students are purposefully engaged in reconstructing and shaping power while their behaviors are not reduced to opposition or resistance (Benitez,

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[3] Data from observations were also used for triangulation, but were not analyzed systematically.
[4] Purposeful sampling is a non-random method of sampling where the researcher selects cases from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research (Maxwell, 1996).

Davidson & Flaxman, 2009; Christensen, 2005; Fine, 2005; McFeat, 2005). Put another

way, I assumed that more than other schools, the Brown house would present an

alternative approach to traditional models of power arrangements in education where

students tend to be less encouraged to experience empowerment. Second, the student

body in the house was socially and racially diverse as a result of the district policy, which

allowed me to address related questions about social references (Board of Education

Report of District enrollment; Clewell & Joy, 1990; http://northerncitypta.org). Third, the

groups of students in different classes in the house I studied varied from class to class;

thus it enabled me to study different interpersonal combinations of students, which in turn

allowed the identification of students who persistently influenced classroom interactions

and agenda regardless of who the other students in their classes were and who the

teachers were.

Spring Valley (pseudonym) is a middle school in a medium-sized city, Northern

City, in New Jersey [5] that operates through a house system and reflects many of the Small

Schools movement's commitments to democratic education (Anand et al., 2002;

[5] Northern city is a primarily residential community of over 35,000 people. The town is comprised of single-family homes and multi-unit dwellings, both of which comprise the Spring Valley School's surroundings. Northern City's district provides school choice through a pioneer magnet system, which includes 7 elementary, 3 middle schools and 1 high school; 2 private schools are also operating in the town. The town's educational system provides flexibility and maintains racial balance. As of the 2009-10 school year, the district's 11 schools had an enrollment of 6,766 students and 573 classroom teachers (http://nces.ed.gov/ccd/districtsearch/district_detail.asp?Search=2&details=1&ID2=3410560&DistrictID= 3410560). The racial makeup of Northern City in 2010 was approximately 60% White, 27% African American, 4% Asian, 3% other races, and 4.5% from two or more races (http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=bkmk, Profile of General Population and Housing Characteristics: 2010 United States Census Bureau). The Census Bureau's 2006-2010 American Community Survey showed that in 2010 the median household income in Northern City was $95,696 and the median family income was $126,983. The per capita income for the township was $53,572. About 4.6% of families and 2.7% of the population were below the poverty line, including 7.0% of those under age 18 and 4.6% of those age 65 or over (http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=bkmk).

Anemone, 2008, pp. 58-59; Fine, 2000; http://www.northerncity.

k12.nj.us/article.aspx?Id=85)[6]. This house system is part of a magnet system in grades K-

12 that was established after a long struggle for desegregation and integration during

earlier decades, and has existed for over thirty years (Anand et. al, 2002; Clewell & Joy,

1990; http://northerncitypta.org).

Spring Valley's house system served a desegregated and racially diverse student

body and most classes were de-tracked, as the students were not grouped according to

test scores, achievement or grades. Four teachers and one inclusion specialist teacher

remained with the same group of students for three years. Each one of them taught five

classes to five groups of students in one of four basic subjects each day according to their

specialty - language arts, math, social studies, and science - for a total of twenty-five

periods per week for each teacher. The teachers shared class preparation periods and they

used these periods to work together and discuss students' progress and needs. Students

took additional elective courses outside the house.

In comparison to the SWS model that I reviewed in Chapter Two, the following

principles of Small Schools were implemented in the Brown house:

- A team of teachers collaborated with the Brown house leader and

  paraprofessionals to meet the needs of a diverse student body (Nitara, first

  interview, 3.13.07, p. 4[7]).

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[6] The small schools movement was discussed in chapter two on democratic education above.

[7] "When we go to lunch they have groups so like they talk about like well is N. doing good in this class and they'll be like, 'oh yeah N. is doing good, or N. is doing bad in this class or whatever' and they talk to you, pull you to the side and say N. is there anything wrong you need extra help or anything like that and stuff" (Nitara, first interview, 3.13.07, p.4).

- The house leader, Mr. Brown, organized the activity of the house and had decision making autonomy on matters as discipline, instruction, guidance and even the allocation of portions of the school's budget.

- Common planning periods were used to address house concerns.

- Extracurricular activities in the house were planned by the house teachers and the students chose school-wide electives in the second half of the school day to open opportunities for choice and participation.

- The Brown house was committed to heterogeneous grouping and to low-achieving students' diverse academic needs and equity. Special education programs were reduced, not eliminated, and a special inclusion teacher coordinated special needs students main-streaming in regular classes (Irene, third interview, 5.15.07, pp.16-17[8]).

- Physical resources maximized the community feel and easy access among house participants.

- The students and staff shared a sense of community, tightly knit social bonds, higher attendance and academic achievement (Henry, second interview, 4.20.07, p.3[9]; Lee, Ready, & Welner, 2002; Lysandra, second interview, 4.30.07, p.13[10];

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[8]"They want to help us. They'll be coming early in the morning for like; Mr. D will like come in before tests. He will come in for like two weeks early in the morning to give people extra help. He will say if you don't get it please come in for extra help, I want to help you. He wants everybody to do well. …and he wants them really to reach their full potential and that would, that's what makes a good teacher" (Irene, third interview, 5.15.07, pp.16-17).

[9]"…They are like a second family. It's just, they are, they, they are there for you like good friends should be and parents should be" (Henry, second interview, 4.20.07, p.3).

[10]"We've been with these four teachers for like three years now, and we kind of like, it's almost like our family. So we know like our teachers. And we know if we say something wrong in one of the classes that

Oxley, 1989, 1994).

The students in the Brown House were in the eighth grade when this study was conducted. The ninety-two students in the Brown House (like those across the district) were heterogeneous in gender, race, and social class, according to the City's Board of Education Report of District enrollment (2003). In the classes that I observed, the student population was composed of approximately 35 percent African Americans, 4 percent Hispanic, 3 percent Asian and 55 percent Caucasian, of whom about 40 percent were Jewish; a few students were bi-racial.

Eighty-seven students in the house shared the basic subject classes and were engaged with the same four house teachers. The twenty classes that were taught each day were composed of varied interpersonal combinations of students. A group of five special education students studied with an additional teacher in separate classes. These students did not participate in the study. Other special education students participated in some classes with the house's student body, according to ability assessments. A specialist inclusion teacher worked in the house and coordinated the main-streaming and progress of students with learning disabilities with the teachers.

Sample selection. The participants for this study were also chosen through a purposeful sample (Bogdan &Biklin, 2003; Creswell, 2005; Maxwell, 1996; Merriam, 2009). Because my interest in students' meanings calls for an in-depth inquiry of

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like this is the wrong thing to say. So like we kind of got used to our teachers now. That's why it's good to have the teachers for the three years. You sort of get like use to them and they get used to you"(Lysandra, second interview, 4.30.07, p.13).

information rich cases (Patton, 1990, p.184), and since my ability to provide such in depth attention diminishes with the addition of each individual (Creswell, 2005, p. 207) and because of time constrains, I planned to select nine to ten participants for this study. During nearly three months of observations, and based on my impressions from them, I organized and refined my criteria for participants' selection as following:

- First, students whose influence and power were noticeable and consistent in different classrooms; who influenced an array of activities, discussions and dialogues with teachers and with other students consistently and over time.

- Second, maximum variation of influence and power related behaviors among participants, including extreme cases of behavior, to represent the widest possible range of characteristics which could illuminate and capture the phenomenon of power from the students' perspectives.

- Third, diversity in terms of race, and gender among the participants to address related questions about social references (Creswell, 2005; Maxwell, 1996; Merriam, 2009).

From the end of September until mid-December 2006 I spent two to four days a week in the Brown House observing three to five classes each day. I observed classes with different interpersonal combinations of students according to the house grouping policy. During these months I identified nineteen students who demonstrated consistent and varied ability to influence others' actions and ideas, and were potential participants in the interviews. In selecting participants out of the initial 19 students, I was interested in a group that would be representative of the student body of the house in terms of race, and

gender, and who also varied in influencing others or exercising power.

When I administered the consent and assent forms in February 2007 (Appendix A) I first approached twelve candidates whose behaviors seemed most varied in terms of power and influence, and who were representative of the larger group also in terms of race and gender: two Caucasian females, three African American females, one biracial female, one Caucasian male, two African American males, one Hispanic male, and two biracial males. I assumed that not all twelve would agree to participate in this study and hoped to establish a sample of nine to ten participants as initially planned. The Caucasian and African American young women all agreed to participate in the study. However, the male candidates were less responsive. The Caucasian boy agreed to participate and so did the two biracial young men. The African American males agreed at first, but one of them withdrew when I met him to sign the forms and after his guardian refused his participation as well. The other signed the forms and interviewed but towards the end of the interview cycle declared his unwillingness to participate further. The Hispanic student also refused to participate. As shown in Table 4.1, the sample included nine participants (including the African American male who later dropped out of the study), five young women, and four young men (Irene, Karyn, Lysandra, Delicia, Nitara, Max, Aiden, Henry and Justin; all the names are pseudonyms).

Table 4.1: Participants' racial and gender characteristics

		Ethnic-Racial		
Gender	Caucasian	African-American	Hispanic	Bi-racial
Approached				
Female	2	3	-	1
Male	1	2	1	2
Agreed				
Female	2	3 + 1[11]	-	-
Male	1	-	-	2

During May 2007, I added another student to the sample. This African American female student approached me one afternoon when I came to meet one of her friends and asked me why she was not being interviewed as well. I found her request suggestive of someone who exerts agency and whose style and meaning was not yet represented in the sample that I selected. I made this decision mainly because students who exerted power consistently could have done it in hidden ways that escaped my attention during observations. Including Hilary (pseudonym) in the sample could also help the credibility of the results as a negative case if her meaning of power differed considerably from those of the other participants (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. Patton, 1990, p.463). I asked Hilary and her guardian to sign the forms and interviewed her as well. In Appendix D I provide examples of participants' influence and power behaviors and demonstrate my reasoning in selecting interviewees.

Although this final sample of nine participants does not represent all the social references in the Brown house, I found it adequate and sufficient. First, this sample of

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[11] This addition to the sample will be explained next.

students who were interested and willing to participate in the interviews is diverse in

terms of the criteria I set, and a numerical balance is not required in qualitative research.

Second, based on this sample I could collect abundant data to shed light on the

phenomenon of power and answer the research questions (Bogdan & Biklin, 2003;

Merriam, 2009, p.80).

Table 4.2: Participants' Pseudonyms, Gender, and Racial Social Identities[12]

Name	Gender	Race
Irene	female	Caucasian
Karyn	female	Caucasian
Lysandra	female	African American
Delicia	female	African American
Nitara	female	African American
Max	male	Caucasian
Aiden	male	Bi-racial
Henry	male	Bi-racial
Hilary[13]	female	African American

Data Collection and Instruments

Stage One of Data Collection

Preparation: The framework used for observations. Since power is a

complex theoretical concept and the way it is employed in educational theory and

research presents many challenges, I paid careful attention in preparing for observation of

its actuality in fieldwork by deciding what phenomena I should focus on and by including

sensitizing concepts in a framework for observation (Patton, 2002, Ch. 6). Lukes' (2005)

three views of power were helpful in this process because they suggest different

dimensions of power that can be observed. I considered all three dimensions and built

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[12] Table 4.2 does not include the African American male who dropped out of the study.
[13] Hilary joined the study later as I explain below.

them into the framework that I created. I used this framework when I observed classes to identify and consider different power-related situations and student actions.

Following Lukes (2005), I identified influencing students' behaviors as possibly being manifestations of the *one-dimensional view* of power during classroom observations when I saw overt behavioral moves of influence as consistent with this view. These behaviors included speaking, shouting, moving around, participating in class, persuading, advising, laughing, expressing opinions, and related behavioral moves. Also, according to the way that the one-dimensional view interprets power, I focused on decision-making in the classrooms, which I refer to as influencing the agenda of the class and subgroups within it. I applied[14] the one-dimensional view of power in identifying students' power related behaviors if the students' preferences were revealed through speech and overt behavior, or conflicts and arguments (and also agreements) between students and teachers and among students over conflicting interests related to content learned, school and classroom policy, and social preferences.

In considering the *two-dimensional view* of power (Lukes, 2005) being the possible explanation of students' behaviors during observations, I paid attention to behaviors such as whispering; talking to friends during classroom discussions; note passing; use of hostile body language; refusal to work or cooperate; conversations and opinions expressed privately, which did not influence the agenda of the class or compete with other articulations of interests, which Lukes calls *non-decision making* (Lukes,

[14]In applying concepts during observation I do not mean that I used theoretical concepts in a decisive way to make final judgments about students' meaning of power and influence in the class. It is important to emphasize that this identification, or application, of concepts was temporary and a part of the evolving design of the study.

2005, pp. 22-23); and conflicts and grievances between students and teachers and among students on subjective interests that were not articulated publicly during discussion time over school policy, content learned, and social preferences.

In identifying students' behaviors as possibly being manifestations of the *three-dimensional view* of power (Lukes, 2005, p. 28), I searched for behavioral moves that seemed to follow unseen discourse guidelines such as: attempts to adjust to externally imposed and unclear behavioral codes, sometimes even communicating hopeless attempts to fit in. Such behaviors were also observed in interactions with authority figures. When students obeyed teachers and peers, they sometimes expressed self blame and self criticism in ways that seemed contradictory to their overall behavior, which I thought is another possible expression of false interests. To put it another way, these behaviors were observed as ones which did not seem as the intended and purposeful results of particular individuals' choices; they seemed to be behaviors of students who seemed to want to become what others, whether peers or adults, chose for them (Lukes, 2005, p. 25).

Resistance in this view of power was expressed as acting against what was considered normal behavior in the house, as a way to announce, "I don't participate in this game, or accept its rules." Unlike resistance in the two-dimensional view of power, which was observed as grievances toward particular activities in particular conflicts in the house, resistance in the three-dimensional view of power was observed as constant, as an intended choice "to not become what I refuse to be." Manifestations of all views of power are shown in Table 4.4.

Table 4.3 A Comparison between Lukes' three dimensional views on power and

my framework for observation

	Lukes (2005, p. 29) definition of each dimensional view of power	Operational definition of observed behavior in fieldwork
One-dimensional view of power	Focus on (a) behavior (b) decision-making (c) (key) issues (d) observable (overt) conflict (e) (subjective) interests, seen as policy preferences revealed by political participation	Focus on: (a) overt behavioral moves of influence such as speaking, shouting, participating, persuasions, expressing opinion, and related behavioral moves (b) decision making in classrooms observed as influencing the agenda of the class through speech and behavioral moves (c) key issues that were discussed in the field. Not pre conceived in accordance with the interpretive approach and design (d) conflicts and arguments (and also agreements) between students and teachers and students to students over the agenda (e) interests related to content learned, school and classroom policy and social preferences revealed by participation and overt behavioral moves
Two-dimensional view of power	(Qualified) critique of behavioral focus Focus on (a) decision-making and non-decision-making (b) issues and potential issues (c) observable (overt or covert) conflict (d) (subjective) interests, seen as policy preferences or grievances	Overt and covert behavioral moves such as whispering, talking to friends during classroom discussions, use of hostile body language and more, e.g,: (a) conversations and opinions expressed privately which did not influence the agenda of the class nor competed with other articulations of interests (b) issues discussed publicly and privately as hidden alternative scripts (Scott, 1990) (c) conflicts and grievances between students and teachers and among students (d) subjective interests that were not articulated publicly during discussion time over school policy content learned and social preferences, and grievances.
Three-dimensional view of power	Critique of behavioral focus Focus on (a) decision-making and control over political agenda (not necessarily through decisions) (b) issues and potential issues (c) observable (overt or covert) and latent conflict (d) subjective and real interests	Controlled, in-spontaneous and unauthentic behavior of students and resistance: (a) mechanisms or patterns of decision making, participation, control and normal behavior (b) issues and potential issues. Not pre-conceived (c) latent and persistent, sometimes both, conflicts between students and teachers and among students (d) subjective interests which seemed related to students' identity, real and false interests, and world views.

Table 4.4: My Interpretations of three views of power as seen during

observations of teachers and students in the Brown house

One-dimensional view	Two-dimensional view	Three-dimensional view
"M: Mr. D., since you're so happy can we not do anything? Mr. D: You're the reason I'm so happy."(First period science, 10.3.06, p.1).	"(Students are back in seats starting to work) M: Let's eat (students use expressions of disgust) Mr. D.: It's chicken. You eat it. I love how you people get disgusted with things they eat. Karyn: I don't eat it Mr. D.: Karyn our little vegetarian is the only one allowed. (students have a difficult time cutting) It'd dead you can't hurt it. Cut it zoop, zoop, zoop. Put under the skin and cut. … F: Poor chicken G: It's dead"(First period Science, 10.6.06, p.3). (Students' oppositions are not articulated as grievances, except Karyn's)	"N read his paper, dramatic, makes faces to the class, funny intonation, reads slowly. Students laugh Mrs. X.: (walks around) You're not reading much. You're reading like you're reading your first book. N: continues. (students in class laugh) Mrs. X. smiles too" (First period language arts, 10.16.06, p.7-8). … "N: Mrs. X.: just forwarded everything you said (amused, laughs at the situation) nobody in the class responds to his comment"(First period language arts, 10.18.06, p. 9). (attempts to use winning discourse fail)
"L: Why should we get homework when we need to be outside? Mr. D.: I'll make a deal. It is due Thursday (delayed) but everyone get it in, but if one person doesn't extra homework" (Second period science, 10.3.06, p.2).	"Guest speaker is talking to the students. Max calls Henry tell him something. Henry leans back to the chair and talks to him. They both use minimal body language and even minimal mouth movement (from far away it is hard to see the conversation)"(First period language arts, 10.18.06, p.7).	"Students: What's chronology? Aiden: By date V: She did it by year Mr. Brown: each panel represents a year of war S: That makes more sense D: To you it is" (First class social studies, 11.6.06, p.5). (rival perceptions of sense among students)
"T sings: under the sea Irene: Woo, I love that song Max: It is one of the best ones in the world Irene: yes T: Sings again. Max and Irene keep singing O: joins the singing Irene: You are singing it wrong Max: It is a different movie T: That's funny W: (tries to get involved) Are you kidding me?" (First period language arts, 10.23.06, pp. 5-6).	"Mrs. X.: Irene that isn't what I was going to say (strict with her, turns to M) get out M: I wasn't talking Mrs. X.: When I turned you were talking. You have two choices stay and work or leave. I already told you to stop. I am not dealing with you today. M stops talking" (First period language arts, 10.23.06, p. 4). (resistance is expressed as grievances and stopped)	"E: I always remember to put the zero Mr. A.: It's not about you E: You said you to me Mr. A.: in English you and you is the same. Even if I look at you I mean all E: But you can't blame me for thinking you talk to me? LG: Can we please concentrate on the math?"(First period Math, 10.27.06, p.6).

"Irene: My mom said she read it (The Lottery) in middle school and that you can't go through three schools without reading it. W: Why won't we start a new trend by not reading it? Mrs. X.: Why won't we start a new trend and be positive? Irene what did you write? Irene: (describes her answer) I don't want to hear it… they did it because they always did, it's barbaric" (First period language arts, 12.2.06, p.2). (can be read as competitive views according to one-dimensional view, or as one dominant discourse with manifestations of resistance, in my view)	"(students just received report cards) Mrs. X.: Watch your mouth Lysandra: What did he say? Mrs. X.: The F word LT: I was expressing myself Mrs. X.: You'll express yourself in the office … Mrs. X.: LT you talk, what makes you think I don't see. Move to the back LT: What? Mrs. X.: You're a pain in the bat, cute but a pain LT moves" (sixth period language arts, 11.16.06, pp. 2,5). (resistance is expressed as grievances and stopped)	"Mr. Brown: Skating not on day of hunger walk P: Why? Mr. Brown: Stop P: I asked a question Mr. Brown: You whined not asked a question P: I was asking at the same time" (second class social studies, 11.2.06, p.2). (Mr. Brown defines the correct way of asking a question without whining)
		"MC stares at the posters on the wall doesn't say a thing, doesn't participate in debate" First class social studies, 11.2.06, p.7). … "Mrs. X.: MC get up. (around 8:50) (MC 's head was on the table the whole time, sleeping) … MC burst and answers, head on table Mrs. X.: Yes but you have to raise your hand … Mrs. X.: MC sit up… MC you get up do jumping jacks MC smiles sits up, doesn't move (around 8:57) … Mrs. X.: MC sit up … Mrs. X.: MC sit up (around 9:10) MC head back to table after two or three minutes … 9:18 Mrs. X.: Who will you pick to lead on an island … R: Anyone but MC, he'll fall asleep, we'll all die …

		Few weeks later (around 8:40) Mrs. X.: MC stand up. You'll stand up the whole period if you can't keep your eyes open" … (around 9:08) MC sleeps on table despite Mrs. X.'s comments" (Second period language arts, 11.14.06 & 12.5.06). (MC doesn't participate in the house's discourse)

During my observations I did not use this framework as an instrument, but only wrote copious notes and thick descriptions with an added interest in power guided by the conceptual framework provided by Luke's dimensions as described above. This methodology was used to minimize potential bias during observations; I described what I saw and heard as accurately as possible when I collected data; I used power related concepts from the framework only in the margins of the notes, mostly as memos after leaving the school (Groenewald, 2004, p.7). The framework provided a conceptual tool to focus my observations of students' power before I explored power with them during interviews. With the help of this framework I thought about what I observed in the classrooms, searched for repetitions, consistencies and fluctuations in students' behaviors, and also for behaviors that could not have been explained by any of the concepts. With the help of this framework I identified students who influenced the class and later selected interviewees from these potential participants, and developed questions for the interview guides.

It is also important to note that moves of power according to those three views of power are not mutually exclusive. Therefore, students' observed behaviors that seemed

to relate to concepts such as agency, choice, control, resistance and identity could be explained by more than one of these views of power. In thinking with all three possible views of power during observations, I did not identify with either, but used the concept to speculate about what power could mean as a preparation to exploring it with the students during interviews. The following are the questions that guided the observations:

- Do students influence others? And if so how?

- Do students exercise agency? And if so how?

- Which students succeed and fail to influence others? And how?

- How do multiple agendas shift and by whom are these shifts influenced?

- Are the students' influence and agency influenced by different teachers? And how?

- Are the students' influence and agency shaped by their peer group? And how?

- Are there differences in students' agency among peers and among adults?

- Which students manifest influence and agency consistently and which occasionally?

    Classroom observations – September-December 2006. At the beginning of the 2006 school year I administered Parental Consent forms and Oral Assent forms (Appendix A) to all the students in the house. The house's teachers assisted with the collection of the signed forms. Once the consent forms were received from the students and their parents, towards the end of September 2006, I began class observations. Before I started each class observation I was careful to include only the students who agreed to be observed. I ignored the behaviors and words of students who refused to participate.

Since each class contained students who refused to be video/or audio taped I decided to refrain completely from using these technologies during observations.

From the end of September until mid December 2006 I spent two to four days a week in the house observing three to five classes each day. I observed classes for three days during September, after September 25th, 13 days during October, seven days in November and four days during December. Since it was extremely demanding to write notes and observe for five full hours a day, I left one or two classes each day when I felt I wasn't concentrating enough. The observed classes included different interpersonal combinations of students according to the houses' grouping policy. I observed one teacher's classes for three full days until I completed observations in all four teachers' classrooms. Then I followed the same order in observing the four teachers' classes for two full days for nearly two more months. In December, to not reach the point of redundancy (Bogdan & Biklin, 1992, p. 68; Groenewald, 2004, p.11; Merriam, 2009, p. 219), I decided to stop since the notes did not reveal new power-related behaviors.

During class observations I wrote, as much as I could under my own limitations, what students and teachers said, and the ways the students behaved. I paid careful attention to the interactions between the students and the teachers, and the students and their peers, and indicated my own perceptions of what could be considered different manifestations of students' influence and individual power in the classrooms based on the framework described above. As the weeks passed and more and more classes were observed, I also registered which students in each class seemed to influence the agenda and other students in the classes. I paid particular attention to those students who seemed

to influence classrooms consistently, and followed their actions and words carefully. In addition, while keeping an open mind for new manifestations of influential behavior and power, I continued to search for unusual behaviors of students who manifested power-related behaviors that were extreme or not consistent and could enrich the data.

I also paid attention to my own feelings and general state and to the conditions in the classrooms in order to examine these possible influences on the students' behavior when I analyzed the notes for participant selection and triangulation (Patton, 2002, pp. 302-305). I reflected on my thoughts, my emotional state and other conditions that may have affected the data in the margins of my notes. During the observations I informally engaged in a few conversations with students about their behavior. These conversations helped me establish an understanding of what took place from the students' perspectives and check my own insights vis-à-vis students' descriptions and explanations. These informal conversations were transcribed on paper and filed with the notes from observations.

This method of data collection is called *monological data collection* by critical ethnographers (Carspecken and Apple, 1992). This emphasizes the passive role of the researcher as an observer trying to understand the context in which people interact (Patton, 2002). In investigating power I could not have chosen the role of an active participant observer since such engagement would have complicated my positionality and could have influenced the participants' trust and openness. However, despite my passive role during this first stage of data collection and since in qualitative research data analysis begins during data collection (Merriam, 2009), I started to unpack the ways power was

manifested in different interpersonal contexts, social groups, teachers' rooms, lunch periods and more. This means that as I paid careful attention and established a sufficient record of the students' behavior, I analyzed the data from class observations to contemplate power and influence and to develop new questions that I later explored with the students in interviews. Data from class observations were used in developing the emerging design of this study and for triangulation. I did not further analyze these data.

Stage Two of Data Collection

Interview guides. Three interview guides were designed to answer the research questions. I developed the first interview guide (open-ended, flexibly structured) prior to the beginning of the interviews, while I was immersed in classroom observations and based on my impressions from those data. I designed this interview guide to put the students' experience and meaning in context (Seidman, 2006, p.17); to capture the students' general perceptions about schooling, power and the school culture before they were asked to reflect consciously and directly on power. In this interview, the students were asked to describe the Brown house and their perception of the learning environment in the house. They were also asked about their perceptions of students' influence, their behavior and, to some extent, why they chose to enact their influence and power. Through this guide I started to unpack the students' perceptions of their power, of the pedagogies that were employed in the Brown house and relationships between those perceptions. The questions in this guide did not refer to particular pedagogies so that the students could reflect on the house learning environment in their own words. I paid attention to the participants' descriptions of the extent that the Brown house manifested

pedagogies that were reviewed as democratic in Chapter Two, and if their meanings of power related to these descriptions. A copy of the first interview protocol appears in Appendix B.

Immediately after I interviewed the first four students, I transcribed the tapes and analyzed the transcripts carefully to develop the guides for the other two cycles of interviews (Carspecken and Apple, 1992; Patton, 2002, pp. 340-348). I could not have waited until I completed the first interviews with all the participants because the school year was forthcoming and with it the dissolution of the Brown house unit. I searched for themes that were related to power and influence and were mentioned repeatedly across the four interviews, and based on these themes designed two more interview guides.

The second set of interview questions was designed around concepts that are related to power, which the first four participants addressed in their first interviews and which were relevant to the literature I previously reviewed. The second interview guide included questions about issues such as voice, diversity, choice, students' interests, and how they were realized in the house's learning environment. It provided data on students' experiences and meanings of power, their social references, their own power and why they chose to enact it (Seidman, 2006, p.18). In this interview as well, issues of power were not directly presented as such and therefore the students reflected on these issues without being consciously aware of the issue that was explored, unless they connected the issues themselves. A copy of the second interview protocol appears in Appendix B.

I finalized the third interview guide after listening to recordings from the previous interviews to address themes that were mentioned repeatedly and were relevant

to students' power. It was designed to allow the participants a deeper and more direct

reflection on the meaning of their power (Seidman, 2006, p.18). This last interview was

designed to closely explore the ways the participants explained and made meaning of

their engagement with power, and how they understood the meanings that other students

may have attributed to their patterns of engagement with power as well. Some probing

questions also addressed the students' social identities and how they were related to their

engagement with power. I began the third cycle of interviews after all the participants

completed the first and the second interviews. In this way, the participants heard the

concept *power* directly only after they were interviewed twice. Since I believe power has

stronger connotations than related terms such as influence, making a difference, choice

and control, I tried to lessen the influence of my assumptions about power in education

on the students' perceptions and to strengthen the credibility of the study (Guba &

Lincoln, 1989; Miles and Huberman, 1994, p. 278). A copy of the third interview

protocol also appears in Appendix B.

Interviews – February-May 2007. I interviewed eight participants

individually three times. Most interviews lasted between one and one-and-a-half hours.

Three of these interviews were stopped and continued at a re-scheduled date to avoid

exhausting the participants. The interviews were audio taped, so that I could clearly

capture what the students said. Hilary, the ninth participant, was interviewed only once.

Her interview lasted longer and covered the second and third interview guides

consecutively. Since Hilary joined the study late we were not able to schedule more times

for interviews. I conducted the interviews after school hours so that participation would

not influence the students' academic performance, and for confidentiality purposes. The students were interviewed at their homes and at the university, depending on their preferences. Two participants were interviewed in the school for the second and third interviews, based on their preferences. After the interviews were completed all the participants received a small present to thank them for participation. I used the same interview protocol questions for all the interviews. However, the probing questions changed according to the flow and the content of each interview. Also new additional probes were used when I felt they were required based on the students' answers and perceptions.

Data Management and Analysis

Immediately after I finished classroom observations each day, I read the notes and made sure I understood their content. I reviewed my initial impressions of possible manifestations of students' influence and power against the conceptual framework and marked the students who I thought demonstrated influential behavior so that I could follow the consistency of their behavior in the following classroom observations. I added the dates and page numbers and after the first phase of the study was completed, I made three copies of the notes and locked the original copy and two additional copies in a document box. I used the third copy of the notes to identify interviewees and quotes for the second phase of the study. I did not type notes from observations into a word processing software since I had little time and I couldn't have typed approximately 1000 pages of data. Also, since these data were used for identification and triangulation but were not systematically analyzed, as they focused on my perspectives more than the

students' meanings, this decision was even more justified in my opinion.

When I began the interviews with the participants I used two electronic recorders simultaneously, and saved the tapes on my computer immediately after each interview ended. I made multiple (three and more) digital copies of each interview. I transcribed the first four electronic tapes during March 2007. However, since I had to leave the U.S. shortly after I finished the data collection, I could not complete the transcription process for over two years. In transcribing the notes I used a speech recognition device (Naturally Speaking). Some students' voices were also recorded into the software to speed the process, but their voices were not always identified by the software. The transcripts (over 450 single spaced pages) and the electronic audios were saved on my own personal computer. The copies were stored in a locked box with the rest of the data.

I used the constant comparison method for data analysis - meaning that I was moving back and forth between bits of data and abstract concepts that I generated until I inductively derived the categories that comprise this study's findings (Merriam, 2009, p. 175). I started first level coding using a single hard copy of the interviews. I read and reread through the notes, wrote comments in the margins and underlined data segments that corresponded with my coding, theories of power and my research questions. To further facilitate the constant comparison process I placed the first level codes and corresponding quotes from the data in three separate X-MIND electronic sheets; one

electronic sheet for all data from each interview cycle.[15] Using X-MIND I established

possible connections between categories and subcategories and moved sections around to

try different schemes, much as how Merriam (2009) describes the process of visualizing

categories by placing data in buckets and baskets (p.182).

Following Seidman's (2006) advice, I continued the analysis with paper copies

since "there is a significant difference between what one sees in a text presented on paper

and the same text on screen" (pp.125-126). I printed the three electronic sheets and using

inductive thinking, cutting and pasting bits of data, further clustered codes and tested

schemes. During this process I constantly compared between the participants' views,

named themes, examined connections between them and how they answered the research

questions. I reduced the categories several times until those left were specific, mutually

exclusive, conceptually congruent and answered my research question (Merriam, 2009,

pp.185-186). Whilst this sequence thematically describes students' meanings of power,

each participant's meaning is different. As consistent with the design of this study I do

not report these as separate narratives. These findings will be elaborated in the following

chapters.

Trustworthiness of the Study

According to the interpretive/constructivist perspective that I used in this study,

the human world is subjective and cannot be studied in isolation from the interpretations

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[15] X-MIND is a free brainstorming and mind mapping software. Its structure allows the user to map a thinking process, create categories, subcategories, compare notes, move categories around, establish connections between categories, consolidate and separate categories and add personal comments. X-MIND does not compare data independently. The user can place information into the software to see emerging structures in analysis.

and worldviews of the people involved in social interactions (Bogdan & Biklin, 2003; Ericson 1986; Garza, 2007; Laverty, 2003; Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2002. pp. 96-97). Any assessment of my rigor in conducting this inquiry inherently depends on this epistemology. Thus, I used the four criteria for assessment of the trustworthiness of interpretive/constructivist inquiry proposed by Guba and Lincoln (1989): credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (pp. 236-243).

Credibility

Guba and Lincoln (1989) define credibility as "establishing a match between the constructed realities of respondents (or stakeholders) and those realities as represented by the evaluator and attributed to various stakeholders" (p.237). Nutt Williams & Morrow (2009) refer to credibility as creating a balance between participant meaning and researcher interpretation (p.579). In establishing credibility, I had to show that I was able to accurately understand the students' meanings of power and influence, and mostly, that I did not privilege my own perspectives over the participants' perspectives about students' influence on the classrooms. I used six strategies to enhance credibility: prolonged engagement and persistent observation, triangulation, researcher subjectivity, and to a lesser extent negative case analysis and peer debriefing.

Prolonged engagement and persistent observation. I was immersed in the site to observe the students for nearly three months. During this time I persistently observed classes while circulating between the house's teachers' classes repetitively. Guba & Lincoln (1989) explain that this strategy allows the investigator to "identify those characteristics and elements in the situation that are most relevant to the ... issues being

pursued and [to focus] on them in detail" (p. 237). By engaging in persistent observation I was able to explore different manifestations of students' influence in depth, and identify those students who were able to influence classes consistently in the Brown house. In addition, prolonged engagement allowed me to overcome effects of misinformation and presented 'fronts', and to establish rapport and trust with students and teachers (Guba & Lincoln, 1989, p. 237). I stopped my observations when I felt that data and findings reached the point of saturation, meaning that I saw, heard and read the same things over and over in the classroom and while reviewing the notes (Guba and Lincoln, 1989, p. 237; Merriam, 2009; p. 219).

Triangulation. One more important way to enhance credibility is triangulation (Merriam, 2009, pp. 215-216). By using multiple data collection methods, sources, perspectives and theories a researcher can test the consistencies of interpretations, and overcome skepticism about the credibility of the findings (Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2002, p. 556). If the findings generated from different data collection methods are consistent, it is more likely to assume that the emerging constructs and themes represent the perceptions of the participants and that they were not imposed on them. In this study I triangulated data collection methods to enhance the consistency of the findings (Merriam, 2009, pp. 215-216; Patton, 2002, p. 555). I generated insights and compared data from classroom observations and personal interviews. Thus, for example, despite minor variations, I was able to establish a match in comparing the students whom I thought most influenced the classrooms to the students whom the participants perceived as influencing students (appendix E). Furthermore, my perceptions about students'

influences on classrooms matched the students' descriptions of their behaviors and other students' behaviors in the interviews. I also triangulated sources, and checked the consistencies of the students' perspectives over time, and finally triangulated theoretical perspectives about power as I described above (Merriam, 2009; Patton, 1990).

Researcher's reflexivity. I used researcher's reflexivity (Merriam, 2009, p.219) to enhance my credibility by making my biases explicit and reporting personal and professional information that may have affected data collection, analysis and interpretation (Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2002). I used this process mainly during the observations by making personal comments in the margins of my notes. During interviews, I used the interview protocols (Appendix B) as guides with open-ended questions and concentrated on the students' answers. When I thought I heard the participants report their perceptions on students' influence, I was careful to use the students' own words to elaborate what they said, or ask for clarifications. Thus, during the interviews, I used probing questions based on the students' words when I encountered what I thought was an important insight, to make sure I captured the students' ideas and not my own. However, on some occasions, the students did not understand power-related language and I did not understand their ideas. In trying to clarify these misunderstandings, I may have influenced their opinions despite being aware of my subjective beliefs, and despite my careful choice of words.

Finally, I analyzed only data collected in interviews and did not read my own notes on students' influence and power from the observations until I concluded the analysis. In this way, themes and categories were generated directly and based on the

participants' own words, which I did not edit in any way to avoid interpretation as much as I could. It is important to note that a few years passed between data collection and my final data analysis. During these years in which I moved back to Israel my recollection of the transcripts and notes faded and with them some effects of my subjectivity. I believe that this process helped me to minimize personal bias while analyzing data.

Negative case analysis and peer debriefing. According to Patton (1990), a researcher needs to consider instances and cases that do not fit the patterns that have been identified as exceptions that prove the role, change or cast doubt on the role (p. 463). The process of data analysis in which I moved back and forth between the themes and categories to the data and consistently tried to find new explanations is by itself a manifestation of negative case analysis. However, beyond this process I also added Hilary to the sample as I described above, because I thought that her behavior might demonstrate power related behavior that I did not consider, which could also cast new understandings on the findings.

Peer debriefing, "the process of engaging, with a disinterested peer, in extended and extensive discussion of one's findings, conclusions, tentative analysis..."(Guba &Lincoln, 1989, p.237) is done to test out findings with less invested third parties and to make tacit propositions that the evaluator might possess explicit. I did not use this strategy consistently. Yet, since I was removed from academic circles in Israel, I made efforts to find support. I hired a private instructor while I was doing the first stages of analysis, consulted with a friend who has an academic research background, and consulted with my committee chair about themes and categories that I generated in the

last stages of the analysis process. Because of the long time span and my distance from

the site and the participants I was not able to take my findings back to them for member

checks.

Transferability

Qualitative research is context-specific by virtue of the ontological belief that

humans construct their social reality, which is the philosophical assumption underlying

this approach. Accordingly, researchers cannot generalize from one purposeful sample to

a population since each case has its own social context. Nevertheless, interested

reviewers can check the degree of similarity between the sending and receiving contexts

(Guba and Lincoln, 1989, p 241; Merriam, 2009, pp. 223-228). To address transferability

I carefully described the house system that was the context for the study and the

population of the students. I have described the data collection and analysis process in

detail, including the time I spent in the site for each of the data collection methods, the

interview guides, how I selected the participants, and how I analyzed the data. I have

described the criteria I used to decide how many participants should be included, and

how they represented the population of students in the house. I also paid attention to the

learning environment and the culture of the house and to the relationship between the

teachers and the students to provide a thick contextual description. Finally, I reference

and use quotes from the data as much as I felt was needed.

Dependability

Dependability is the construct proposed by Guba and Lincoln (1989) that refers

to the extent to which the research process was traced by the researchers and is traceable

by readers of the report. By establishing a record of the research process, "outside viewers of the report can explore the process, judge the decisions that were made, and understand the salient factors in the context that led the evaluator to the decisions and interpretations he [sic] made" (Guba and Lincoln, 1989, p. 242). To establish dependability I have reported the process and the changes made in the study's design in various sections of this report. I have reported each decision I made while conducting the study including getting access to the research site, developing instruments, collecting data, and analyzing the data.

Confirmability

Confirmability is concerned with outside viewers' ability to confirm the appropriateness of the research conclusions by tracking them to their sources. The researcher has to attest to the way in which the data were converted into conclusions (Guba and Lincoln, 1989). In this study I have described the procedures I took to record and store the raw data, and also the interpretation process in detail. I have supplied as many quotes from the data as I believe are needed to support my interpretations, and have pointed to consistencies and inconsistencies between and among the participants' views. A confirmability audit could easily verify my analysis process and connect my findings to the data.

<center>**Ethical Considerations**</center>

Researchers have to consider the ethical implications that their research may have for the lives of the human participants in the study. Ethical considerations are even more crucial when vulnerable populations like young children are involved. This study

received the approval from the University Institutional Review Board, which examined the ethical considerations I took in the research process that I designed. Other issues that were addressed are prevention of harm for the participants, confidentiality, and my relationship with the participants.

The study was designed to avoid any influence on the students' academic performance, since it had no connection to their curriculum and I had no formal authority over them. I distributed Parental Consent forms and Oral Assent forms (Appendix A), in which I outlined the purposes, process, confidentiality, risks and benefits of participation in the study. The students were not coerced to participate in the study and only those who signed both consent and assent forms for observations and interviews participated. Students were allowed to withdraw from the study at any time. I asked students to confirm that they agreed to participate in the interview before the interview started and repeatedly checked their willingness to participate during the personal interview. Participants in this study were not familiar with me prior to this process, and I did not have any authority over them during this study. Therefore, my ability to influence their decisions was minimal and the study did not pose any risk related to their school performance or health in any way. For the interviews I did not choose any student with whom I had a personal relationship.

The teachers' identities and participation also had to be protected during the study. The teachers were asked to sign one Consent Form for the first and second stages of data collection (Appendix A) to ensure that they were not coerced to participate in the study. All direct aspects of teachers' performance, which I encountered during classroom

observations or through the students' perceptions, remained confidential. I have described the general learning culture in this report only if it was absolutely necessary for a description of a theme, or to establish transferability. In both cases I have used pseudonyms and have been careful to avoid criticism of anyone I observed. Participants' identities also remain confidential. I have used pseudonyms, or letter identifications, on all transcribed notes and in the final report. In addition, data were secured during and after the study was conducted and kept locked in a document file in my apartment.

Limitations of the study

My choice of method, time constraints and my limited experience as a researcher were limitations I was well aware of even before I started conducting the study. I had to complete the study before the school year ended and the house dissolved. Thus, I had to work under a very tight schedule to conclude all the stages of the data collection. Additional limitations were imposed on the data collection phases due to the emerging character of my design, particularly in reference to participant selection. Choosing a sample of all types of influential behaviors and all social references in the house could not be completely reached since some students declined to participate.

This study was my first experience in carrying out a large scale research project. As a novice researcher I obviously made mistakes despite my serious efforts to think through each and every decision. One significant problem that affected the entire process of data analysis was my relocation to Israel soon after I finished data collection in May 2007. The combination of changing physical accommodation, distance from academic circles and support, personal stress and economic readjustments made dedicating time

and energy to analysis extremely demanding. It took me a long time to transcribe data and start analysis, and the process was interrupted by such life misfortunes more than once. Yet, this delay in analysis has helped the findings gain credibility to an extent because my personal perspectives and biases faded, even if they did not disappear. While reading the notes during analysis I could rely more on the words that I read than on my memory and own perceptions. Furthermore, since I did not revisit data from observations until the analysis process was complete and because I did not remember the observations as vividly after several years trustworthiness strengthened in my opinion. Nevertheless, I learned to pay more attention to my time resources while conducting research, and to accept that my control over life's course is limited.

Reflections on the Influence of
the Researcher's Background, Perspectives, and Preconceptions.

According to Bogdan &Biklin (2003), "qualitative researchers are concerned with the effect that their own subjectivity [which I also referred as positionality along this chapter] may have on the data and papers they produce" (p. 33). To address such possible effects I identify relevant aspects of my own social positionality and background. My academic background in political science influenced my perceptions about power in positive as well as negative ways. On the one hand, I had a rich theoretical background about definitions, theories and applied research on power—knowledge that I used to speculate about the ways in which power and influence may have been used by students while I was contemplating this project, during classroom observations and during interviews. On the other hand, this background may have narrowed my lenses as a

researcher to see things that were not framed by existing conceptions of power. It is my

belief that this is a constant hindrance for every expert trying to conduct qualitative

theory-laden research (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Such attempts are always subjective

since my presence and interpretations of the students' perceptions inevitably distort, to

some extent, their subjective world, since I too have some theoretical and subjective

influences that inform my analysis and interpretation of the data (Bogdan and Biklin,

1992, pp. 34-35; Groenewald, 2004; Merriam, 2009, pp. 213-220).

Furthermore, my subjectivity relates to issues of power and representation of

social interests, thus complicating the actual phenomena I tried to explore. To

accommodate these issues, I was required to be extremely sensitive to my data collection

and analysis procedures and to include methods of data collection that foster the

participants' ability to speak in their own voice, such as posing open-ended questions and

listening carefully to participants' words (Carspecken and Apple, 1992; Merriam, 2009).

Throughout this report, I acknowledged how my theoretical beliefs influenced

my perceptions, my design and choice of research methods. My foreign culture, gender

and secular Jewish ethnicity placed additional impositions on my presence, analysis and

interactions while conducting this study, probably even without me being able to notice

such biases. My partial proficiency in English did limit my ability to relate equally to all

students. I realized that the African American students that I interviewed used a

vernacular dialect, which I could not easily understand. I paid more careful attention

during the process of transcribing the audiotapes of these students, and tried to follow

their dialect's grammatical structure as much as I could so that their perceptions would

not be changed by my translation. Furthermore, I had no previous experience with middle school children in the United States, only some informal education experience with young adults as a camp director in Israel. As a result of these limitations, as cautious as I was to employ rigorous procedures in conducting this study, my personal biases and my little experience inevitably influenced it.

CHAPTER FIVE: STUDENTS' MEANING OF POWER IN THE BROWN

HOUSE

Power in the Brown House – Youth Perspectives on Everyday Power in the

Classroom

In explaining power in the Brown house four major themes emerged:

1. Teachers' power is the ideal, 2. Teachers' legitimate power is conditional,

3. Students have varied interests in schooling, and 4. Students' power is enacted based on

necessity and in relation to the students' interests[1] and the teachers' discourses. Each of

these themes will be demonstrated below with references to students' quotes. Everyday

power, as it is explained by students in this chapter, carries important implications for the

theory of power in education, as I will discuss in Chapters Six.

Teachers' Power is the Ideal

The students in the Brown house addressed not only how power operates but

also how it ideally should operate. They noticed the differences between who ideally

holds power and who holds power in practice; how it should be distributed and how it is

actually distributed between students and teachers in the house. In describing teachers'

power, six of the participants often used words such as *should*, *intended* and *supposed to*,

as the quotes below show. This use of normative and prescriptive language dominated the

students' initial thinking about power; there is a right and a wrong way, an ideal; teachers'

power is built upon some moral and political foundations of justice.

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[1] Based on my discussion of power in Chapter Three, *interests* in this dissertation are defined as students'
will, wishes, desires and preferences. Interests constitute the students' overall subjective well being as they
perceive it in education, and are revealed as expressed preferences, behaviors and actions of individual
students (Lukes, 1986;2005; Ron, 2008).

As an ideal, as a reference point, the students recommended giving power to adults. Seven out of the nine participants, all except Aiden and Hilary[2], described with slightly different emphasis how they accept or prefer teachers to have more power in the class, out of reason, respect, belief and trust in the teachers' sovereign[3] leadership. As an ideal the students believed that handing power to teachers is and should be a positive act which they would benefit from as Irene's words demonstrate:

> I don't think like … not having power is a bad thing. I think the teacher should be able to be in control of the class because obviously the teacher knows the most about whatever we're supposed to be learning about (Irene, Second Interview, 05.01.2007, p.3).

Although the word control was used the students did not interpret teachers' ideal power as control over students' thinking and decisions. As Henry explained, "…you never want the …teacher to have complete control over you (Henry, Second Interview, 04.20.2007, p.12). Rather, teachers' power, ideally, was described as a form of a professional responsibility, a state of 'being in control' of which one can also step out. Teachers' power has logically arisen out of and was justified by its institutional and organizational[4] function. It was a form of rational and directorial management.

> Henry: When I think of control I mean like to run … not um keep control of …
>
> I wouldn't think of that as controlling the class (Henry, Second interview,

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[2] The differences between Aiden and Hilary will be demonstrated throughout this chapter and will be summarized in theme four about students' use of their power.

[3] I will discuss the idea of sovereignty in greater detail in theme number four, which concentrates on how students use their power upon necessity and in relation to their interests and the teacher' discourses.

[4] I use institutional and organizational interchangeably because the school is an organization, but also an institution, and the latter term is meaningful to power theory.

04.20.2007, p.14).

Irene: Obviously we should listen to them because that's how the schools are

run (Irene, Second interview, 05.01.2007, p. 9).

While Irene and Henry used the metaphor of running the class, and described

the organizational logic of teachers' rule as that of the professional executive, others

reiterated this idea in other similar images. Irene and Lysandra, for example, also

described teachers' power as being *in charge*.

Lysandra: The teachers have the most power in the classroom…when all the

jokes are aside, they really get to work, and they really help us out, we really

learn a lot in-house Brown ...yeah, when it's time to really get to learning they

take the most charge (Lysandra, Second interview, 04.30.2007, p.2).

Irene: Like they are the ones in charge, they are the ones giving in the

assignments, and telling the information and giving the tests, so they have the

most opportunity to influence (Irene, Second interview, 05.01.2007, p.9).

Max described teachers as authority figures. He described authority as a

professional management, which takes students' preferences into consideration. "Well,

the students should obey what the teachers say because they are the authority in the class

they are the adults you should obey them, but at the same time … students should be

able to make other decisions about how class is run" (Max, Second interview,

04.24.2007, p.9). Delicia described teachers' power with the phrases *have a say* and *make

the rules* (Delicia, Second interview, 04.23.2007, p.6) and Nitara explained teachers'

power by evoking the language of rights. Teachers have power "because they have the

right to say yes or no" (Nitara, Second interview, 05.25.2007, p.11), meaning they were given this right and did not take it unjustly themselves.

Deeper justifications were also used for this ideal of concentrating more power in teachers' hands. One such explanation was also grounded in a rationalistic and organizational logic, and another demonstrated the students' political understanding. I will describe these two additional explanations separately and consecutively. Emphasizing an organizational logic, Henry used contractual market force relationships as the justification for concentrating power in the teachers' hands, because "the teacher is being paid to control the class" (Henry, Second interview, 04.20.2007, p.13). Irene, Max and Lysandra used this same line of thought in slightly different ways. Lysandra similarly to Henry's idea simply stated that respect and power unquestionably follow adults' position because that is the teachers' job description. "They're teachers and they're the ones who are teaching, and you're supposed to listen to them and give them respect" (Lysandra, Second interview, 04.30.2007, p.8)…"Teachers are supposed to have power, that's their jobs" (Lysandra, Second interview, 04.30.2007, p.33). Irene and Max also emphasized the institutionalized academic foundations for teachers' power:

> Irene: Teachers are responsible for teaching us stuff because they've been to college. They know what they're talking about and we should listen to them (Irene, Second interview, 05.01.2007, p.23).

> Max: The teacher more or less knows what you should learn (Max, Second interview, 04.24.2007, p.9).

> Lastly, and also as a form of organizational solution to management, Henry,

Irene and Max raised the question of governmentality. They explained that "to a certain extent … the most important person in the class would be the teacher. I mean if there is one person you can't have a class without it is the teacher" (Max, Second interview, 04.24.2007, p.8). [Because] "students think of each [other]… as equals and if someone takes the ring … they don't really like to follow ….but … if the teacher is there monitoring us all, I guess students could control the class, but …. If there is no teacher then the whole place will go crazy and everyone will do what they want, there'll be no organization" (Henry, Second interview, 04.20.2007, pp.13-14). "If we did not listen to the teachers … it would be complete chaos and we wouldn't learn anything. And we need to learn that's why we are in school" (Irene, Second interview, 05.01.2007, p.9).

Hillary was the only student whose ideal of power distribution literally focused on the students. While Hilary agreed with the other seven that power seems to be in the teachers' hands more, her ideal perception differed. She was the only student who argued that students should have most of the power.

Hillary: …everybody should like make decisions and stuff like about the things that going on in the classroom.

Mor: Teachers and students?

H.: Uh-huh…well... somewhat it's like the teachers because they are telling like what we have to learn. Like I believe most of the stuff is the students.

Mor: Most of the time the students control the class?

H.: Uh-huh (Hilary, Second interview, 05.21.2007, p.16).

Hilary was the only participant whose meanings of ideal and practice of students' power

coincided, as I will also demonstrate in the fourth major theme below. Since Hilary joined the study based on her request, and since I consider her perception a possible exemplar of a negative case analysis, I shall continue to point to instances in which Hilary's views differed considerably from the other students', and examine these implications to this emerging theory of every day power in the Brown house.

According to the participants, when power distribution between teachers and students is considered, the ideal that should guide adults, teachers and decision makers is that more power should be concentrated in the hands of the teachers. Following an institutional logic that derives from contractual and rationalistic world views, as well as a deeper political perception of governmentality, adults should rule the classroom, have more power and students should listen to and learn from them. However, could this ideal depiction of power summarize all that students have to say about power in education? Clearly, if that was the case, we should have heard more voices in this discourse describing power in accordance with the *one-dimensional view*, as democratic and pluralistic, and education as based on justice and logic. Could it be that students views are so different from those revealed by research about power in education? Were the Spring Valley school and the Brown house employing democratic principles of education to such an extent that eradicated power inequalities? Answering these questions seems to require further investigations. However, for the purpose of this dissertation, I continue with the meanings that the students provided about power, and present the second major theme with which the youth related the ideal with practice, namely this ideal is conditional; it could only materialize when certain conditions hold.

Teachers' Legitimate Power is Conditional

The students' use of various justifications suggests that teachers' ideal power depended on essences that are external to its existence, that it was conditional. For example, it is implied that if teachers have no institutional academic background, or if they do not govern the class, their power is not warranted. Another way one can think about justifications, such as those that the participants provided for teachers' ideal power, is in terms of legitimacy[5] (Habermas, 1986; Lenski, 1986; Lukes, 1986). Teachers' power seemed legitimate to the students if it was used to allow governmentality, if the teachers followed the organizational logic and fulfilled the functions that schools were designed to fulfill. When these indeed theoretical-philosophical conditions were met, and only if that was the case, most of the students found little or no problem in allowing teachers more authority, power or governance[6] in the classroom and to some level over their lives. But this legitimacy was also dialectical; it was explored simultaneously with the conditions that negated its materialization. Each participant according to their world views[7] and unique ways of being in the classroom[8] pointed to the salient circumstances which conditioned the manifestation of teachers' ideal power.

Karyn's words most clearly integrated this theme with the previous one. She

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[5] Ideal power is thus legitimate power and I will use these two terms synonymously.
[6] Throughout this chapter, different concepts that are related to power are used as synonyms, according to the students' perceptions. The participants did not define the differences between, for example, power, authority, control, governmentality and others, as the previous major theme showed and as the discussion in the following chapter will show.
[7] The students' world views included various and conflicting interpretations about the nature of the functions that schools were designed to fulfill, as I will explore in major theme three.
[8] In Chapter Three, I defined discourse as 'ways of being in the world, or 'forms of life'. I will use such terms to describe the students' world views throughout this chapter.

used the same organizational logic that others used above, now in the negative form, to explain why teachers' power should be revoked. Karyn believed that students should be able "to talk about how they feel about the teachers and tell people so they could go and look at the teacher and see if they are doing their job or if they're umm…being … just mean or not a good teacher (Mor: mmmm) and then they could get fired or like, you know, warned ..."(Karyn, Second interview, 05.06.2007, p.44). Karyn's interpretation of teachers doing their job in this quote expanded the definition of the teachers' job beyond being paid and governing the class to not 'being just mean or not a good teacher'.

With this new equation a whole list of conditions that teachers were required to fulfill opened, particularly conditions of goodness: pedagogical quality and justice. As the word *good* carries a double meaning, both principles of good pedagogical practice and morality were laid as conditions for teachers' power by the participants. All the students in this study described how before claiming their power, or before giving it to them, teachers must fulfill certain conditions that determine if and how they are doing their job. Ideal teachers' power was conditional by many different ideas, and the students were the ones assessing whether these conditions hold and therefore, whether teachers could be granted their professional right to power in each classroom anew. In describing these conditions I shall begin with several examples by which the students conditioned the teachers' power based on assessments of good teaching practices and show how they relate and interlock with conditions of morality and justice as the students' meanings unfold.

Conditions of Good Pedagogical Practice

Teaching and learning, that is perhaps the basic covenant between children and adults (Arendt, 1977b; Gordon 2001; Levinson, 2001), the foundational reason for their arrival in schools each morning. Hillary, Lysandra and Nitara, three young African American women, stressed this idea when they explained when and why they conditioned their teachers' power. They expected their teachers, particularly Mr. A., to teach the material and not stray; to focus on their job duties, to teach.

Hilary: Mr. A., he gets like off-topic all the time (Hilary, Second interview, 05.21.2007, p.12).

Lysandra: He tells stories about his life, like he comes to tell us whatever jokes and stuff (Lysandra, First interview, 03.19.2007, p.6).

Hilary: Most times… they get distracted and stuff ...like Mr. Brown. … you know his classes are like crazy, like he can be teaching something and if he sees like a pencil drop he'll be like 'dadadadada, pick that pencil up, dadadada'. …he gets off-topic sometimes too (Hilary, Second interview, 05.21.2007, p.13).

Nitara: Mr. A. always jokes around and we never get anything done, so that's affecting us because he is joking around, we want to learn. I know I want to learn and me coming to his class everyday not learning anything, doing dumb stuff is not going to get me anywhere (Nitara, Second interview, 05.25.2007, p.7).

Joking around, and other forms of misusing class time were interpreted by these young women as examples of the teacher not carrying out his contractual duties. When

class time was wasted, the teacher did not take both his job and his students as seriously as he should have. "…It gets irritating… I believe that if you come there to get paid for teaching that that's what you should do. Like you can have fun… while you're teaching, but like stories about… your personal life is like a little…extra" (Hilary, Second interview, 05.21.2007, p.12). In consequence, when Mr. A. did not honor his obligations Lysandra (and others) took it upon herself to seize his power.

> **…**Since he is not a good teacher and he really doesn't care**…**I just step in and I just like, basically sometimes teach the class and help the class. Cause he's sometimes really don't and that's why I don't think he is a good teacher. Like teachers when we come and we should be able like to get to work and stuff like that (Lysandra, First interview, 03.19.2007, p.6).

Nitara linked this condition to another by which the students evaluated how teachers' power was justified: that of being able to control the class. She claimed that joking around causes a loss of control. By joking, a teacher is not being able to teach and is not being a good teacher. "… if Mr. A. is joking around the students are going to think that it's alright to joke around because he is the teacher so it is going to influence other people to do it…. In Mr. A's class you really don't get anything done. We don't get anything done at all" (Nitara, Second interview, 05.25.2007, p.7). Following Nitara's logic, Henry and Lysandra emphasized the ability to control the class as the most telling mark of good practice. They claimed that this condition distinguished between a real professional teacher and a non professional; between adults who deserve teachers' ideal power and those who don't.

Henry: **…**The substitute has no idea what's going on and what you're doing in the class. That's just…like a babysitter (Henry, Second interview, 04.20.2007, p.14). [When]…the teacher has absolutely no control of the class… that makes the teacher almost bad as a substitute (Henry, Second interview, 04.20.2007, p. 15).

Lysandra: ...Yeah he is not in control at all. Like, when he tells me to leave, a real teacher if I had to leave, like a real teacher will be like, I don't listen to him cause everything that he does is like a joke. And he's always making jokes and stuff so, nobody really take him serious (Lysandra, First interview, 03.19.2007, p. 6)…. I think you need like a leader because Mr. A. is not a good teacher so you need somebody like to be in control (Lysandra, First interview, 03.19.2007, p.11).

Henry: …A relaxed teacher, depending on what class he has, might be too much of a pushover and he might get a lot of… troublemakers in his class and if he is not too punishing then they can slow down the class… (Sighs) (Henry, Second interview, 04.20.2007, pp.1-2).

As with the teachers' misuse of teaching time, when the students thought that the teachers were not professional enough to control the class, they used class time as they thought fit and did not honor the ideal of giving the teachers power. "…He didn't enforce his rules enough. (Mor: uh-huh) …He didn't give detention enough…. as it should have been. So, we took it as if we could just do whatever we want and we pretty much slowed down his class" (Henry, Second interview, 04.20.2007, p.2).

Using teaching time appropriately and 'being in control' of the classroom were two conditions for teachers' power by which the students addressed classroom management criteria of good teaching. But there were other kinds of conditions as well. Teachers' professional legitimacy depended also on pedagogical qualities: on issues related to teaching styles, and to the underlying educational philosophies that the teachers employed. Delicia and Karyn, for example, emphasized the teachers' ability to explain the material as a condition for their power. They both recognized that the way in which teachers explain the material is a professional skill that is guided by the teachers' underlying pedagogical preferences, chosen rather than essential, and therefore could be also altered and revised.

> Karyn: …If a teacher teaches a certain way and then nobody can understands it then somebody might want the teacher to change their way of teaching, (Mor: mm, mmh) and teach more so that we can understand it (Karyn, Second interview, 05.06.2007, p.29).
>
> Delicia: …Some teachers they teach different way than what the students are used to. They'll say: 'why are you teaching us this, there is an easier way to teaching, you are doing this the long way, but you know we don't understand when you're doing this' (Delicia, Second interview, 04.23.2007, p.17).

In both of these descriptions Karyn and Delicia voice a complaint against the teachers. There is a hidden assumption of an undelivered justice in these utterances. The students expected the teachers to care about their learning and demonstrate their caring by explaining the material to the students according to the way that they needed to have it

explained. This impression is strengthened by Delicia in the following quotes:

> …He tells people he wants them to explain, like to tell him when you don't understand anything. But when you do tell him, then he gets all aggravated, and he just takes a deep breath and he explains it all fast, really, as if people should know it that quick. And he is like, we've been over this a thousand times and he doesn't write on the board, like we're supposed to know it that quick, and it's not really helping us, he doesn't give us time (Delicia, Second interview, 04.23.2007 , p.18). Certain subjects are easier than others and the teachers don't take that, they just say that they want you… to tell them and explain it all fast, and you can't grasp it, we're really don't, we need more time (Delicia, Second interview, 04.23.2007, p.19).

According to Delicia, not only do students expect teachers to explain the material in a clear way, but they also expect some good intentions, sincerity, caring and understanding from the teachers. This means that conditions of justice, not only good pedagogy, also underpinned students' conceptions of teachers' ideal power. Underneath all these conditions rest deeper moral values, which were the foundations for why students believed teachers' power should or shouldn't be realized. The following examples from various participants' perceptions demonstrate this last point. While the participants criticize their teachers for pedagogically related principles, justice and morality is what they actually wished for. For example, when Karyn talked about interesting teaching styles she compared two pedagogies; one that is based on fun learning and one that is more traditional and which she criticized as flawed, as the

discussion below will show. One can be easily persuaded that this is Karyn's account of her belief that teachers should engage the students by interesting teaching methods.

> **…** They have got different methods, of doing it, that make it more interesting and fun and not just 'read this' and 'outline this' (Mor: ah-aha), and 'do this' … It's more like making a decision about this like 'see where you stand on this topic' … We're thinking more and we're not just sort of reading stuff out of a book (Karyn, Second interview, 05.06.2007, p.27).

But during long minutes of conversations in which Karyn was making these comparisons in all her interviews, what Karyn was really comparing is the teachers' merits; how teachers' virtues differently coincided with the teaching methods that they employed and how Karyn consequently felt in different classrooms. Teachers who encouraged thinking and tried to make learning interesting treated students fairly in Karyn's experience. The other teacher, Mrs. Z., who was not a Brown house staff member, intimidated her, made her "dread learning" and used "hideous" teaching techniques (Karyn, Second interview, 05.06.2007, p.27).

> Karyn: She doesn't treat us like we are people, she doesn't like acknowledge that we think for ourselves. That's a good thing about our house teachers; they treat us like we're equal to them. (M: a-ha) and they joke around with us and everything like that, but this teacher doesn't (laughs)
>
> Mor: So how does she treat you?
>
> Karyn**:** She treats us like we are the same; we think exactly the same way. We can't, anyway that we think differently than her, doesn't, isn't right at all. We

can't think differently than her, or else we're just completely wrong (Karyn, First interview, 03.01.2007, p.4).

Karyn's description of Mrs. Z. was supported by Irene[9], whose words strengthen the point I made about perceptions of justice being the underlying foundation of teachers' power. Irene analyzed in length how two teachers may have been employing similar teaching methods, being tough and demanding, but their virtues made all the difference. She emphasized the teachers' virtues as the prominent reason why students want to condition their power. Irene explained, "…There is a difference between being a tough teacher; I have Mr. E. and Mrs. Z" (Irene, Second interview, 05.01.2007, p.2). Irene supported her claim by outlining Mr. E's virtuous conduct and comparing it to Mrs. Z. "He actually cares about us…. you can tell that he loves his job and he …wants us to be successful. …he will push us hard and he will make it hard for us so we push ourselves" (Irene, Second interview, 05.01.2007, p.2). However, in Mrs. Z's conduct there was no virtue "….I think she's psychotic, really. …she obviously really enjoys…inflicting pain on her student….she likes watching us suffer. She enjoys when we fail a test and she is not like a role model. She doesn't want us to learn" (Irene, Second interview, 05.01.2007, p.2). Irene passionately compared the two teachers' personalities, while referring to these differences as grounds for drawing judgments about their professionalism, and conditions of their power.

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[9] It is supported also by Aiden and Max, but not by Henry who did not mention Mrs. Z. The other four students did not take classes with this teacher outside of the Brown house.

…. She obviously hates children and hates her job and hates her life, and is

taking it out on us. And so her class is not enjoyable and if you say anything in

her class she tries to make you feel stupid. …she will insult you and put you

down so you are afraid to talk in her class and ask questions. So, it makes it

even harder to do well. Whereas at Mr. E., he will encourage you to like think

for yourself and stand up and like figure stuff out on your own. And she just

wants you to listen to her and write down what she says and like repeat it (Irene,

Second interview, 05.01.2007, p.2).[10]

As with the previous conditions, when the students didn't identify with the

teachers' choices of methods they acted against allowing the teachers their ideal

professional power. However, pedagogical assessments, as in Karyn's and Irene's cases,

were also intertwined with those of teachers' virtues and with personalities' likes and

dislikes. Six participants, five young women and one young man, described how students

do not listen to the teachers, or otherwise deny their power, if their teaching methods are

boring and not interesting. At the same time they explained how personal relationships

with the teachers influenced such assessments of good teaching.

Lysandra: The only reason I have power, is because, and I try to control,

because it's boring (Lysandra, Second interview, 04.30.2007, p.33).

Nitara: Yeah, if a child really doesn't like a teacher then they don't want to learn

in this class, they just fool around. And if a kid really likes a teacher and they

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[10] According to Irene's and Karyn's descriptions of Mrs. Z., this teacher followed banking and transmission models of education (e.g. Cummins, 2009;2001; Freire, 1970; Shur, 1992), which I will later name a tyrannical teaching style.

like the lesson, they will be more focused ask questions and stuff (Nitara,

Second interview, 05.25.2007, p.19).

Irene: …A lot of kids joke around and like act ridiculous in the middle of class

just because… either they are bored or they are annoyed with the teacher and so

they'll like start saying something or I don't know or act in misbehaving (Irene,

Second interview, 05.01.2007, p.15).

These four examples of students' setting conditions for the teachers' ideal power

that I just demonstrated could have been followed by other examples of pedagogically

oriented constraints with which the students conditioned the teachers' legitimacy. The

nine youths conditioned teachers' ideal power by appealing to a variety of professional

and pedagogical principles. These addressed classroom management, professionalism,

pedagogical orientations, curriculum, testing and more. However, due to the uniformity

of the pattern I will not further demonstrate such pedagogical conditions here. Yet,

underlying these conditions were claims of justice and morality as the last two examples

showed. These claims for morality and justice were a different kind of conditions with

which the students justified the restriction of the teachers' ideal power. Karyn clearly

summarized the connection between these two kinds of conditions by listing both kinds

together. "[Teachers], they'll have to know what they're talking about, and they would

have to be fair and nice… and umm easy to get along with (M: am hmm) but still, you

know, strict enough that they could keep their class in order" (Karyn, Second interview,

05.02.2007, p.23). In the following section I will show that the students conditioned the

teachers' power also by appealing to four moral criteria. They claimed that the teachers

did not deserve their power because they were not making sense, not fair, didn't care or

that they abused the power that they were faithfully given, as I turn to explain next.

Ethical and Justice Conditions of Teachers' Power

Four moral and ethical criteria repeated themselves when the students explained

why they thought that teachers' legitimacy should be conditional[11]: not caring, not being

fair, not making sense and being a political tyrant[12]. These moral criteria were used as

foundational, axiomatic, justice claims that the students relied on in conditioning the

teachers' power, and provided the drive for students' agency and power as the following

themes will show. The students used these criteria to classify problems in the class as

moral, or ethical and thus, as grounds for conditioning the teachers' power. Such

problems, when realized, created unethical reality in the class, because the students were

denied justice, and had to act for its restoration[13]. To demonstrate these morally based

conditions of teachers' legitimacy, I will first explore the students' perceptions of justice

as caring, or rather the problem of teachers' non-caring. I will continue and conclude with

three ethical problems that the students established by appealing to universally founded

criteria of justice and equality. These four problems, which the students described with

support of moral criteria, were used to condition the teachers' ideal power in the Brown

house, in a pursuit of justice.

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[11] The themes were not analytically separated by the students during the interviews. This theme that shows how teachers' power should be conditional was intermingled with explanations for the themes that will follow. After having shown the logic of the theme several times, I will dedicate the rest of this section to the ethical conditions while assuming the readers' understanding that the students used each problem that they identified with the teachers' ethical conduct as a condition for their power.

[12] These four ethical perspectives could not have been entirely isolated from each other.

[13] While the students employed ethical and moral criteria to identify and explain the problem, justice claims, which were also ethically or morally based, referred to the sought solution of the problem, the ideal.

The problem of teachers' not-caring. Almost all the instances of power conditions that I described above were founded on the students' claims that some of their teachers did not care about them. In the students' descriptions caring was an axiomatic ethical criterion of good teaching, which the students relied on, but did not question, or justify, further. Irene and Karyn, in particular, explored the differences between caring and non-caring teachers at length. They laid out what it meant to be a caring, or non-caring teacher, and explained how the moral problems that they identified in the non-caring teachers' behaviors affected their pedagogy. Similarly, in the descriptions that I gathered from the other participants as well, not only were caring and non-caring teachers described in opposite ways, but there also seemed to be two gradual and opposite developments in those descriptions.

The students tended to draw ethical and pedagogical conclusions from their descriptions of teachers' characters. As the students further explained how caring and non-caring teachers' ethical stances and pedagogies were affected by their personal traits, their descriptions intensified in two opposite directions, thus, positioning these two types of teachers against each other on the edges of several ethically-founded continuums. Non-caring teachers represented lack of morality and justice on these continuums, and caring teachers represented the exact opposite, the embodiment of morality and justice in the class. For example, in describing the teachers' skills of coping with uncertainty or disagreements, caring teachers were described as *understanding* whereas non-caring teachers were described as *scary.* Taking it to a more generalized level of ethical interpersonal inclinations, caring teachers were described as *there for you* while non-

caring teachers were contrarily *taking it out on us*. Finally with a conclusive stance

towards their teaching philosophies, caring teachers were described as *wants you to*

succeed while the non-caring teachers *failed us*. As can be also demonstrated by Irene's

gradually intensifying choices of words when she describes Mrs. Z. above, the students

showed how teachers' opposite personal traits were connected to their ethical and

professional attitudes and finally to their pedagogies in ways that meaningfully affected

their ethical demeanor, and justice, in the classroom. These gradual developments are

shown in Table 5.1 which compares the students' descriptions of non-caring teachers to

those of caring teachers.

Table 5.1 Students descriptions of non-caring and caring teachers

	Non-caring teachers	Caring teachers
Personal traits	Scary	Feels comfortable around
	Hurts kids feelings and emotions	Encouraging, understanding
	Inflict pain	Jokes around
	Hate children	Respecting
	Put you down	Easy to get along with
	Mean	
Ethical attitude	Treat us like we are all the same	Treat us like equals
	Doesn't treat us as people	Have our best interests
	Taking it out on us	Are there for you
Professional ethics	Hates her job Not a role model	Loves his job Care about you doing well
	Doesn't want us to learn Want students to suffer	Want you to go somewhere in life
Ethics in Pedagogy	Not enjoyable	Interesting and fun
	Makes it hard to do well	Push you, make you work hard
	Just listen and write what she says	Really listen to you
	Can't say anything in her class	Tough, controls the class
	Afraid to talk in her class	Feel special
	Fails us	Want you to succeed
	Doesn't acknowledge we think for ourselves	Develop thinking
	We can't think differently than her	Figure things on your own

It can be understood from Karyn's and Irene's arguments above, and from Table

5.1, that when the students talked about teachers' not-caring as an ethical ground to condition the teachers' power, they alluded to some personal ideal of justice in the classroom. The students expected justice that was grounded in the particular personalities and qualities of each student and recognized their different personal needs; justice that came out of good personal relationships between teachers and students and was based on good intentions as Irene and Henry explain,

> Irene: … I think there should be a variety of teachers … teachers who actually, who you can tell really love what they do and really care about the students and want you to succeed and push you. Like they'll be tough and make you work (M.: uh-huh) but they actually like you and care about you doing well (Irene, Second interview, 05.01.2007, p.22).

> Henry: … If the teacher is nice and a lot of people like the teacher … and know that the teacher....is… doing what's in their best interest.... students are fine with that (Henry, Second interview, 04.20.2007, p. 17).

More explicitly, Nitara emphasized the inter-personal dimensions of such caring foundations of justice. She explained that for teachers to be considered moral they would need to struggle for each and every student's success. "I think that the teachers… if a student doesn't want to do the work and the teachers says all right then they really don't care. But most teachers say like, you've got to do your work, you've got to do your work, they care. They want you to do your work, they want you to go somewhere in life" (Nitara, Second interview, 05.25.2007, p.12). Nitara's words demonstrated how this perception of personal justice developed out of appropriate ethical and professional

attitudes and into a morally justified pedagogy. In Nitara's view because the teachers

wanted each student to not give up, even if students themselves did not want to learn,

caring teachers in the Brown house actually paid attention to the students' individual

needs and provided times for personal assistance. Consequently, the students knew the

material better and succeeded, the teachers honored their moral responsibilities, and as

caring teachers established justice and deserved their power.

> …Most of the teachers in our house they want us to learn. If you have any
>
> questions they are there for you. …You can go to like *kangaroo* [free work
>
> class], (pseudonym) to get help. You're never gonna go home not knowing what
>
> you learned, so I think it's a good learning process (Nitara, Second interview,
>
> 05.25.2007, p.8).

For Lysandra justice as caring was established when teachers were really

listening, which meant that they respected the students as individuals. Lysandra used this

criterion to reiterate Irene's and Karyn's idea that teachers cared when they did not treat

the students as if they were all the same, but respected their individuality. "… Like when

the teacher is really listening to you, you really know that you like, that you got your

point across to the teacher, and you always want to get your point across.... When the

teacher's listening to me I feel like… I just think it's plain and simple like respect"

(Lysandra, Second interview, 04.30.2007, p.12).

Nitara and Delicia explained how non-caring teachers who did not understand

the differences between individual students' needs made morally flawed assumptions.

Teachers, who made general assumptions, rather than concentrating on their relationships

with each student and on understanding the students' individuality, were not able to know

if the students understood the material. These teachers, consequently, hurt students'

feelings by making uninformed judgments about their commitment to their work.

Impressions from both these young women's words are that they were describing

teachers' decisions as emotionally rigid, and thus, strengthened the personal foundations

of these ethics further. Rigid teachers do not care for their students personally.

> Delicia: ...When they do bad on a test, teachers might bring them down even
>
> more saying 'you must have not studied' or something, but really they studied
>
> but they just are not grasping it. So they have higher expectations for the other
>
> ones like the kids that always get A's (Delicia, Second interview, 04.23.2007,
>
> p.4).
>
> Nitara: If a teacher says like 'you're not trying you're not trying your best that
>
> you can', I hate when they say that because you don't know that. Kids, like I try
>
> my best, I know my friends who try their best and they still get bad grades like
>
> they just can't, they need extra help. Like I know my friends who try their
>
> hardest and the teachers keep on saying to them they're not trying your best,
>
> you're not trying your best, you're not trying your best, and that just makes me
>
> really upset. You don't know what we are doing. Just because we were getting
>
> bad grades doesn't mean we are not trying our best (Nitara, First interview,
>
> 03.31.2007, p.19).

Caring ethics, according to the students, lead to an ethical pedagogy, and to

justice, by following a similar set of logical inferences that is assumed in educational

theory as well (e.g. Apple & Bean, 1995; Burgh, Fields & Freakley, 2006; Freire, 1970; Nodding, 1984; Shur, 1992). Like scholars of education, the students explained how "education …is moral in the sense that those planning and conducting education will strive to meet all those involved morally" (Nodding, 1984, p.171). In other words, the students believed that if certain moral criteria, such as having teachers with nice qualities, solid professional ethics and good relationships with students, were realized, the pedagogy that followed would have been morally justified as well. Teachers' personal traits and relationships with the students could have been used to predict the morality of the pedagogy that they would have employed, and as grounds for conditioning or legitimizing their ideal power.

However, employing *caring ethics* was only one of the criteria by which the participants evaluated and conditioned the legitimacy of teachers' power. There were other foundational moral perceptions that were not founded on the personal and the particular. These other moral foundations for classroom justice were founded on a *universal logic*. Interestingly, these two logics could have been employed, as one, to describe a teacher's misuse of power. Irene's critique of Mrs. Z., for example, demonstrated how this teacher not only did not care about her students as individuals, but also, at the same time, broke some universal ideals of justice. While not caring about her students' individuality the teacher also behaved like an evil tyrant. In favoring her own interests over the children's, as a tyrant does, she defied the organizational justification for teachers' ideal power, as I will expand below. "I have no power and nobody has any power in the class with her. She is like an evil rampaging tyrant" (Irene, Third interview,

05.15.2007, p.14). I now turn to describe the three ethical problems that the students critiqued with three universally based moral criteria of justice and equality, namely fairness, sense making and abuse of power. Five participants explicitly indicated that their perceptions of ethics and justice in the class are underpinned by universal principles of justice[14] and ethics, but to different degrees (Aiden, Delicia, Henry, Irene and Nitara).

The moral problem of political inequality. The first ethical problem that the students identified based on a universal principle of justice was the monopolization of power by teachers in the class. Irene and Aiden[15] used political terms to describe this problem. Irene compared the teachers' abuse of the power that they were given to the behavior of leaders in dictatorships. In her terminology, Mrs. Z. was compared to a tyrant, the least morally justified and worst possible way a leader could claim legitimacy (Arendt, 1998; 1986)[16]. Other teachers' abuse of power could endanger the class by turning it into a monarchy, a little less severe example of tyranny, and one which belonged in the past. "…They shouldn't be like the ultimate power. If you say anything then you can just get like banished from the classroom, kind of archaic" (Irene, Second interview, 05.01.2007, p.9)."…It shouldn't be like a completely a monarchy like they can

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[14] I refer to these principles of justice also as moral criteria.

[15] The conditions that each participant supported to justify the withholding of the teachers' power reveal their deeper conceptions on power, justice and agency as the fourth major theme will show. Already here, the different world views that the students held in relation to their power manifest in the moral problems that they emphasize. For example, Irene and Aiden stressed political equality as a condition for justice, but other students did not. Delicia and Nitara emphasized caring ethics, but not political equality. Henry was satisfied with a rational and logical decision making as evidence for equality and justice, but also did not share Aiden's and Irene's desire for political equality.

[16] Arendt claims that tyranny is the most violent system by which 'man rule over man' [sic], because a tyrant has no legitimacy and no power and has to rely on violence to survive. A tyrant teacher, or a teacher who uses unilateral authority, transmission models of teaching, and similar terms, according to this logic, and only if the comparison of ruling is accepted, has no power in the class, but is using violence against the students.

just tell us to do whatever they want us to do and we are not allowed to question it"

(Irene, Second interview, 05.01.2007, p.24). In Aiden's version of this political issue,

there were immoral but also justified ways in which teaching resembled political systems.

Some teachers' behaviors, as in Irene's description, were similar to those of dictators, but

others used power based on principles of political equality.

> Aiden: There's some teachers who would basically 'this is my classroom, these
>
> are the facts, no room for questions' those are the dictators (makes a funny
>
> voice, imitates the dictators). Then there's teachers who are actually like, you
>
> know, 'here's what it is, here's why'….and so … you know, the
>
> dictatorshipness of the teacher depends on the subject, but it also depends on
>
> how the teacher was raised and what kind of person they are….
>
> Mor: So Miss X. is a good example of a teacher who is not a dictator?
>
> Aiden: Right. Because Miss X. always has class discussions and whatnot …
>
> Miss X's always very socialist where as Mr. A. would be very fascist (Aiden,
>
> Second interview, 05.05.2007, pp.2-3).

According to the two examples in Irene's quotes, Aiden's description and the

students' justifications of teachers' ideal power above, like dictators and tyrants, teachers

could not be the ultimate power holders in the classroom and also sustain their

legitimacy; they could not have used more power than they deserved. Teachers'

legitimacy depends on their ability to sustain justice, which means that teachers should

not do as they please in the class, and should not take away students' rights. Any logic of

teachers' power that is inherently based on political inequality is archaic[17]and as such

cannot be supported. Morally sound teaching is based on sharing power fairly[18] between

the students and the teachers. Teachers whose power can be justified acknowledge

students' universal rights to participate, deliberate, question, debate, understand, and so

forth[19].[20]

One of the reasons for rejecting dictatorial like teaching in the classroom was

that decisions made by dictators were not required to be justified; dictators make

decisions and punish because they want to. In the classroom Irene found this to be

morally impaired, unfair. Thus, the first ethical problem which the students identified

with the moral criterion of fairness was the teachers' disproportional control which was

an abuse of power. The second and related problem, which the students described by

employing moral criteria of fairness, was making unjustified arbitrary decisions, which I

will discuss separately below. Both these problems could have been used as ethical

conditions of the teachers' power by students, whose world views reflected these moral

criteria of legitimate teaching.

I guess like they couldn't... if you ask a question about something that they are

teaching and they feel that it does not have to do with what they're talking about

or they just don't want to answer it, they can threaten you with detention and

---

[17] Irene's use of archaic as a reason for rejecting phenomenon of power follows Arendt's claim about youth's position towards anything that precedes them in the old world (Arendt, 1998; 1977b)

[18] The students' definitions of fair sharing of power were different as theme four will show.

[19] Irene's and Aiden's views of how justice and power are related, mirror those of democratic education scholars. Aiden also alluded to a political system of equality as the solution: socialism

[20] What these two students seem to suggest is that democracy in the class materializes as a system of ruling, which is based on equality. In Chapter Six, I will argue, based on the students' perceptions, that democratic ruling, and equal distribution of power are not one of the same.

stuff for no reason other than you were bothering them and they don't feel like

talking about that. (M. uh-huh) like they don't have to have a concrete reason for

giving you detention, they can just say well 'you weren't behaving'. But it**,**

there is no exact definition for what… they have vague and misbehaving is and

why…. [It] often depends on what kind of mood the teacher is in. So it's not

usually a fair decision. …but that's life (Irene, Second interview, 05.01.2007,

p.4).

The moral problem of arbitrary decision making. As Irene's quote showed,

the second sense in which the teachers were not being fair had to do with their arbitrary

decisions. Making unjustified and arbitrary decisions was the third moral problem that

the students used to reject teachers' power, and the second problem that demonstrated

how teachers did not comply with universal principles of justice.[21] The students expected

to find a universal and agreeable logic in the teachers' decisions and in the rules that were

used to manage the classroom; a logic that fits all, not some; a fair logic that is

unprejudiced, consistent, agreed upon and sound. Teachers' use of arbitrary reasoning

was described as irrational; it didn't make sense to the students. Sense making and

fairness were used synonymously as criteria[22] to condition teachers' power because they

didn't follow universal principles of justice.[23]

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[21] Teachers being unfair, arbitrary and not consistent are of importance in the students' views of bias and favoritism in the Brown house, as I will show in the ensuing chapter.
[22] For easier identification, I used bold letters for the synonymous terms with which the students described ethical problems.
[23] I use Henry's and Irene's relatively long quotes here as a conversation between these two young people because they demonstrate the last argument well. In this case anymore interpretations on my part will be excess.

Henry: …Mr. D. says that we can't say the words shut up … and a lot of people just don't like that because we're used to teachers not caring whether we say that even in third grade. So it kinds of degrades us and makes us feel a bit childish (Henry, Second interview, 04.20.2007, p.9)

…A good rule of behavior… would be something that **makes sense**, it has, it's **logical**; like no eating in the classroom because it attracts rats is a good reason. And don't say shut up when it's a commonly used word… and we pretty much use it every day in our lives to express something a bit more powerful than be quiet... [not]…so… if the rules aren't too demanding on the kids they don't really have to vary from any other class. … like say in school everybody is used to…eating something or do in every class although it's not… needed, and the teacher comes along and says okay you can't eat in my class people are bound to get um...mad at that this person because everyone else lets them do it…(Henry, Second interview, 04.20.2007, p. 10).

Irene: …I consider that **irrational**. Because… she said happy birthday. It wasn't like the middle of class… and he just freaked out, and he does stuff like that a lot (Irene, First interview, 03.10.2007, p.9)…But, I think that's really **unfair**, because you should be encouraging kids to be nice and say happy birthday, not the other way around, and **it doesn't make any sense**.

Mor: So, irrationality has something to do with fair?

Irene: I guess, well yeah. I mean, she didn't deserve to get yelled at she didn't do anything wrong, and he like flipped out. It was the same thing when Dan

(pseudonym) got like kicked out in the hall for saying Jack. Like he said the guy's name in the titanic, and he kicked him out, and made him sit in the hallway for the entire rest of the period, that was **ridiculous** (Irene, First interview, 03.10.2007, p. 10).

The participants described two related ethical problems with teachers' arbitrary decision making: first, since teachers' decisions did not reflect a universal logic, they degraded and/or discriminated certain groups of people. In Henry's explicit argument above the students were discriminated against. Children were not perceived mature enough to understand decision making and the teachers made decisions and rules for them that they perceived as unfair. The students found this tendency to make decisions 'over their heads' illogical and unfair. On other occasions particular students and social groups were also discriminated due to teachers' unreasonableness, as Irene's, Aiden's, Delicia's and Nitara's quotes below will show. The second problem that the participants described was that arbitrary rules were based on the teachers' moods rather than on solid and ethical reasoning. Using adults' moods as foundations for decision making also allowed adults to act on their own irrationality, on a whim, and to use invalid reasons as grounds for their unjustified behaviors and decisions in the classroom. Since these two problems were not separated in the participants' explanation the following quotes present both arguments as a conversation between these four students.

Irene: …I want him to, I guess, to say that **it's not fair**. And he can't say stuff

like that[24], especially in class. Because I might know he doesn't actually think that cause, I mean he must be saying that like as a joke. But it's not the kind of thing you should say in like, in a classroom. Like maybe you can make it to your friends or something. And it still, I still think it's bad but, I mean, he is like influencing how a hundred kids think. So, he shouldn't be saying stuff like that (Irene, First interview, 03.10.2007, p.5)…. He doesn't think about the effect. Cause I mean, he could really affect how kids are thinking about Native Americans and about Mexican immigrants. And like if a kid repeats that like without thinking, to someone who might be Mexican, I mean it will be really offensive. Or if a kid in the class his like parents are Mexican immigrants and Mr. Brown doesn't know. And it could be like really hurtful to somebody, and I just think he shouldn't say stuff like that (Irene, First interview, 03.10.2007, p.5-6).

Nitara: …Some things the teachers do **isn't fair**. They put one kid, one child to another child, we should all be equal. We are all here to learn. Nobody's no behind anybody else, and they make it seem that way, **it's not fair** (Nitara, Second interview, 05.25.2007, p.15)

Delicia: **…**It was annoying that somebody asks (for the teacher's help) like three times, and I asked like one time and he just like did it (answered her question) (Delicia, First interview, 03.12.2007, p.14)….**I**'ll tell him because… It irritates

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[24] In this conversation Irene referred to Mr. Brown's tendency to tell jokes, which she perceived as racist.

me when people had to keep calling your name over and over again, and then it takes like a student to say one time and then you, like they automatically listen to the student (Delicia, First interview, 03.12.2007, p.15).

Aiden: Yeah, **it really doesn't make sense**, you're not facing me you're not gonna see my hand up, no-one else is talking, I'm asking you a simple question, and people do much worse things in this class all the time where they're not… you know, basically thrown out or thrown to the principal's office, where as I do any amount of anything and I'm out.. so… lets go out with a bang (Aiden, Second interview, 05.05.2007, p.9).

Irene: It's important to show them that they are not the only ones that, and **they're not always right**. Some teachers seem to think that they are always right like Mr. Brown and it's important that he knows that he is not always right (Irene, Second interview, 05.01.2007, p 12).

The last two moral problems indicate different kinds of inequality between teachers and students, and also people in general, that are manifested in the classroom when teachers' universal ethics are impaired.[25] First the students critiqued political inequality, which in turn may lead to the denial of more significant forms of equality, such as the equality under the law, and liberal democratic conceptions about essential equality between human beings. The next moral problem ads a fourth kind of equality: equality between attested or endorsed values and their application

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[25] The four forms of inequality were not a constant threat in the Brown house classes according to the participants. I will discuss this issue further in the following chapter.

The moral problem of hypocrisy. The students expected their teachers to follow the same ethical principles and standards of behavior that were required of the students, particularly if these had bearing on moral values. When there were substantial gaps between speech and action, the teachers' standing as a role model was marred, as Aiden, Delicia and Irene showed. Aiden explicitly articulated the principle of the hypocrisy problem. He criticized teachers who preach critical values only for others and if they themselves are not required to face scrutiny. "…A lot of teachers are hypocrites in the sense that they tell you to, you know, question and don't allow you to question. It's like question everyone but us" (Aiden, Second interview, 05.05.2007, p.11). Delicia demonstrated Aiden's principle with a particular example of hypocrisy. Furthermore, in her argument Delicia, like other students above, accused the teacher of 'not making sense'. Hypocrisy thus was the third way in which the teachers did not comply with universal principles of justice according to the students' perceptions.

> …It's not fair….I will call him out and like you're not making any sense. You say… you want to know if somebody has a problem and then when people try to tell you the problem, you don't answer the question. What's the point of asking the question? (Delicia, First interview, 03.12.2007, p.16)

Irene supported Aiden's principle but extended its application beyond pedagogy and into additional moral domains in the classroom. Irene demonstrated with a particular example how Mr. Brown's behavior was hypocritical because he defended politically valued principles when other people were concerned, but did not follow them himself. Mr. Brown defended these values to the students in the class, but got angry when Irene

applied the same principle to his words. In the following quote Irene explains how such

hypocrisy in the teachers' conduct led her to act, as I will further discuss in the fourth

major theme below.

> Irene: …. The other day, there was this man outside of school giving out
>
> Bibles... and I think he got arrested. …I didn't think it was that bad that he was
>
> giving out Bibles, but Mr. Brown, just figures he do it,.... I was like mad that he
>
> got arrested, he was like 'well he deserved it'. 'It's terrible terrible thing to give
>
> out Bibles outside of school', 'separation of church and state that's awful'. 'You
>
> can't bring Bibles into the school'. 'It's very very bad thing'
>
> (imitates Mr. Brown with a deep funny voice). And he was going on …
>
> whatever. And then a little while later in class he said something about God and
>
> so I thought about it for a second, and I knew it will make him mad but I was
>
> like yeah whatever. And I was like 'Mr. Brown did you just said God in class?
>
> Because I thought there was separation between church' and he got really mad
>
> at me. … That's the kind of thing that I know will make him mad but that's too
>
> bad he deserved it (Irene, Third interview, 05.15.07, pp. 7-8).

In all these examples the students believed that the teachers exempted their own

conduct while expecting others to confirm to their espoused values. To these students for

teachers to not act consistently and in accord with their own universal principles of

justice, while expecting the students to do so, did not make sense in terms of justice. The

students believed that such exemptions demonstrated injustice because the teachers could

use excessive power in favor of their own personal interests. Such injustice, in turn, was

justified grounds for conditioning the teachers' power on the students' part.

Students' conditions of teachers' power were based on varied ethical values and pedagogical beliefs, sometimes even contradictory to each other. Both students and teachers in the Brown house came to school with various interests, motivations, and even opposing world views about what should be, and about how and what needed to be taught. These varied interests were already displayed in the contents of the conditions that the participants laid for teachers' power here. The ways in which the nine youth contributed and supported the conditions that were generated to different extent, also demonstrates the differences between the students' interests. Students' stressed different conditioning principles for teachers' legitimacy based on their varying individual and ethical beliefs, interests, and world views. The next theme concentrates exactly on this point, on the differences among students' interests, and between those of students and teachers.

Students have Varied Interests

The conditions that the students articulated for teachers' use of power represented a variety of world views. This disparity means that the conditions for teachers' power could not have been generated in agreement between all the students in the Brown house. The students' interests[26] were based on a multiplicity of ethical values and pedagogical preferences, which could not easily co-exist. In support of this claim eight participants explicitly stated that students have different wants, needs and interests

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[26] As I defined above, the students' *interests* constituted their overall subjective well being as they perceive it in education, and were revealed as expressed preferences, behaviors and actions of individual students (Lukes, 1986;2005; Ron, 2008).

in their schooling. [27]In this section, I will first show briefly what having different interests

meant for the students, and then use one example to demonstrate how far apart and

oppositional students' preferences among themselves could be. Having different interests

refers not only to the content of the issues and ethics that the students preferred, but also

to the levels of the students' identifications with these issues and how their preferences

associated them to other teachers and students in the classroom, as the following quotes

demonstrate:

> Lysandra: I think that people would want different stuff. I don't think
>
> everybody would want the same thing (Lysandra, Second interview,
>
> 04.30.2007, p.18).
>
> Nitara: Some kids want quiet, some kids want a whole lot of commotion. Some
>
> kids want you physically to come to them and help them with their work, so
>
> they want different stuff. Some kids have different learning processes (Nitara,
>
> Second interview, 05.25.2007, p.18).
>
> Hilary: … I may want something different than somebody else (Hilary, Second
>
> interview, 05.21.2007, p.22-23).
>
> Max: Kids do disagree about what they want. …There are some days the
>
> teachers … they'll say like, what do you want to do? And some kids will say
>
> ummm, let's just sit back and talk, and some kids will be like wooh can we go
>
> on to the next thing and work. So kids do disagree about what they want in class

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[27] Since a lot of issues that students wanted and also disagreed on were already demonstrated in the
conditions that the students laid for teachers' power I will not further list the contents of the students'
interests.

(Max, Second interview, 04.28.2007, p.19).

Aiden: Because they have different interests. They have different wants, needs, and they're different people (Aiden, Second interview, 05.05.2007, p.19).

Henry: ... It's the way the class is taught that divides us...it's the way the class is taught that determines what we are divided upon it or…we impartial to the ways…it is going (Henry, Second interview, 04.20.2007, p.26).

Nitara: If someone is loud and someone else is quiet, then they want different kinds of environments, then they're going to disagree with it (Nitara, Second interview, 05.25.2007, p.19).

Delicia: When students tell the teachers what they want, like how they want to learn something …it's for their benefits (Delicia, Second interview, 04.23.2007, p.22).

Max: They are asking to fulfill their interests by asking a question, and if the teacher, whoever they're asking decides to grant them their wish, then they get what they want, their interest is fulfilled (Max, First interview, 03.06.2007, p. 18).

This imagined conversation between these seven youth plainly demonstrates what having various interests in the classroom meant. Students wanted different things in the class, in relation to many issues of teaching and learning because they were different from each other. These things that they wanted were their interests and they caused disagreements among themselves about how the class is conducted. When the students tried to tell teachers what they preferred it was in their best interest; they benefited from

it, especially if the teacher granted their wishes.

In the following discussion I want to emphasize how far apart students' interests could be about a single issue. Even though such disagreements were not discussed between the participants in person, one can understand form my demonstrations in this section how having various interests could *divide* the students, to use Henry's words, or may have caused intense arguments in the classroom. Based on their interests, different students argued for different conditions that they believed in. They could have argued with the teachers, or with their peers, or with both. These arguments and debates influenced the class atmosphere, its agenda, and interpersonal relationships in it as well.

One matter that was often mentioned above was some students' desire, or interest, to question and participate during the class. Various ideas and views about deliberation and participation were already articulated above. Since deliberation and participation are central values in democratic education practices, I will demonstrate how the students' interests varied in relation to this issue. In explaining why it is important to question and participate the students used broad and ethical justifications. They generalized their preferences into universally standing morals and from these generalizations drew conditions for teachers' ethics, practice and power in the classroom. For example, Delicia made this assertion "... So people can like know different peoples, other people's different views instead of like one view" (Delicia, First interview, 03.12.2007, p.6). From this claim she generalized a statement later to a wider 'you', while turning her idea into an imperative for the greater good (in the Brown house): "…It's good to for you to listen to other people's views, points of views than, other than your own" (Delicia, First interview,

03.12.2007, p.6). Irene claimed, "…It's nice to hear a variety of thoughts and point of views and opinions. That helps formulate an opinion…"(Irene, Second interview, 05.01.2007, p.13). From these premises she generalized two sentences later, "I think class should be more group discussions and hearing what other people have to say" (Irene, Second interview, 05.01.2007, p.13).

While these two students drew categorical, unmitigated conclusions, which they turned into conditions as discussed above, Henry and Karyn drew softer ones on the same issue. They used *probably* and *if* to support their arguments about students' participation, and their overall tone was less deterministic on this issue. "They can probably relate to what a different student has to say about something instead of the teacher who is a bit more like a parent figure then a brother or sister figure" (Henry, Second interview, 04.20.2007, p.21). "When other kids like answer questions and stuff you sometimes get their point of view, and if we all have a class debate or an argument… you hear other people's points of views different from yours and you realize things that you haven't realized before" (Karyn, Second interview, 05.02.2007, p.13).

Ethical claims and pedagogical conditions that were discussed in the previous section were grounded in the students' personal interests and were prescribed to different extents according to the level of the students' interest in their materialization. The more the students identified with any ethical or pedagogical matter, the more these represented the students' personal interests, the more contagious, critical and adversarial their descriptions and attitudes to other students and teachers became. Some students focused their attention on rivalry with teachers over their preferences like Aiden and Irene, and

some like Karyn focused on other students.[28] Within each group opinions and levels of personal commitments varied.

Irene and Aiden both strongly preferred a pedagogy in which students took a significant part by questioning and participating. They both testified on this being their pressing personal preference. Irene said: "I guess I want to learn stuff but not be like a complete robot and just learn exactly what they tell me word for word, so that I learn how to think" (Irene, Second interview, 05.01.2007, p.17). "I just feel it's important to say what I think …. I think everybody should talk some times. Just because that's part of like class, it's supposed to be anyway" (Irene, Second interview, 05.01.2007, p.13), and Aiden said: "Well some students don't mind the 'this is X and this is Y', whereas students like myself and some of my friends ask 'well how does this relate to everything else?"(Aiden, First interview, 05.05.2007, p.3)

When the interests and wishes of these two students did not manifest in the class, they blamed the teachers for all the wrongs that were explored in the previous theme, and strongly so. [29]Aiden and Irene both concentrated their attempts to fulfill their interests at their teachers, not the other students. Aiden was very judgmental in his critique and, as I will elaborate later, based his power and agency on the following understandings of teachers' wrong doing. As he hints here 'it just kinda comes', and means action that is based on attempts to fulfill his interests.

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[28] Some of the data in this section already demonstrate the following theme about students' enacting power. Showing these examples here strengthens the argument, because the separation of the students' interests into themes is, to some extent, artificial.

[29] Irene and Aiden used distributive terms to describe the teachers' decision to not side with their interests, as I will discuss in the following chapter.

I don't like teachers who are, you know... incompetent and you know, don't understand the material themselves, because if you don't fully understand something, how are you going to teach it to somebody? (Aiden First interview, 05.05.2007, p.1)…. The teacher doesn't exactly know how to go into it more, because they were taught just the facts (Aiden, First interview, 05.05.2007, p.4)…. All they know is the straight facts. Just...they have the theory of just get the kid in, give him the knowledge he needs to have to pass the state test, and get him out (Aiden, First interview, 05.05.2007, p.3). And so, I don't know, it just kinda comes (Aiden First interview, 05.05.2007, p.1).

Irene was more understanding. She realized that teachers cannot let students endlessly question, 'cross the limits', but still thought teachers were unethical, and repeated the critique that she described at length above.

…I personally think that's bad because they should be encouraging questions and encouraging us to think themselves and some teachers do, but a… obviously there is a limit to questioning and arguing with teachers and … and often, I mean, the people who you chose for the study including myself execute those limits[30], but um.. teachers seem, exceptionally certain teachers seem to like kids who will just do whatever they say… because it makes it easy for them, it makes life easier (Sighs) (Irene, Second interview, 05.01.2007, p.4).[31]

Henry's views were opposite to those of Irene and Aiden, both in relation to the

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[30] In this quote, Irene also shows that my interpretation of the Brown house's culture and the students' perceptions were close. In this quote, Irene also contests the other students' self-descriptions as students who follow the limits, as I have commented.

[31] Irene's view of teachers' preferential liking of other students will be also discussed in Chapter Six.

issue of students' participation and in regards to teachers' professionalism. Unlike his words earlier which somewhat favor exploring students' perspectives in the class, in the following quote Henry expresses self doubt and remorse about diverting the class discussion with unnecessary information. In weighing pros and cons of his influence, Henry's overall argument reflects guilt about getting everyone 'a bit off track'[32]. In Henry's opinion, exactly opposite Aiden's beliefs, students should learn facts, get ready for tests while being led by the teachers' knowledge, and not spend valuable time wondering about 'one thing or another'. Participation and deliberation were not Henry's interest but passing state tests was.

> Yeah, so I guess I do affect it but, it seems like when I say something it gets everyone off track and (laughs) makes everyone learn a bit more about things... Mr. D. doesn't want us to study for tests ammmmm. It just seems, if anything that's not really bad or not really good either, it gets everyone wondering about one thing or another. It doesn't exactly, but it doesn't get us closer to realizing the main point of the study …. I still feel like I got everyone a bit off track. Ammmm, if we are trying to pass a test, chances are if the bone breaks does the marrow leak wouldn't be on something (Henry, First interview, 03.03.2007, p.9)[33]

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[32] In my observations, both teachers and students appreciated Henry's questions and additions to what was discussed and taught.

[33] It is important to note that the students' appeals to criteria of democratic education, as I defined in Chapter Two, represent **only** their own personal perceptions about pedagogy, teaching and learning in the Brown house. The students' perceptions could not have been corroborated by the teachers' perceptions on employing democratic education principles, and also not by my perceptions, in accord with the study's methods.

Since Henry's interests were so directly opposite to those of Irene and Aiden, he also had a very different understanding about the teachers' professional demeanor. Throughout the interviews Henry expressed a strong identification with the teachers' beliefs, behaviors, and knowledge. "I couldn't think of a single change I would like to make that wouldn't have a bad consequence"(Henry, Second interview, 04.20.2007, p.31). Henry was the only one who completely identified with the teachers' world view. He didn't blame the teachers' ethical inadequacy; Henry blamed the students for not being able to restrain themselves, for thinking that they know better than the teachers how to run a class well. "Although some teachers … aren't very good at that, but that doesn't mean that kids can do any better" (Henry, Second interview, 04.20.2007, p.13). "...They can always find a reason to hate anything and everything about that teacher" (Henry, Second interview, 04.20.2007, p.26).

Between these two sides on this pedagogical issue there were other students with less extreme levels of identification. Max, for example, preferred a mixture of these methods, facts and questioning, teachers' knowledge and students' contributions. "…If you just learned from the teachers then you don't have different influences like you don't get influences from other peoples' ideas. But if you just learn …from the kids then you don't learn the actual facts as well" (Max, Second interview, 04.24.2007, p.2). …"But those questions are not really opposites. It's not like one or the other. They can both happen at the same time" (Max, Second interview, 04.24.2007, p.9). Max's justifications for his actions, correspondingly, mirrored Aiden's Iren's and Henry's in various degrees. In some cases he thought students' opinions must be sought, because it was necessary for

the overall good; in other cases he thought he had overdone it and expressed self blame and remorse.

> …It[34] influences it, one by helping whoever it is isn't understanding, I mean that's helping their learning. But it can also take away from other people, cause I could be interrupting their learning from the teacher or, I mean maybe they understood that, but because of me talking they can't hear something the teacher says next and therefore they don't understand that. Or it could stop the person I'm telling like what they, so that they don't know what the teacher's talking about. But for the most part I guess it's helping whoever it is that doesn't get it. I am helping; I guess it might also help the teacher to show them that like the kids didn't get it, they should probably go over it one more time (Max, First interview, 03.06.2007, p. 12).

In Max's words the other students' interests are considered for the first time in my presentation of this 'debate'. Max raises the possibility that his preferences, his need to express his opinions and questions, may jeopardize other students' interests; that getting what is good for him might be bad for someone else. Karyn agreed that other students' reactions to her need to speak and ask questions sometimes deterred her from talking. There were arguments about various interests and preferences not only between teachers and students, but also between the students themselves. In this respect five participants agreed that students have more confidence arguing for their preferences

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[34] Max is referring to his style of influencing the classroom with the pronoun *it*.

when their friends are in class with them, but only two students reported that they argue

for their interests with or without their friends.[35]

> Karyn: …But a lot of times students will say like 'oh my god you're so stupid,
>
> that is such a stupid question!'
>
> Mor: So it's not the teachers, it's the students who really intimidate you?
>
> Karyn: Yeah. Yeah (Karyn, Second interview, 05.02.2007, p.17)… but I think if
>
> you want something and you know that a bunch of other people want it too you
>
> feel more confident saying it (M: Mm hmm) because you know that people
>
> would say like 'oh yeah yeah yeah!'(Karyn, Second interview, 05.02.2007,
>
> p.19). ...if I know that like a bunch of other kids agree with me then I might feel
>
> better about speaking up (Karyn, Second interview, 05.06.2007, p.32).

Students' interests in the classroom varied greatly on many issues and in many

ways. The arguments in the classroom represented various world views, ethics,

pedagogies, and students agreed, disagreed and were influenced by their teachers and

their peers. There was a plurality of discourses and ways of life in the class

simultaneously, at all times. The teachers' discourse was not the only influence on what

students believed and struggled for. The discourses of students also influenced the agenda

and their peers. In assessing the agenda in the classroom and the teachers' conduct,

students defended their own interests and sometimes, consequently, chose to enact their

power as I demonstrated here and discuss further in the following theme. The students

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[35] How social cliques' dynamics influence everyday power in the classroom is not the focus of this dissertation, but it should be further explored.

used their power upon what they perceived as necessity and in relation to their interests.

They enacted power according to how the teachers allowed and met their interests or

compromised the conditions that the students set based on their interests. The

implications of students' enacting of power based on their interests to understanding

power in the classroom will be discussed in more detail in the following chapters.

Students' Power is Enacted Based on Necessity and in Relation to the Students' Interests and the Teachers' Discourses

Many examples of ways in which students enacted their power based on their

assessments of how the teachers' decisions reflected their interests and the relevant

conditions that they set, were already shown in discussing the previous major themes. For

example, Lysandra was quoted explaining how she took over the class when the teacher

was using the lesson time inappropriately. Irene and Nitara explained how students may

'act up' against the teachers if they disliked them or the subject. Irene's agency was

demonstrated with an example of how she chose to expose Mr. Brown's hypocrisy.

Henry, on the contrary explained how he would rather not act and how he finds no

wrongs in the teachers' actions.

At the root of these behaviors lay students' varied beliefs that they *better*,

should, *must deserve*, or *would rather not*, argue and act on their interests. Each student,

according to the depth of his or her commitment to particular world views, and based on

evaluations of teachers' conduct and classroom situations, interpreted in different ways

the students' role in setting the teachers' power as it should be and in enacting students'

alternative power. Some thought teachers should not be interrupted; others thought

teachers should hardly be set straight. Some students thought they should take greater parts in the classroom decision making with teachers or even take over decision-making from the teachers. The theme discussed in this section examines the students' ideals for executing students' power. After knowing their own preferences and after assessments of teachers' ethics and professionalism in regards to their preferences, some students chose to act; students' power, in turn, like the teachers', had to be justified, meaning that the students did not use their power arbitrarily. All nine participants thought that they should use their power to some level based on their assessments of necessity and in relation to their interests.

This shows that students' assessments also depended on how different their discourses were in relation to the teachers', as I already mentioned in discussing the previous theme. The farther apart the students' and the teachers' discourses, or world views, were, the greater the students may have thought action was required. The less the students believed teachers would be willing to correct their decisions and their ethics if they were asked, the greater the students may have thought action was required. On the other hand, if teachers' work reflected the students' interests and the conditions that they established to support their interests, then the conditions for ideal teachers' power materialized; thus students' action, agency or use of power became unnecessary. Consequently, students enacted their power differently in various classrooms according to how they identified or rejected each teacher's legitimacy. In demonstrating this theme, I will start with four different perceptions of necessary degrees of students' power that the participants thought were ideally needed in relation to the teachers' discourse. I will

continue with a description of how these assessments of necessity were differently played out in different teachers' classes, and conclude with a political metaphor for this theme in the classroom's everyday life.

Being (almost) as one with the teachers. While Henry identified with the teachers' world views about teaching and learning, he also thought that sometimes there were moments, short episodes, in which students' intervention was needed. "I would think that the teacher has moments of incompetence where it would help if some students would explain something" (Henry, Second interview, 04.20.2007, p.14). One such example in which Henry thought that students would want to enact their power and break the teachers' rules was when the teachers' rules did not make sense, as I demonstrated in the second major theme. "...If the teacher makes too many rules you, you really feel like you must break them because you don't want the teacher to feel like he or she has control over you. A lot of the kids think that way" (Henry, Second interview, 04.20.2007, p.9).

While articulating doubt in the teachers' excessive control Henry immediately generalizes his reasoning to other students[36]. They think that, not him, and this pattern of circumspection repeated. As various quotes showed, while Henry consistently objected to the teachers being in total control of the class, he also couldn't justify students using their power against them. Henry often downplayed his claims by using jokes, or other kinds of reservations, to not commit to any steady critique of teachers' power. As I showed, even when Henry influenced the class with his questions, he felt his action was wrong. Here too, Henry struggles to find the safest, uncritical terminology. "… I'm pretty sure it's just

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[36] Henry did not criticize his teachers explicitly, as in the case of Mrs. Z., for example.

a teenager hormone thing but... you also want to have some say in the… you don't want to follow, you never want to... I'm sure nobody ever wants to just follow blindly what the teacher says. They want to do something different at least" (Henry, Second interview, 04.20.2007, p.12). "Yeah if you do what the teacher wants you to do and ummm, and behaves like the teacher wants you to … they are pretty much controlling you"(Henry, Second interview, 04.20.2007, p.13).

Whenever Henry articulated how students should enact their power, or how teachers abused theirs, he immediately constrained his own claim by accusing students of not having the capacity of using power the right way, as they are supposed to, as the teachers expect them to, or as commonsense commands. Henry's discourse was closer to the teachers' than to the students' and, due to his identifying with the teachers, Henry hardly ever found it necessary for students to enact power. Henry did not enact his power against the teachers; he was enacting his power in accordance with the teachers' world views. "Well, everyone should be able to say what they want but…some people are just obnoxious and they can't…any freedom they give to them they destroy ...they use that freedom in ways that you're not supposed to" (Henry, Second interview, 04.20.2007, p.27).

> …If the kids you hang out with really are frustrated with one of your teachers … they kind of make you want to think that you hate the guy, they give you aaa invalid reasons that are all their fault, but they, they use it against the teacher although it's… they're really bad reasons because it was all your fault that this happened (Henry, Second interview, 04.20.2007 , p.10).

Don't cross the limits. Four female participants, Delicia, Karyn, Lysandra and Nitara, thought that students' use of their own power was necessary, but to a limited extent[37]; one that will not clash with the teachers' discourse, in their terms: the 'limits' of propriety, 'to a point'.

> Karyn: I think that students should be able to make decisions to a point… I don't think that if … a teacher says 'ok you need to do this and this for a homework' then the kid should just not do it (M: ah-aha) and say 'oh well I decided that I didn't want to do that, because I was making my own decisions (M laugh), but I think that ….kids should be allowed to make choices (Karyn, Second interview, 05.02.2007, p.8).

> Lysandra: I think that children should get decisions too, but only to like a certain limit. Like they shouldn't go over like the limit (Lysandra, Second interview, 04.30.2007, p.6).

> Delicia: Teachers will have a lot of power, but students… (unclear words) the right to say what they want to say… as long as they're not disruptive or something" (Delicia, Second interview, 04.30.3007, p. 32).

These four students justified using their power more than Henry did, but also within the teachers' discourse; at least by self perception, or as an ideal.[38] They accepted

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[37] Although the previous view of students' power was represented by a young man, and this view is represented by four female students, the students' views of power as a whole show that males' and females' opinions of how students' power should be enacted differed within genders and not across genders. In other words, there were male and female students who were reluctant to use power, and conversely male and female students, who used power enthusiastically. Similarly, in terms of race, the students' racial identities did not reflect their choices to enact power.

[38] Some of the students who claimed that they wanted to honor the limits did not seem to honor them when

the boundaries that compulsory education and adults' power imposed on students'

choices. As Nitara nicely explained:

> They [students] don't really have that much choices like you want to do this,
> you want to do that. You have to do it. You come to school to learn, so it's not
> like we have a choice to do what you want. There is no point to come to school
> if you have a choice. If you had a choice most kids would pick not to come to
> school, so (Nitara, Second interview, 05.25.2007, p.12).

While accepting that adults make the rules for children, as I also demonstrated

in the first major theme, this view of students' power was founded on a strong conviction

that in the Brown house teachers' ethics were trustworthy. These students believed that

teachers would respond to the students' problems, meaning that if the students

complained the teachers would willingly correct whatever needed to be corrected. "I

think that if the teacher is wrong then students should go and tell them o.k. but you're

wrong" (Nitara, Second interview, 05.25.2007, p.11)."If there are things that the students

don't understand or don't like … or they don't agree with then they should tell the teachers

(laughing)" (Delicia, Second interview, 04.23.2007, p.5).

Unlike Henry, who hardly found problems in the teachers' conduct, these four

students did. However, like Henry, they had faith in the teachers' ethical and proper use

of their power. Students' power in this view was used to correct the teachers' conduct

slightly, when mistakes were made, during the class and after the class, as was made

possible by those with the most power. ″I mean, teachers have a say in the class 90% (M.

I observed the classes, as I will demonstrate below.

uh-huh) but the other 10% going to the students. Because students influence teachers more than teachers influence students to my opinion in the classes that I have been in, (for) example Mr. A" (Delicia, Second interview, 04.23.2007, p.6)[39]. "But sometimes they just yell, I don't care I don't care, but I think that you have to do what they say… you can talk to them after class tell them what really happened" (Nitara, Second interview, 05.25.2007, p.11). Delicia, Karyn, Lysandra and Nitara did not often think that they needed to use their power. More often, in their views, the conditions for teachers' ideal power materialized.

Co-manage and refocus the limits. Max, Irene and Hilary had stronger interpretations of students' role in decision making in the classroom and less trust in teachers' ability to make ethical and pedagogical decisions by themselves. As Irene explained "…Sometimes teachers can be difficult….And so we can go back and forth sometimes and get angry at each other … he is not always fair…"(Irene, Second interview, 05.01.2007, p.5). Max's, Irene's and Hilary's perceptions of students' power relied on different interpretations of justice and pedagogy, and therefore ended in different conclusions from the previous groups. Their underlying conviction was that school should intrinsically reflect the students' interests because "It's not all about the teachers. I mean, school is set up for us, set up for the students so it is about the kids" (Max, Second interview, 04.24.2007, p.8).

Unlike the previous groups, these students did not assign the same gravity to the

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[39] I use Delicia's logic in her own words, despite, what could be understood, as a contradiction in her mathematical reasoning.

adults' discourse, and their conclusions about how students should enact power derived from this conviction. Hilary expressed this same perspective. She developed Max's idea one step further and argued that because students are so intrinsically important their ability to use power should reflect their importance. [40]"…It shouldn't just be it's all about the teachers and stuff like that. Like students like if they come in there to learn they should like have some type of power during like class discussions and stuff like that" (Hilary, Second interview, 05.21.2007, p.25). According to Max, Hilary and Irene, the importance of students within the school had crucial bearings on adults' power. Unlike the previous group, these three students believed that adults were not supposed to set the limits for children by themselves, simply because adults did not always know what children needed. They were not always right. As Irene's words show, students, at least sometimes, knew what is needed or justified better than teachers.

> …It's difficult sometimes…because teachers sometimes think that they are the only, their opinion is the only one that matters….it's important to show them that …they're not always right. …like Mr. Brown …it's important that he knows that he is not always right (Irene, Second interview, 05.01.2007, p 12)….yeah and he kicked me out sometimes, but, I mean, I think it's important to, cause you can't just let people say stuff like that and it's not right. So, if nobody else is arguing I have to (Irene, First interview, 03.10.2007, p.8).

In comparison to Karyn and Nitara above, Max, Hilary and Irene did not accept the limits that adults made and did not accept that going to school requires students to

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[40] As I showed above, Hilary was the only participant whose ideal for teachers' power was minor.

function within adults' view of the world. Irene, Hilary and Max expressed a logic that was different than the adults' discourse. If schools were set up to educate children then children should be part of making decisions about what is good for children. "I think students should be able to make decisions in the classroom. I think that was pretty much predictable" (Irene, Second interview, 05.-1.2007, p.9). Students should educate the teachers about what is right and needed during their education.

> Yeah I mean, it's good for teachers to be influenced by students because it gives the teachers the students' perspective and it is about us learning so students would affect the teachers by showing them how we learn and how they respond to certain things like certain kids might fall asleep if class is boring and that would influence the teachers by showing them… maybe they should make things more interesting or to change certain things .so ammm students influence how teachers teach by showing them that this is a good teaching style, this is not as effective. (Max, Second interview, 04.24.2007, p.10).

Hilary, Max and Irene thought that students should use their power more in the classroom when it was necessary. They explained how students should use their power actively in various and stronger terms than the students that were described before. Hilary, Max and Irene used terms such as *power, control*, *influence*, *make decisions* and *showing them* to describe how they think students should use power. They thought that when the teachers made wrong or unjustified decisions it was the students' right, or

responsibility, to argue for their interests and to enforce justice for students[41]. Students

deserved power in this perception of students' power.

> … If the teachers say something and the students doesn't approve of it, like the
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> students are saying something, and then like more students are keep saying
>
> some things. So like it's basically just the students who like really like… are in
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> like control of the class. … Because it's for students to learn, so if the student is
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> like trying to like control the class, then I believed that that's good (Hillary,
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> Second interview, 05.21.2007, p.16).

This interpretation of students' power meant that power should be shared more

between teachers and students. This group of participants did not interpret students' role

as only redirecting and correcting the teachers slightly[42]. Hilary, Irene and Max thought

that students were supposed to rule together with teachers, have power together and run

the class together. In comparison to Delicia, Max quantified the ideal teacher/student

power ratio as approximately 50% to each side.

> Max: I'd say that all of the students in the class would have as much power as
>
> the teacher.
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> Mor: As much power as the teacher?
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> Max: Or slightly less than the teacher. So like the teacher has the final say. But,

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[41] In grouping the students into four groups which represent their various perspectives towards enacting power upon necessity, I made some generalizations based on the similarities in the students' perspectives. Particularly when percentages were calculated students within each group may have thought differently about numbers if they were specifically asked.

[42] This reiterates major theme one, although these seven students, with Hilary being the exception, believed that ideally adults should have power in the class; the meaning of this ideal was different to different students.

all, if all those kids in the class would come together it would be about the same as the teacher's power (Max, Second interview, 04.28.2007, p.26).

A zero sum game: Challenge the limits, challenge the teacher. In Aiden's view, the conditions for teachers' ideal power could have (almost) never materialized. He was the only participant who did not even articulate the idea of teachers' ideal power. The teachers' discourse and Aiden's did not coincided. Aiden's view about students' power was the strongest of all the others. In Aiden's perspective his discourse, or students' discourse, surpassed the teachers' in importance. Aiden's commitment to his world view and to his interest was strong enough to challenge and reject anything that did not fit his beliefs on education. When the teachers' discourse did not allow Aiden to question, participate and act as he thought was right, he fought the teachers actively. He showed them actively how he thought they should act at all costs. "It just kinda happens, that you know, I take a bad teacher and ... show them that they are a bad teacher" (Aiden, First interview, 05.05.2007, p.1).

Aiden's world view was founded on a belief that students would forever have to educate teachers, and that the students' responsibility to enact power for justice is eternal. In other words, for students like Aiden agency and power are always necessary for their and the other students' sakes. "… I think students will always influence each other no matter what, and so even if the curriculum changes such as you know we move to different subjects in science, biology, physics and all that, the students who shape things will always be shaping" (Aiden, Second interview, 05.05.2007, p.10).

The teachers' discourses affect students' power. While all nine youth explained how they ideally enacted their power, and why they found it necessary to enact their power, there were teachers whose professional or ethical conduct to various degrees of stability, forced students to change their preferences and use more or less power than they desired. On those occasions the students often were not acting as they usually have, because the teachers' conduct affected them emotionally.

> I really don't think anybody is always angry at the teachers… sometimes the teachers are in a really good mood and… none of the teachers are always hard to deal with. But at certain times and certain days they are really hard to deal with and that's when kids usually get angry with them (Irene, Second interview, 05.01.2007, p 16).

 If a teacher did not honor the students' conditions and interests more than they could accept, the students might enact more power in that teacher's classroom. Contrarily, if a teacher honored students' conditions and interests more than other teachers, students might enact less power in that teacher's classroom. The students mostly emphasized instances in which the teachers' conduct forced them to enact more of their power. Aiden and Hilary were the only ones who also talked about examples when they didn't have to enact so much power and could be closer to co-managing the classroom instead of challenging the teachers.

Lysandra's description is significant in demonstrating how teachers' conduct forced students to enact more of their power for two reasons. First, Lysandra provided a very detailed description of her typical use of power in each of the Brown house teachers'

classrooms. Second, Lysandra's atypical use of power, which is also described in previous major themes, is as far as could be from her own ideal self perception. Lysandra described herself as a student who respected the teachers' limits. She did not want to enact much power unless it was absolutely necessary. In reality Lysandra could almost refrain from using her power with three of the Brown house teachers: Mr. Brown, Mr. D. and Miss X. In all these teachers' classrooms Lysandra, as she termed it, did not 'have to influence'. All these three teachers were professional enough to maintain the conditions that Lysandra believed were appropriate and she could easily accepted their legitimate leadership of the class as she describes:

> …Mr. Brown, I don't think I influence like that much cause he talks so much, and my behavior is like tamed, because like he's a better teacher like even if, he has been there for like long time so he knows how to teach in fun ways and stuff like that. So, I really don't have to influence that much in his class. But I do like sometimes like I'll tell the class to be quiet, or if it's a substitute. Mr. D too, also like he has been there for a long time, so I don't have to influence his class. Miss X., I don't have to influence that much in her class, but since she has so much open discussions, I influence more, like we talk a lot, so (Lysandra, First interview, 03.19.2007, p. 8).

But with Mr. A. Lysandra had to use her power, and influence the class, as she did with substitute teachers.

> Lysandra: Mr. A. like …I influence a lot in his class" (Lysandra, First interview, 03.19.2007, p.8). ... Because Mr. A. really doesn't care about, when Miss X. is

there I don't have control. But when there is a substitute I do. (Mor: ha ha) so...

in class when there is a substitute I don't try like to take charge, it's just, I just do

it. I don't really know I'm taking charge, I just like, it just, I just do it, like

'everybody sit down, everybody be quiet' when there is a substitute.

Mor: And in Mr. A.'s class?

Lysandra: Same. No. Because he sometimes he doesn't even really cares, I just

take control (Lysandra, Third interview, 05.16.2007, p.13).

The important shared element in Lysandra's description of her power in Mr. A's

and substitute teachers' classes was that she would 'just do it'; she naturally took charge or

control of the class. In other words, Lysandra was very capable in enacting her power to

the extent of controlling the class and not just slightly redirecting the teachers. However,

at the same time it is clear that Lysandra preferred not to have been forced to enact such

great control, and that her response to having to enact her control is emotionally charged.

Lysandra described taking power as a necessity that is forced on her because the adult

who was supposed to be in charge could have not done it properly or entirely. She

describes how she is forced from within, against her will, to enact her power because 'she

cannot just sit there' whilst the responsible adult just doesn't care[43]. In the following

quote Lysandra described her control in Mr. A's class with the same reasoning that Aiden

and Hilary used to justify much greater students' power above. Lysandra was very

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[43] Delicia described a similar tendency to enact more power as Lysandra. As the following quote shows she spoke purposefully against the teacher. This was against her own principle of not breaking the rules that was quoted above." because some things annoy me, and the teachers don't listen to you, I'm saying things purposely so he can get the attention where he can know that he's doing wrong" (Delicia, First interview, 03.12.2007, p.15).

capable of enacting her power and also inherently committed to justice and action, but
she preferred not to be forced to use these abilities in the classroom.

> …(emphasized voice) …. I think the students are more important and like cause
> they need to learn the most. Sometimes he really doesn't teach so I can't sit like,
> if he was a good teacher I could say that he is more important cause we had to
> learn from him. But he's really not a good teacher we learn from ourselves.
> Like we talk together (Lysandra, First interview, 03.19.2007, p.7).

Henry also described how Mr. A. changed students' ideals of power[44], but in
doing so, Henry introduced an interesting concept. While not contradicting Lysandra,
Henry added a political edge to her argument; when students take greater power than they
want, when they are forced to act against their ideals, it is as if the students are punishing
the teachers for not doing their job properly. Henry acknowledged the political nature of
such students' acts of power and also the consequences of students' use of their power.
Yet, sometimes when the teacher deserves it, according to the students' conditions and
world views, students used their power to punish the teachers. In Henry's description the
justification for punishing the teacher was, in accordance with his world view and
interests, when the teacher was not enforcing enough discipline and control.

> …As I said if they are, if the teacher he is a pushover like Mr. A., he, the kids
> will want not to behave in their class which is not, which they don't allow. But if
> they don't punish them for doing that it will continue and that's pretty much, that

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[44] As I showed when I explained Henry's perception of students' power, Henry does not use the first person,
but rather generalizes to all the students when he criticizes teachers and supports students' use of power.

is what I think of punishing, punishing, punishment from the kids to the teachers (Henry, Second interview, 04.20.2007, p.9)….Of course if they exercise too much of that power they can end up getting kicked out (Henry, Third interview,05.20.2007, p.17).

Unlike Mr. A., some teachers allowed students to use some of their power, or the teachers would downplay their roles in the classroom. Hilary, for example felt that in Miss X.'s class she could contribute more easily to the conversation without having to fight for her views, or feel misrepresented. "Like I say things in Mr. Brown's class… but for some reason…. She makes it easier for people to join in the conversation basically" (Hilary, Third interview, 05.21.2007, p.3) "….Well I'm not going to say teachers don't get like the students involved in like what's going on, but most like most teachers don't really" (Hilary, Second interview, 05.21.2007, p.13). Aiden also felt that some teachers welcomed questioning, which meant that he then didn't have to educate or challenge them. Mr. D., for example, allowed Aiden to use power more cooperatively rather than as challenge and resistance. Aiden therefore considered Mr. D. a socialist teacher, a teacher that used his power moderately, or according to universal principles of justice.

> D. D. (Mr. D.) is a good teacher for that…because it's science, science has always been changing, and it's open ended, so, science teachers tend to be more, you know, open for discussion and all that, whereas math teachers say it's very factual, ….and very just this is the way it is, this is just end of story…. and so… it not only says here's the facts and why it is, but it also allows you, it gives you room to question (Aiden, Second interview, 05.05.2007, pp.2-3).

One last important type of teacher who changed the students' ideals of using power in a completely different way was the tyrannical teacher, a role that Mrs. Z. embodied in Spring Valley according to the students. The tyrannical teacher, or the dictator, eradicated students' power completely, regardless of the ways they preferred to use power. Thus, in such a teacher's class, more students felt like Aiden regularly have, that the teacher is not allowing them to represent their views and interests.

> Mor: Do you think you will be able to say something like that to her?
>
> Karyn: We SHOULD be, but we CAN'T (Karyn, Second interview, 05.02.2007, p.8).
>
> Aiden: Yeah, so …you have somebody like that [Mrs. Z] and the students have close to no influence, whereas teachers like Mr. D, where it's all a free game (Aiden, Second interview, 05.05.2007, p.11).

The tyrannical teacher controlled the class. Her control was the 'control over' type not the organizational 'being in control'. However, while controlling the class and not allowing students to use their power at all, that teacher also did not earn the students' support, legitimacy and appreciation, as Irene described at length previously.

Teachers' conduct and their underlying world views influenced the students' use of their power. The further apart the students' and the teachers' world views were, the more students tended to enact power in their classes, and vice versa. The more teachers allowed students to use their power voluntarily the more legitimacy the teachers earned and the less oppositional students' power was. "If they teach like I said in a way that allows it, then yeah, they have more influence. If they teach in a way that completely

shuts it out then they have no influence (Aiden, Second interview, 05.05.2007, p.11).

Teachers and students struggled together in various ways in the political space of the classroom. As in Hobbs' *Leviathan,* the student body, the class, like citizens of a small state, willingly gave power to the sovereigns, but constantly examined whether the teacher's sovereign rule justifies the citizens giving up their power and their freedom. When teachers respected the students' interests and world views, meaning that they followed the underlying conditions of goodness that the students held, then it seemed legitimate for students to give up their power to a pedagogically acceptable sovereign. When however the teachers did not respect the students' underlying convictions the students could not justify their teachers' pedagogical sovereignty and as a result enacted their own power to different degrees and personal preferences. [45]The difficulty was that at any given moment different students assessed the teachers' legitimacy from different points of view and therefore made various and even opposite judgments about their legitimacy. This difficulty did not apply when tyrannical teachers banished all forms of democratic and justified power play from their classrooms.

With those four major themes the nine participants that I selected based on my observations, explained how they understand their power and what having power means to them. They also explained how their decision to enact power was contextualized by their teachers' conduct, professionalism and ethics, and by their own personal interests[46].

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[45] Even though the students enacted their power upon necessity, meaning from a critical position, when something was wrong, it doesn't require viewing their power as resistance to the teacher. In Chapter Six I show that the struggle over the class's agenda was more democratic, open to exchange of opinions and inviting.

[46] These influences were stronger than social references, as I discuss in the ensuing chapter.

The wealth of meanings and the various strategies with which these youth employed and enacted their power both illuminate and problematise the ways in which power is often understood in the educational discourse. In the following chapter I will engage in a theoretical conversation about power first to further illuminate the phenomenon of power from the students' perspectives, and second, to discuss the implications that individual students' use of their power carry for the theory of power in education and for democratic education.

CHAPTER SIX: THE RELATIONSHIP POWER IN THE BROWN HOUSE

BETWEEN YOUTH MEANINGS AND THEORY

Of all the concepts used by sociologists, few are the source of more confusion and misunderstandings than power (Lenski, 1986, p.243).

When we are interested in power – in studying, acquiring, maintaining, increasing, reducing or destroying it – what is it that we are interested in? Answering this question turns out to be far from simple (Lukes, 1986, p.1).

In the previous chapter the students' meanings of power were explored and four major themes were recognized. Multiple concepts and theories of power interlaced the students' attempts to illuminate the meanings of everyday power in the Brown house. For example, in the first major theme, *teachers' power is an ideal*, the students alluded to ideal power theoretically. They looked at ideal power as the rule of right rather than might (Lenski, 1986). Their interpretations of ideal power repudiated the idea of power as a domination - versus - obedience relationship and allowed for a more legitimate and moral understanding of power[1]. As was shown, the participants employed political language and examined systems by which, according to Arendt (1986), 'man rules over man' [sic]. Ideal power, according to the students' views, is institutionalized power, which they saw as invested in the hands of legitimate authority figures (Arendt, 1986; Lenski, 1986). Teachers were considered legitimate authority figures only if they could employ principles of good pedagogy, justice and caring teaching.

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[1] I will demonstrate this argument further in this chapter.

In explaining the second theme, *teachers' power is conditional*, the participants also introduced the ideas of resistance and struggle[2]. Students struggled with or resisted the teachers' institutional power publicly, actively and vocally. As I will expand below, resistance and struggle were explored as a function of legitimacy and as a legitimate function, as students' defense of right against might. The participants did not describe their resistance as an oppositional act that is necessarily restricted. Their actions seemed legitimate to them. The students enacted their power to offer alternatives in a relatively free, and at least partially welcomed, exchange. In describing their resistance, the students used phrases such as 'I step in and teach the class', 'act ridiculous', 'trying to control the class' and 'show them that they are a bad teacher'. These phrases do not carry the burden of subordination that was explored in Chapter Three and may reject previous theoretical notions of resistance altogether. Further, in the third major theme, *students' have varied interests in schooling*, the students strengthened the idea of a struggle over distribution between and among a multiplicity of interests and discourses. Lastly, in the fourth major theme, *students power is enacted based on necessity*, students explained their varied choices of agency and the circumstances that affected and changed their choices.

In this chapter these perspectives will be compared to prevailing theoretical concepts of power, particularly those that were introduced in Chapter Three. By discussing and comparing various conceptions of power I will try to signify how

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[2] The concept of resistance was introduced in Chapter Three, and the discussion here follows this established terminology of power.

everyday power in the Brown house relates to different concepts. In analyzing the students' perspectives of various theories and concepts of power, I will engage in a theoretical conversation with these dominant theories and question how concepts that the students used relate, support or problematise these definitions of power. Based on these comparisons, I will layout some problems and questions which will show where changes in the conceptualization of power in education may be required and may carry implications for how democratic education is perceived and practiced.

The One – Dimensional View: Power is a Resource

Power in the Brown house was described as a resource. One can have it, take it, share it, let go of it, or give it to others willingly. While teachers were given authority to teach, they were not given control of the resources of power in the house. Thus, "it [was] all about the balance of power between teachers and students and how much they're willing to give each other" (Irene, Third interview, 05.15.2007, p.16). Aiden, for example, preferred to take power from teachers.

Aiden: Personally, I think I contribute and take away at the same time.

Mor: Why?

Aiden: I contribute my own and take away from the teacher (Aiden, Second interview, 05.05.2007, p.2)…. you take it, you know you take away the teachers' power, and by taking it away from them you now have it… it's a power trip. [You] want to be an authority figure because you have power over somebody and it's a power trip on my side to be able to take that power away from somebody (Aiden, Second interview, 05.05.2007, p. 12).

Contrary to Aiden, Henry thought that teachers and students in the Brown house "coexist peacefully" (Henry, Second interview, 04.20.2007, p. 29). Between these two views, which manifested in different behaviors, various degrees of power exchanges over the distribution of educational goods took place between teachers and students and among students and peers. Irene explained that this was the case in the Brown house because:

> Everyone has some power and then they have the choice whether to take their power for themselves, which could in some ways harm the class but in other ways can help it, depending on the situation. Or, they could give their power to the teacher and give the teacher power to be in charge of the class, and then that could be good or bad depending on the situation (Irene, Third interview, 05.15.2007, p.3).

Seven participants agreed that all the students in the Brown house had power. Four students specifically said that power was equally distributed among the students in the Brown house: "Everybody is equal, everybody has an equal amount of power" (Hillary, Second interview, 05.21.2007, p.27). Three participants, including Irene, described power distribution as less precise. However, all the participants agreed that students could make various decisions and choices to "change the way a teacher teaches the class.…"(Karyn, Third interview, 05.14.2007, p.14). [Because] "All the kids can influence the teachers in one way or another" (Delicia, Second interview, 04.23.2007, p.6). In other words, power resources were available to all the Brown house members to use according to their choices because there were neither limitations on the students' power nor bias, no consistent prejudices. Each student could have pursued his or her

interests according to his or her educational beliefs and their underlying conditions.

In this description, the students attest to a distributive approach to the study of power, an approach that is underpinned by questions about justice and social stratification, and "the ways in which power maintains social systems and advances conflicting collective interests within them"(Lukes, 1986, p.4). Since this approach focuses on "effects upon interests" (p.9), Lukes suggested that a more localized version of this question might be "who can adversely affect the interests of whom?"(p.9) Lukes called this approach the *one-dimensional view* of power (Lukes,1986; 2005). According to this view, one can claim that power is equally distributed if no observable and measurable limitations are revealed during decision-making processes whereby people participate and express their varied opinions about issues on which they are conflicted. Furthermore, to say that no such consistent biases exist means that members of particular social groups, with particular social standings towards the powerful, are not entirely and consistently discriminated against. The participants supported this description of everyday power in all relevant components of this definition. First, three female students explicitly claimed that there were no limits on the students' participation[3] because "in the classroom everybody's treated fairly" (Lysandra, Second interview, 04.30.2007, p.11). More precisely, all nine youths claimed that there was no racial discrimination in the house: "I don't think that being black or white or a Jewish or Hispanic or anything could really help your chances or lower your chances of getting a good evaluation of you from your teacher" (Max, Second interview, 04.24.2007, p.6). Finally, all the six female

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[3] See Karyn's and Delicia's quotes in the previous paragraph.

participants (but none of the three male participants) added that there was no gender

discrimination. "When it comes to gender students are equal" (Delicia, Second interview,

04.23.2007, p.4). "I think that overall…just everybody's evaluated the same. I don't think

that race or gender really comes in between that" (Lysandra, Second interview,

04.30.2007, p.5).

Rather than being ruled or adversely affected by the teachers, for example with

preferential and biased evaluation, all the participants agreed that the students themselves

made decisions and choices in the classroom. "…Everybody makes their own decisions

and they are not really based on the color of your skin, or what you look like….It

depends on what you feel like doing, and the choices you want to make" (Max, Second

interview, 04.24.2007, p.12-13). In the same manner, six students, including Max, ratified

that their participation was not influenced by their social reference groups. In their view,

the Brown house thus was a relatively free arena, in which opinions and criticisms were

exchanged. "If we are talking about something in class and somebody has something they

want to say about it then they get to say it. (Karyn, Second interview, 05.02.2007,

p.15)….as long as it relates to what we're talking about…"(Karyn, Second interview,

05.02.2007, p. 17).

As shown in Chapter Five, the students in the house used their power resources

to support and reject various interests about teaching and learning, and to form groups

and coalitions. Arguments about learning preferences were formed between students and

teachers "…because if a kid wants something one way and the teachers want to teach

their way then they might start arguing about it"(Karyn, Second interview, 05.02.2007,

p.32). In addition, the students supported each other to strengthen their alliances because, "if multiple people think the same way then the idea is stronger because there are more people backing it up. I mean, if there is a bigger army on one side and a smaller one on the other side, the bigger one usually wins" (Max, Second interview, 04.28.2007, p.20). Using support to build and strengthen particular preferences in this way could only be done if power was a resource that could have been added and transformed at will.

According to the participants, power in the Brown house was exchanged between students and teachers and between students themselves in various ways and to various degrees[4]. These in turn were manifestations of chosen preferences and related to different world views about teaching and learning. Different preferences were held by individuals and groups whose behaviors and voices were used to support their conflicting interests against both teachers and students. According to the students, the Brown house was a balanced and democratic educational community[5] in which the students could have used their power resources, as five participants explicitly maintained. The voluntaristic and democratic tone of this approach to power is well demonstrated by Irene:

> Irene: … It's an interesting way to think about it; about like the exchange of power and how teachers allow students to have a certain amount of power, and how students allow teachers to have a certain amount of power.

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[4] The different degrees of enacting power by choice were explained in the fourth major theme *students' power is enacted upon necessity and in relation to the students' interests and the teachers' discourses* in Chapter Five.

[5] By democratic educational community I refer to the Brown house being democratic in its power distribution according to Lukes' definition of one-dimensional power. I do not refer to the house practice of democratic education, although it is implied by the students' descriptions. I will explore the implications of everyday power in the house to its practice of democratic education separately.

Mor: So you allow each other?

Irene: Uh-huh

Mor: Is it in Brown house or everywhere?

Irene: I think everywhere. I mean I don't know if teachers always allow students to have power but they are always able to allow students… like you know, teachers always have a certain amount of power, and it's up to them how much power they allow the students. I think … Brown house allows the students more power than other houses. But all teachers have the ability to offer power to students and all students have the ability to offer power to teachers (Irene, Third interview, 05.15.2007, p. 14).

The Two - Dimensional View: Is Power a Resource?

While all the students had the ability to influence the class by using their power resources, their choices differed. Here already lies a tension, which was part of the justification for conducting this study, and which this chapter addresses[6]. If power in the Brown house was indeed distributed to all, as the students so far affirmed; if, due to its democratic character[7] or its structure inspired by the Small Schools movement, the Brown house at least diminished power inequalities, why is it that power was used to

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[6] This tension is the focal problem that I identified in democratic education scholars' interpretation of power, as I explained in Chapter Three. By employing democratic pedagogies, scholars argue that power inequalities could be eroded. However, students do not necessarily use power equally in response to such practices. Furthermore, students' may respond with anxiety (Ellsworth, 1999; Powell; 1997), resistance (Ellsworth, 1992; Powell; 1997) emotional reservation (Sharp; 1993) and domination (Gregory, 2004a) to such democratic practices. This may mean that the way in which democratic education scholars understand the relationship between power and democratic education require more theoretical considerations.

[7] Although I refer here to democratic education as a practice, it is mentioned as an assumption and not as a conviction. In this chapter, I continue to examine power according to power theories as grounds for my theoretical conversation with democratic education scholars, which will be explored separately.

different degrees? Why was it mostly used by the few? Why did not more students choose to enact their power and pursue their interests? Why did some students have more power than others, as their class participation revealed and as seven participants stated? A further examination of the data provides several possible approaches to answering these questions.

First, within the one-dimensional view, and as the participants explained in Chapter Five, it was the students' choice. Most of the Brown house teachers reflected many of the students' interests and the world views with which they justified their interests. These students' action, agency, or use of power seemed unnecessary to them. The students themselves were content with the way things were, as Lysandra, for example, explained how she did not have to enact her power in her three teachers' rooms. Only those students whose interests and world views conflicted with those of the teachers', or those of other students', thought action was required. Seven of the nine participants, used similar reasoning to explain why quiet students did not participate in the house. "Nobody is stopping them. They just choose not to sometimes. For what reason, I don't know" (Delicia, Second interview, 04.30.2007, p.20). Three participants claimed that the quiet students chose not to speak, two claimed that the quiet students did not care about the class, and five said that they chose to be quiet because they were shy or naturally quiet[8]. Hilary, whose selection for this study and her classroom behavior differed from that of the other participants, similarly self-described, "… I get like shy. Like, I don't like to say things in front of people …so, I just like pull people to the side

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[8] More references to students' choosing to be quiet will be further discussed below.

(Hilary, Third interview, 05.21.2007, p.4)….if it is really that important I would say it (Mor: uh-huh) and if it's not really that important…I don't say it" (p.8). According to this view of power, students used power to different degrees as their choices, not powerful others, dictated.

> …Some kids don't care, some kids just act like it anyway, and some kids …decide that it's better to be quiet in the class. So, some kids might decide that it's better to be more noticed in that class and be more outgoing, and some kids may decide that it's better to just be good students and don't really try and do too much (Max, Third interview, 05.13.2007, p.10).

Second, as suggested by many scholars of power in education, further examination of other distributive explanations of power, which Lukes (1986; 2005) called two-dimensional and three-dimensional views of power, could provide solid answers to the questions with which I opened this section. Already in explaining the quiet students' choices in the house the likelihood of viewing power as governed by mechanisms of bias or discourse emerged in the participants' descriptions. For example, Henry described how "some people just want to be heard and they don't care what they have to say and some people just don't want to…attract too much attention to themselves" (Henry, Second interview, 04.20.2007, p.25). Why didn't some quiet students care? Why wouldn't some students want to attract attention? Were these merely personal qualities or preferences? From Nitara's and Karyn's descriptions students' choice to be silent being merely an idiosyncrasy is seriously doubted, according to the two-dimensional view of power. It is rather more likely that some students were silenced by others who ridiculed or

embarrassed them. However, only Nitara related being shy with being silenced by more powerful individuals in the classroom. She was the only participant whose perception of the quiet students' choice supported the two-dimensional view of power.

> Some kids probably be shy to ask people. Some people like in Mr. D's class if they ask a question are considered dumb. They'll be like, wow, you're so dumb. Why don't you know that and whatever? Then you don't want to ask any more questions because you are so embarrassed from asking that question (Nitara, Second interview, 05.25.2007, p.17).

Other affirmations of bias were also voiced during the interviews. Three students, including two African American young women and a bi-racial young man, claimed that students were racially biased in the Brown house and two male participants said that there was gender discrimination in the house as well. More importantly, all nine participants agreed that the teachers' privileged certain students due to their academic and behavioral performances. These could mean that power in the house was exercised by the powerful[9] who were, to use Lukes' (1986) explanation of such situations, "...also controlling the agenda, mobilizing the bias of the system, determining which issues are 'key' issues…and excluding those which threaten the interests of the powerful" (p.9). Nevertheless, three main problems with this two-dimensional view of power require attention. The consistency of the evidence of a steady and intentional bias is clearly

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[9] The powerful according to Nitara's example were students who could silence others during classroom interactions, not the teachers. However it is not likely that some students had the ability to act as the powerful consistently in the Brown house, as I further discuss below. In the students' social realm, cliques were discussed as establishers of powerful and powerless students, but it is not clear if and how these relationships translated into power in the classroom. The effects of peer groups and cliques on everyday power were not the focus of this study and more explorations are required in this respect.

lacking since the same participants also claimed that there was no bias and that there were no limitations on the students' abilities to use power. Second, the participants described students and teachers alike as powerful groups that are responsible for 'mobilizing the system's bias'. An explanation of power whereby multiple powerful groups exist leans towards a more pluralistic view of distribution than that offered by the two-dimensional view of power. In other words, multiple biases are no bias at all. But more importantly, it is difficult to resolve the teacher's being a powerful figure, according to this two-dimensional view of power, with the participants' own preferences for ideal teachers' power in the previous chapter and with their descriptions of their own choices of enacting power. In the following sections I will show how the students' perceptions clarify these three problems, and consequently, what their view of everyday power implies from a theoretical standpoint.

The Three – Dimensional View: Intentional Bias or Discourse?

The first problem with the two-dimensional view of power was that the consistency of the evidence of a steady and intentional bias was lacking in the students' descriptions of the Brown house. For example, on the issue of a consistent racial bias, Delicia claimed, "I think there are some teachers, they might think a lot of African-Americans in the house …I'm not going to say they're not serious or work, but they tend to goof off a little bit more than others" (Delicia, Second interview, 04.23.2007, p.3). "Just…the teachers have lower expectations for African-Americans than what they have for white people, white kids" (Delicia, Second interview, 04.23.2007, p.20). All four African American female participants and the two bi-racial male participants addressed

this racial/cultural difference of behavior, or attitude to learning, between the students in the classroom. However, while Delicia and more so Nitara struggled with this description, the others, sometimes uncomfortably[10], accepted it as a realistic representation of racial differences in the house. While racial stereotypes and cultural differences bothered some of the students, as did other characteristics of social circles' ties, these mattered more in the students' social realm (Adler & Adler, 1998; Orenstein, 1994; Simmons, 2011), as five students described. This students' social realm is not part of this study's focus, but its effects on everyday power in the classroom should be further studied. In the classroom the students' descriptions mainly portrayed the teachers' racial bias as manifestations of discourse rather than a cognizant and intentional attempt to exclude issues that threaten the interests of the powerful. "I don't think they know exactly why they do it. I don't know. I don't think they notice that they do it" (Delicia, Third interview, 05.14.2007, pp.11-12). Teachers' lower expectations or dissatisfaction with African American students was the result of something and not the moving force of the house's agenda. Similarly, the students' responses to this bias were described as variations of emotional discomfort, not resistance and grievances, a point which requires more attention and that I will expand upon shortly below.

Gender bias also was described by Henry and Aiden as a cultural practice which affected behavior since "some teachers will (sic) still don't think that chivalry is dead"

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[10] The students' attitudes to racial and cultural differences between the students in the house were expressed from different points of view. Some were uncomfortable to express stereotypical thoughts about other races (e.g. Henry and Delicia) and some were very casual in expressing stereotypical ideas about their own race and on others (e.g. Lysandra, Aiden and Irene). The difference between the participants could not be characterized as a racially based difference conclusively.

(Henry, Second interview, 04.20.2007, p.7). Even Aiden, who was convinced that male students were less listened to, did not claim that they were excluded from the agenda. "I wouldn't say that, [I'm not listened to] just that girls are listened to more" (Aiden, Third interview, 05.25.2007, p.10). Furthermore, while all six female participants explicitly said that there was no gender bias in the house, Irene's explanation suggested that this way of thinking too could have been a result of a discursive practice rather than a representation of reality in the Brown house. While "all the girls thought in sixth-grade, that he [Mr. Brown] like really favored boys [and] was really, really sexist" (Irene, Second interview, 05.01.2007, p.7) she has "sort of gotten over that" (Irene, Second interview, 05.01.2007, p.7). But Irene also doubted "if he stopped or if I stopped noticing" (Irene, Second interview, 05.01.2007, p.7). The teachers' bias while ruling the class, as the students described, was not practiced as an intentional tendency, or policy, to exclude certain students from the conversation because they threatened the teachers' interests. Other mechanisms of power, which are associated with the *three-dimensional view* of power, have probably dominated the teachers' practice, and also influenced the students' perceptions of the existence of socially and culturally rooted biases in the house.

　　　In keeping with the example of the quiet students, seven students suggested that these students actually silence themselves. "Students limit themselves by saying, 'oh, I don't want to say it', or 'I don't want to speak'" (Aiden, Second interview, 05.05.2007, p.17). Self-disciplining by others' criteria is one of the most effective mechanisms of power according to the *three-dimensional view* and Foucault's view of power (Anderson and Grinberg, 1998; Lukes, 2005). Thus, it seems that the quiet students' behaviors also

were the result of a discursive practice of power; power that circulated through cultural ways of being[11] and affected the powerful as well as the powerless in the Brown house. Both teachers' and students' discourses could have caused self-doubt and loss of voice[12] for students. Both teachers' and students' discourses circulated through their words and actions and affected each other. This distributive approach to power, like the one-dimensional view, easily follows the students' perception of power in Chapter Five, as I will conclude below.

The participants described few possible reasons for students to self-discipline. One reason was that the quiet students thought that the majority of students would not agree with their point of view: "…they have got a different view then everybody else has"(Karyn, Second interview, 05.02.2007, p.15) ; "... they are not expressing [their opinion] because of …the fear that it's not the right thing to say, it's not moral to say it… (Henry, Second interview, 04.20.2007, p.23); "people [will] get angry at them" (Karyn, Second interview, 05.02.2007, p.15). Another reason was that the quiet students were "afraid of… getting made fun of" (Irene, Second interview, 05.01.2007, p.17) and "humiliated about what they say" (Max, Second interview, 04.24.2007, p.16). This description puts Nitara's view in a different perspective. Powerful students did not silence the quiet students; the latter so chose because they were afraid. It is not that they were not limited by powerful others, but rather that they were limited by a different mechanism

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[11] In Chapter Three I defined discourse as 'ways of being in the world', and 'forms of life' (Gee, 1996). I will continue to refer to these phrases as discourse throughout the chapters.

[12] I defined voice in Chapter Two and will continue to address it accordingly throughout this chapter as students' use of their voice to make themselves visible and define themselves as authors of their own world. In this way voice is seen as part of agency as it is defined above.

which they participated in bringing about.

> You're gonna feel all self-conscious… you're going to think twice like, 'oh-oh, maybe I shouldn't say this because somebody's going to laugh at me, or say something mean about it'. …. I mean there are some opinions you should keep to yourself because sometimes those opinions cause other people to not want to say anything (Max, Second interview, 04.24.2007, p. 16).

Looking at power as distribution through discourse can cast new light also on Delicia's perception of racial bias in the house. It was not a racially focused bias that Delicia described, as can be also shown by her own choice of words which compare attitudes to learning: "They have higher expectations for kids who always get A's, and they have okay expectations for kids who get C's" (Delicia, Second interview, 04.23.2007, p.4). It was a dominant discourse that, to Delicia, Nitara[13] and possibly other African American students in the Brown house, seemed to have coincided with racial preferences, and was probably less sensitive to their discourse. To those students, who constantly examined their own behaviors through the teachers' discourses, or other students' discourses, self-censorship seemed the only possible choice in light of others' normalizing gaze. "African-Americans …because of the teachers like being that way they might not feel comfortable asking a question (Mor: uh-huh) because that just like puts them down even lower than what teachers already has" (Delicia, Second interview, 04.23.2007, p.20). These students,

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[13] In Chapter Five I quoted Nitara's description of caring teachers in the house, who did not give up on any student. Nitara's claim that there was racial bias also doesn't resonate with her description of the moral and therefore legitimate teaching in the Brown house.

who were not only African Americans[14], internalized others' ways of being as good and desired, and accordingly experienced their lives in the classroom. But choosing to abide by a dominant discourse was not the only available option in response to discourse, as Lysandra, Hilary, Aiden and others have chosen and explained in Chapter Five. Thus, in solving the first problem with the two-dimensional view of power, and pointing towards the three dimensional view, and while still leaving my question 'why do students use power to different degrees?' open, the existence of discourse intensified the second problem, how having multiple powerful groups can be explained in terms of power. In other words, the question that requires further attention is, was it possible to have discourse as well as pluralism and free choice simultaneously in the Brown house?

A Dominant Discourse or a Struggle among Discourses?

As I claimed and demonstrated in several places above, not only the teachers, but also students, circulated discourses and affected the responses of students in the classroom. Students chose silence or speech, and formed opinions while also being influenced by other students in the classroom. Does that mean that these influencing students were only powerful according to the teachers' discourse? Was there just one dominant discourse in the Brown house? I intend to explore these questions in this section. For that purpose it will be appropriate to explore what the students described as favoritism in the Brown house. Were there favorite students who necessarily circulated the same discourse as the teacher, or were there multiple discourses in the classroom?

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[14] Not only African American students chose not to speak. The participants did not refer to social references when they described quiet students, and my class observations also showed that quiet students were of diverse backgrounds,

Were particular students always winners and losers[15]? Differences in perspectives were evident in the students' words when they described favoritism in the Brown house, which suggest, as the previous section in other respects, that favoritism was not an example of bias. Rather, the students in the house evaluated its justice and legitimacy from a plurality of ways of life at all times[16].

For example, Aiden and Irene, the two participants who, more than all the others, believed that students must use their power and guard against the realization of injustice, claimed that the teachers preferred students who were, "just quiet, not disturbing, just getting the facts in and getting out" (Aiden, Second interview, 05.05.2007, p.11); "They like the people...who don't speak out against them" (Irene, Second interview,05.01.2007, p.5); "They prefer smart kids who aren't as outspoken" (Irene, Second interview, 05.01.2007, p.8). From these words one can easily be convinced that these two students, and students like them, were not the favorite ones, meaning that they were excluded from influencing the agenda, that the teachers restricted their speech, and that their voices were less accepted in the classroom, as Karyn verified: "He does have people he dislikes so he might be harder on them …. Mr. Brown doesn't

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[15] According to distributive views of power, influencing the agenda is a matter of winning and losing because one side's interests eventually govern the decision making process at the others' expense. From a distributive view of power this logic of winning and losing dominates regardless of the fairness and inclusiveness of the decision process.

[16] While all nine youths claimed that there was favoritism in the Brown house they described different and varied kinds of favorite students. Nine students claimed that good students were the favorites, but the definitions of a good student were not the same. Four students claimed that good behaving students were the favorites. These four associated also good behavior with good grades. Three students claimed that quiet and conforming students were the favorites and two students claimed that weak students were getting more attention from the teachers. Getting attention and getting permission to participate were synonymously used as criteria to identify teachers' favoritism. Two African American young women thought that race was also involved in the teachers' favorites, but I already discussed how racial bias and a discourse towards learning coincided in the previous section.

like her [Irene] very much so he… makes it harder for her" (Karyn, Second interview, 05.02.2007, pp. 3-4). But was this the nature of the teachers' favoritism? Does favoritism, the way these three students viewed it, bring this discussion back to a two-dimensional view of power as an intentional bias, or is it an example of something else? Were Aiden and Irene resistant students who always lost to the dominant discourse? The following discussion will show that it is not at all clear that Aiden and Irene were discriminated against, but that their voices were strong, present and influential.

Contrary to Irene's description of teachers' favoritism, Lysandra posed an alternative description. In her view, Irene and students like her were the favorite students who were always chosen to develop the debates in the class. "...The teachers might call on them more because they know that they … argue a lot. So that's good for the class. … Mr. Brown might call on Irene more because he knows that she's a good debater" (Lysandra, Second interview, 04.30.2007, p.31). Irene also described how significant her contribution to class debates[17]was on numerous occasions throughout the interviews, as the quotes below will show. "I'll probably interview me and Karyn, because we talk a lot (laughing) ….we change the course of the conversation often" (Irene, First interview, 03.10.2007, p.3).

> …If nobody's talking I always have something to say, so I can keep the
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> conversation going. And then, we starts like debates and arguments with the
>
> other people in the class and we go back and forth a lot, and that way we learn.

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[17] Throughout this chapter, I will use words such as debates, arguments, disagreements and quarrels as examples of students' voice and agency while struggling over the class' agenda.

And we hear other people's opinions and it's good. And sometimes my teachers

do stop me from talking too, and they say I've been raising my hands too much,

but (Irene, First interview, 03.10.2007, p.7).

Not only were the teachers not excluding Irene, they shared her view that various

opinions should be sought and invited her participation often. Aiden's voice, similarly,

was more prevalent than that of other students despite his description of teachers'

favoritism. "Mor: Why do you have more power than other students? Aiden: Because I

voice myself "(Aiden, Third interview, 05.25.2007, p.17). Yet, Aiden intended to

influence the other students in the class more than he intended to influence the teachers,

as others also maintained.[18] "I guess Aiden…most teachers are kind of fed up with him,

but a lot of kids listen to him" (Max, Third interview, 05.13.2007, p.11).

According to the participants, Aiden and Irene were included in the Brown

house agenda even more than other students were, except when they overstepped certain

limits, in which cases both students and teachers wanted them to stop talking. This

'overstepping of the limits' tended to correlate to the participants' own perceptions of how

much power they believed that they should have used in the classroom, perceptions that

their peers did not necessarily share. As I demonstrated in the third major theme, Henry's

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[18] Both Aiden and Irene, to slightly different extents, concentrated their power resources on the students, unlike others who concentrated on the teachers. Max's explanation of students' power will also verify the importance of this distinction below. "Mor: when you want to be heard who is the most important to you the school, the house, the class, your friends, the teachers? ... Aiden: the class…my equals…the whole class….well no [not the teacher], the student…. because the teachers lived a life….They already think what they think, they already know what they know and they already believe what they believe" (Aiden, Third interview,05.25.2007, pp.8-9)."I really never say it to a specific person it's …just like a comment that I'm posing just for people to think about in general or just take it in as part of the thing that we are talking about" (Irene, Third interview, 05.15.2007, p.11).

interests for instance were very different than these two students, and similarly his

conception of the necessity of power was conflicting with Aiden's and Irene's. Other

views about power and learning were also constantly exchanged among the students in

each classroom, except in the classes of tyrannical teachers. Thus, while speaking and

pursuing their interests the students had to face all the others in the class in addition to the

teachers. Influencing the final decision on the agenda, being chosen over others' opinions,

or winning[19], could not be always guaranteed.

      For example, since Irene believed that it is important to 'show teachers that they

are not always right' and to explore alternative opinions in the classroom "if you only

hear the teacher's point of view then I mean you can almost call it brainwashing, like you

be so strongly influenced by that one point of view" (Irene, Second interview,

05.01.2007, p 12), she defended her ideas strongly in the classroom.

      Sometimes…I know that even if I said something and I would want to hear it,

      they are not going to listen, but I just say it anyway, because I feel like if I don't

      say it then it's bad, because it needs to be said, whether they will listen to it or

      not (Irene, Third interview, 05.15.2007, p.11). I mean even if they don't like

      agree, I still said it and they still think about it, even if they don't mean to. Like,

      they heard me, so that's what matters (Irene, First interview, 03.10.2007, p.7).

      This means that Irene, as she explained it, tried to force her opinion on the

discussed subject matter, and her view on how much students should participate, on the

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[19] These three descriptions for being the final influence on the agenda will be used here synonymously, as I
explained before.

other classroom's participants. Sometimes, Irene asserted her views in ways that to others may have appeared as attempts to dominate or control the agenda by arguing forcefully and relentlessly. In response the other contributors just ignored her, rejected her attempts to dominate. "…a lot of kids just sort of tune her out, don't listen to her anymore, because she just talks too much and she knows it….so there are some kids that just ... lose power because how much they talk" (Max, Third interview, 05.13.2007, p.14). The teachers as well, according to Irene's own description, "don't really like hate me hate me, they get mad at me"(Irene, First interview, 03.10.2007, p.5). Because Irene overstepped the limits "sometimes they say I don't know when to stop arguing or talking" (Irene, First interview, 03.10.2007, p.5) and that is when she gets reprimanded and her voice is denied. "Well, sometimes I use it more…anyone has the ability to use their power as much, but I use it more (laughs). Sometimes I push it a little….because I have a lot to say… yeah. . I find importance like…I actually had to say it in class" (Irene, Third interview, 05.15.2007, p.17). According to Max and Lysandra, and also Irene, she was not excluded from the agenda. As their excerpts show, Irene was accepted and valued, except on occasions when she knew that she over argued her opinions[20]. Even if disappointed for not being able to always persuade the class with her ideas, Irene successfully influenced other students' opinions in the class, but not all: "She is really…outspoken….She talks and everybody know Irene as the talkative person" (Lysandra, Second interview, 04.30.2007,

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[20] By 'over arguing' I mean, as the excerpts demonstrate as well, that while Irene believed that she was giving reasons and support for her opinions in the class' debates, others, like Max, may have thought that Irene is repeating her words unlimitedly, over and over again. This tendency to 'over argue' was also mentioned in Irene's self-description on how she 'pushes the limits a little', and was also apparent during my observations. In other words, Irene knew that she was repeating her argument again and again, and not only supporting her opinions.

p.13). Irene was winning and losing debates, in her words, 'sometimes', depending on the extent to which the majority in the class accepted or rejected her views in different occasions.

Aiden's opinions were also both accepted and rejected, as I showed in exploring the fourth major theme.

> With [Mr.] Brown it tends to be I try to start something and he shuts me down immediately, but with Mr. D…it can be helpful, it can also…be destructive. It can also take people off topic…make the entire class do their own thing….sometimes it works and sometimes it doesn't (Aiden, Second interview, 05.05.2007, p.8).[21]

When Aiden's view of the necessity of enacting his power, as I explained in Chapter Five, was taken to its extreme, he was reprimanded and punished, as he explains: "As long as you don't distract anyone else Miss. X. and Mr. D allow for degrees of it.… it's not 'do your own thing' but…you have your own freedom to an extent. If you cross that line of course then you're gonna get in trouble" (Aiden, Second interview, 05.05.2007, p.6). Yet, in those cases other students also may have rejected Aiden's interpretation of the necessity of students' power. Thus, it was not the teachers' attempt to silence Aiden on a whim, or because the teacher was using his power excessively, that Aiden's voice was sometimes rejected. As Hilary explained Aiden was "negative"(Hilary, Second interview, 05.21.2007, p.20) and he "came out of nowhere"(Hilary, Second interview, 05.21.2007,

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[21] Aiden's description here is in agreement with Irene's summary of negative and positive exchanges of power, which I will revisit further below.

p.20), meaning he was not addressing what was discussed by the class. Furthermore, Aiden was talking over others; Aiden was "just like speaking out" (Hilary, Second interview, 05.21.2007, p.20). Every so often, the majority in the class viewed Aiden's voice, like Irene's, as an attempt to dominate the agenda, and in those occasions the other partakers rejected such attempts. "Not all the time, but he goes a little far sometimes"(Max, Third interview, 05.13.2007, p.11).

Another perceptional gap about favoritism was between the participants who claimed that good students were given more opportunities to speak, to those who claimed that less dedicated students were given more attention and opportunities. Hilary, for example, similarly to Lysandra, associated getting permission to speak with being the teachers' favorites. "…he'll pick like the main people that talk throughout like the whole class to like speak on everything….most people like they raise their hands but they don't get picked on so I think it's, the teacher has favorites"(Hilary, Second interview, 05.21.2007, p.14). Henry however thought that students with bad grades got more attention from the teachers. "…If they getting really bad grades and their behavior is bad….they get more attention from the teachers. Because the teachers want them to do better whereas the people that are getting constant A's are pretty much good to go…"(Henry, Second interview, 04.20.2007, p.6). Surprisingly, Hilary changed her view and reversed her description, now supporting Henry's. "…Actually, they pay attention to the kids that come there that don't want to learn….they'll pick on like me to answer the question , because they want to see if I'm like learning or paying attention"(Hilary, Second interview, 05.21.2007, pp.14-15)**.**

Not 'All of Both or All of Either'

> *…Some kids they might have all the power over the class but they have no power with the teacher…and some kids that only have power with the teacher they can change what the teacher does maybe, but they don't have any power or control in the class. So, I could change the class to a certain extent and I could change what the teacher does somewhat. But I can't do all of both, or all of either… It's good to have the power in both…you don't have 100% or 0% of power in the class (Max, Third interview, 05.13.2007, pp.13-14).*

As the examples above show, what the students perceived as favoritism did not follow a consistent single pattern, meaning, that on various occasions, different students won and lost the support of classmates and teachers; different students received attention and permission to express their voices in the class; different world views about teaching and learning took precedence over others in the classes' agendas. In accord with the previous chapter's four major themes, the students' multiple views on justice and education, and the teachers' views, were in a constant struggle over the classroom's agenda, and over voice[22] and participation. Through their voices and actions, the students promoted various interests, and choices of agency, which show that choosing to act and participate was at least possible. While winning was not guaranteed, as is always the case in a democracy[23], the choice to act was not restricted by bias. Rather, it was what Irene described as natural feelings, such as annoyance and frustration, during struggles between world views that some students confused with bias. "If you're talking about something and then somebody starts arguing with you, you start arguing back and that's how like

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[22] By voice I mean all forms of communication, i.e. debates, arguments, questions, disagreements, by which the students presented and struggled for their world views.

[23] As I have explained above, democracy as winning and losing is implied by distributive conceptions of power, which is the concept that this chapter explores.

people are, its human nature. Or if someone contradicts you, you get annoyed and argue with them" (Irene, Third interview, 05.15.2007, p.6).

What the students differently described as favoritism, or bias, consisted of particular struggles over the class' agenda which they failed to influence according to their beliefs. This was the case because other interests were prioritized by the other participants. It happened because, as Max explained, power was not a zero sum game but a constant exchange. If Irene's and Aiden's beliefs differed from other students', each participant or group could have argued for their different interests. However, when one side failed to carry the debate through, when choices were made and others were denied by the students or by the teachers, the disappointed students often accused the teachers of not being balanced.

Juxtaposing this description of a pluralistic struggle over the class' agenda with the previous section's conclusion that teachers' and students' discourses circulated through their words and actions, leads to the conclusion that discourse and unintentional bias was the underlying distributional mechanism of power in the Brown house. Not a single dominant discourse was constantly winning, but multiple discourses were competing for support between students and teachers and among the students. The students' perceptions of all kinds of bias reflected their world views and their beliefs, their deep ways of being in the world, the views that they sided with in a pluralistic struggle. The two problems that I addressed, namely, how could the students' inconsistent descriptions of bias and the existence of multiple powerful groups be explained in terms of power, both lead to understanding power in the Brown house as underpinned by discourse, pluralism and

democratic exchange of ideas. This distributional view not only supports the four themes with which the participants introduced their meaning of power, but also brings the discussion a full circle back to where it began, with a pluralistic and democratic view of power as a one-dimensional distribution.

According to the participants, students in the Brown house had different interests and beliefs about teaching and learning. Due to what the students perceived as necessary and in relation to others' interests and discourses, the students enacted their power in a struggle between world views which was on-going, pluralistically open to students' participation and hence democratic[24]. Power resources were available and the choice to use them was taken to different degrees by individual students according to their evaluations, and preferences. Furthermore, as the above discussion on the third view of power established, the Brown house contributors' interests were also not arbitrary. The students' and the teachers' interests were based on discourses. World views that were composed of cultural and social references, and beliefs about education, underpinned what students argued for and circulated the classroom spaces.

As I argued in Chapter Three, the existence of different discourses does not contradict freedom of choice. Systems of meanings, discourses, exist in each student's culture, society and social group, and each subject enjoys what Lukes calls a *two way power* to accept or reject them (Lukes, 2005; Taylor &Robinson, 2009). As Lukes (1986)

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[24] As I mentioned before, I now show how democracy is interpreted as pluralism and as a struggle between parties, by the one-dimensional view of power. Throughout this chapter I will continue to interpret democracy in this way, unless I specifically note otherwise.

explains, discourses "structure our field of action, rendering us both unfree and free"[25] (p. 11). This 'two way power' means that students' legitimization of the teachers' discourse was a function of free choice, just as resistance to or rejection of the teachers' discourse was the opposite available free choice to make in the Brown house. Acceptance and rejection were the opposite possible choices in response to the winning discourse of the classroom's agenda, while joint degrees of both options were also available choices that the students could support. But, this ability to alternate between acceptance and struggle was also restricted by a deeper perception of what is right and normal, that is, by discourse. While the students were free to make choices in relation to others' discourses, they could, at the same time, lack or have limited freedom to recognize how they were "tied to their own identity by consciousness and self-knowledge" (Lukes, 1986, p.11). Not only the teachers' discourses or other students' discourses obscured the danger of powerlessness, but other discourses that students found in their culture and social references could also normalize the students' power-related choices in the classroom.

Being at once free and unfree explains how the two problems that I posed in this chapter can be explained with a pluralistic and democratic account of discourse in the Brown house. While in the classroom the students enjoyed the freedom to choose between degrees of acceptance and struggle according to their world views, they were likewise free and unfree in choosing their world view within their social and cultural realms, but they could also be limited in their ability to fully understand their choices.

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[25] Lukes (1986) does not discuss the philosophical underpinnings of freedom which he utilizes in the concept 'both free and unfree'. However, since he uses this concept after having introduced Foucault's philosophy I accept that being free and unfree relates to both of Berlin's (1984) notions of positive and negative freedoms.

This means that the students' conceptions of bias, and their judgments, were tied to

systems of meanings[26] which, although chosen, could have restricted or limited the

students' freedom to recognize their effects. The students' discourses' inherent flexibilities

towards other discourses and towards choice correlated with the participants' choices of

enacting power. This correlation explains the seemingly unfree roots of free decisions.

The discourses that each student has freely chosen, by themselves, could have restricted

the students' freedom to choose and change opinions in a pluralistic struggle. The

students' discourses were rendering them more or less susceptible to choice, change and

pluralism, as Henry's and Max's notions of normality aptly demonstrate such inherent and

opposite orientations within their deep perceptions of life in the class.

Henry's choices were based on a world view that there is one right way, as he

explained, while "there [were]…a lot of choices involved…many of them… [had] an

obvious right and an obvious wrong" (Henry, Second interview, 04.20.2007, p.18). Henry

believed that his choices, in terms of culture, learning, and other aspects of life, were

common-sensical and normal, unlike other choices, although he felt uncomfortable

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[26] Nitara's attitude to discourse demonstrates her personal struggle between what she perceives as African American culture's codes of behavior and Caucasian's view of elements of her culture. Nitara's struggle and perception demonstrate well how she was both free and unfree in choosing her world views and how an African American social group that was alien to the Brown house and influenced Nitara's subjectivity, infiltrated the Brown house agenda. "Maybe the Caucasian people are the nerds and they just want to learn and whatever, and the black, the African American they just yell all the time and curse in class and whatever…. So I'll be quiet so I can make a difference, show the people that just because I'm black I don't have to be loud and whatever….because it's a bad stereotype that people have for us. So I'm trying to change that in class….in girls group we talk about like how other people talk about us black people, about like how young ladies talk like with curse words, something like that. Like the B word, and how we don't do anything about it. So we have to like change it. So I'm trying to like make a change to not have the stereotype on me because I'm black I'm loud or whatever, so we talk about that in girls group"(Nitara, Third interview, 05.25.2007, pp.3-4).

expressing these beliefs. "I think black entertainment television is trying to say 'hey we're black and we're proud of it' whereas the white people are just normal. I mean not saying that black aren't normal…"(Henry, Second interview, 04.30.2007, p.30). Max's beliefs, on the other hand, were less clear-cut in defining normal behavior. "[It] would be really hard to define different because there is not a normal person necessarily in our house. Because what's normal? Different would be based on normal" (Max, Second interview, 04.28.2007, p. 25). "You can act how everyone wants you to act, but you can act normal, it's possible. I mean some kids want to be different, some people like being different. And it's not a bad thing; it's just whatever you want" (Max, Second interview, 04.28.2007, p.25). Henry's and Max's opposing discursive tendencies towards free choice and pluralism reflected their similar choices in relation to the teachers' discourses and towards students' enacting their power.

Beyond Resources

This discussion of the characteristics of power distribution in the house completed a full circle from the first view of power to the third view of power and back to a pluralistic view of distribution. But, could the explanation with which I opened this discussion still hold, i.e., that power in the local setting of the Brown house is a matter of "who can adversely affect the interests of whom" (Lukes, 1986, p. 9)? The participants' descriptions above show that defining power in this way is debatable since there was no definite answer to this question in the Brown house. Instead, different winners and losers intermittently affected the agenda. Furthermore, affecting the agenda, or winning and losing, was a collective endeavor; the outcome of a struggle between several discourses;

the legitimate concurrence of the majority, and not an individual domineering act. Even more so, deep world views, or discourses, were also involved in these processes. Thus, being adversely affecting and affected by another person, or having the upper hand, could not sufficiently capture power in the Brown house. A distributive definition does not suffice in explaining everyday power, and perhaps a different approach to understanding power could capture everyday power and also explain the two questions that were left open: how can teachers' rule be understood according to the students' views, and why do students choose to enact power to different degrees? To examine these possibilities I will first iterate Weber's (1986) foundational definition of power as A's ability to affect B in a manner contrary to B's interests despite B's intentions or willing such effects, and for A's benefit.

What does power as 'effect upon interests' have to do with A's influencing B, or with B's willing an effect, particularly in the Brown house, or in a classroom unit, which is, as the students demonstrated and I argued, pluralistic and democratic? Surely, *will*, *Control*, *effect*, *interests, legitimacy* and similar concepts should be included in any attempt at explaining power in the Brown house, as these were meaningfully attributed to the phenomenon of power by the participants. In dealing, similarly, with the illusiveness in which this concept resists a single and clear-cut definition, Lukes (1986) suggested that power could be viewed also as making a difference. Such approach emphasizes two different sides of power: its locus, i.e., who is making a difference, whose interests come to bear, and its outcomes, i.e., what is the difference that was made (p. 5). This dual outlook can help unpack the questions that I just posed.

In terms of the outcomes of power, this emphasis occupied this chapter through the examination of three different distributive views of power. Distributive approaches to studying power concentrate on assumptions of imbalance, scarcity and competition between groups and individuals on prestige and privilege (Lukes, 1986). They ask questions such as 'who can control whom?', 'who can adversely affect the interests of whom?', 'who can limit the freedom of whom?' and 'who can get what?', and assume that not all but some can get these outcomes, be free and dominate (Lukes, 1986, pp.11-12). "This is the notion of power typically used in sociological studies of stratification or distributive discussions generally[27]" (p.12), what Lenski (1986) calls 'determination of privilege' and 'institutionalized forms of power'. Correspondingly, in such studies of power, locating power is centered on 'whom to hold responsible', on the power elite, as C. Wright Mills suggests (Lukes, 1986, p.13), and as I explored if the students' various affirmations of bias corroborate. However, as Lukes also writes, "This link between power and agency certainly seems, from various points of view, under-simplistic" (p.13), as is the case from the point of analyzing everyday power in the Brown house, where no such institutionalized power elite exists[28], and where direct agency is as possibly separated from institutionalization as can be.

Distributive approaches to understanding power concentrate on heavily institutionalized organizations and prolonged processes. They examine decision making procedures, which are institutionalized by laws and regulations, or/and by ubiquitous

[27] The literature on democratic education is similarly founded on sociological studies of stratification and accordingly views power as distribution as I explained and showed in Chapter Three.
[28] This is once more the time to mention that social circles' influences, as possibly a type of elitism, on the students' power in the class require further investigations.

cultural apparatuses (Habermas, 1986; Lenski, 1986). Even what Lukes (2005;1986) named "community based studies"(Lukes, 1986, p.9) of power focused on smaller governing bodies with institutionalized procedures of decision making. In the Brown house, in contrast, decisions, if they may even be so termed, were not procedural. There were no rules and regulations of decision making facilitation, and no institutionalized long lasting protocols. In the classrooms decisions, or rather choices, were made ad-hoc, in the minute, and could be over-turned the next minute with a new claim for change. Moreover, as I showed in major theme four, decisions were influenced by circumstances such as the teacher's mood and teaching style as well as others. "Students are a big part of each other, as well as the teachers, by just the way that they are on that particular day….it can always change….influence is an enigma….a good old puzzle ….It's really, It's a never-ending cycle" (Aiden, Third interview, 05.25.2007, p.6). Thus, distributive approaches to explaining power are far from capturing power in a classroom, which may be more authentically related to democracy[29] than power in other institutionalized political spheres.

Action-Based Power

Indeed, in a similar way to the one in which I problematised utilizing distributive approaches to studying power in a classroom setting, Habermas (1986) argues that there is a difference between system-based theoretic concepts of power -- *acquisition* and *maintenance* of political power -- and action-based concepts, which

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[29] Unlike democracy as competition, as implied by distributive concepts of power, democracy could be understood as deliberative and radical, as I explored in Chapters Two and Three, and as democratic education scholars also argue is a condition for social change.

designate aspects of political rule and examine how power is generated (p. 84), as he

explains: "In the modern state… the struggle for political power is normalized through

the institutionalization of strategic action…these phenomena of power acquisition and

maintenance have misled political theorists from Hobbes to Schumpeter [and also Weber,

whose definition too examines the acquisition and maintenance of power] to identify

power with a potential for successful strategic action" (p.85). However, Habermas

contends, a zero sum game, or a successful strategic action, as distributional approaches

describe power, result only when different parties, not just in the strictly political sense of

the term, struggle for available power positions. By narrowing the concept of political

power to the phenomena of political competition and power allocation the dominant

theory does not do justice to the real phenomenon of the generation of power (pp.86-87)

because:

> Power is a good for which political groups struggle and with which a political
>
> leadership manages things; but in a certain way both find this good already at
>
> hand; they don't produce it. This is the impotence of the powerful- they have to
>
> borrow their power from the producers of power. This is the credo of Hannah
>
> Arendt (p.87).

Communicative Power

> It is the people's support that lends power to institutions of a country and this
> support is but the continuation of the consent that brought the laws into
> existence to begin with….All political institutions are manifestations and
> materializations of power; they petrify and decay as soon as the living power of
> the people ceases to uphold them (Arendt, 1986, p.63). [30]

Unlike distributive approaches, Arendt "traces back political power exclusively to praxis, to the speaking and acting together of individuals" (Habermas, 1986, p.83). Her understanding of power is an action-based approach that looks at the generation of power as communicative action built up together between individuals in a public space. According to Arendt, "power corresponds to the human ability not just to act but to act in concert. Power is never the property of an individual; it belongs to a group and remains in existence only so long as the group keeps together" (Arendt, 1986, p.64). "Power is actualized only where word and deed have not parted company, where words are not empty and deeds not brutal, where words are not used to violate and destroy but to establish relations and create new realities. Power is what keeps the public realm, the potential space of appearance between acting and speaking men [sic], in existence" (Arendt, 1998, p.200).

After power is generated between speaking and acting men and women, it can be borrowed by the powerful (Habermas, 1986), or lent to institutions to carry on and

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[30] In continuing my closing metaphor of Chapter Five, Arendt engaged in a theoretical conversation with Hobbes's notions of authority and freedom (Arendt, 1977a)

materialize the living power of the group (Arendt, 1986). Thus, "when we say of somebody that he is 'in power' we actually refer to his being empowered[31] by a certain number of people to act in their name. The moment the group from which the power originated to begin with disappears 'his power' also vanishes"[32] (Arendt, 1986, p.64). Without the group, power losses its relevancy. Being 'in power' according to Arendt and Habermas requires the group's legitimacy. It requires the producers of power to support the institutions of a country, and this legitimacy is what lends the living power of the group to those who rule; who are 'in charge'. When legitimacy is withheld, power is as well, because the powerful, according to action-based approaches to power, do not produce it, and cannot store power. They can only get it from its producers, "legitimate power permits the occupants of positions of authority to make binding decisions" (Habermas, 1986, p.85). Yet, as I explained above, "this employment of power is of interest more from the vantage point of system theory than that of action theory" (Habermas, 1986, p.86).

Still, legitimacy and authority do not only describe state levels and institutionalized positions of power. They apply to other organizations as well and even to the relationships between students and teachers, as Arendt explicitly claims. There is, however, a difference between those levels of ruling. While teaching in a classroom teachers' position of authority is not fully institutionalized and remains within the domain of action-based theory of power. This means that in the classroom the teachers are at once

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[31] According to Arendt and Habermas, being empowered and being in authority are the same, as additional quotes below also show.
[32] As a parallel to Arendt's claim, no teacher has power once he or she has stepped out of a classroom.

a person and an office and as both depend on the students' power and on their legitimacy to be empowered. Regardless of the kind of rule that teachers employ, they need students' power to sustain their authority, but I argue that this dependence is of much greater importance and vulnerability when democratic pedagogy[33] is appropriated, as I will explain in the next section, after having introduced Arendt's theory.

> Authority, relating to the most elusive of these phenomena and therefore, as a term, most frequently abused, can be vested in persons – there is such a thing as personal authority, as for instance in the relation between parent and child, between teacher and pupil – or it can be vested in offices…. Its hallmark is unquestioning recognition by those who are asked to obey; neither coercion nor persuasion is needed…to remain in authority requires respect for the person or the office (Arendt, 1986, p.65).

Communicative Everyday Power in the Brown House

The importance of Arendt's communicative, action-based approach to understanding everyday power in the Brown house is in its emphasis on five elements: speech and behavior, the establishment of relationships and new realities through communication, the space of inter-subjective appearance, viewing the group as the co-generator of power, and the teachers' legitimate authority. These five parts in Arendt's theory of power echo the students' meanings of power, sometimes in close and even exact descriptions and meanings and sometimes less so[34]. I argue that Arendt's view being as

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[33] Here I refer to democratic pedagogy, as I defined it in Chapter Two and demonstrated in table 2.1.

[34] The justification for employing Arendt's theory is, first and foremost, due to its accord with the students'

close to the students' perspectives is the primary reason that her theory provides a possible resolution to the two open questions about power that distributive approaches failed to explain, while also relinquishing the retreat to under-simplistic notions of competition, allocation, domination and some kind of bias. Because Arendt's view of power mirrors the students' perspectives, as I will show below, this notion of power in education explains why the students chose the teachers' rule and supported the teachers' 'power', and why students used their power to different degrees, as I will explain below. But, Arendt's theory's implications go beyond explaining power, and into the problems that I identified in the democratic education discourse. It is the way Arendt, as Habermas critiqued her work, heavily "stylized the image of the Greek polis to the essence of politics as such" (Habermas, 1986, p.82; Arendt, 1986, p.62) that explains how power should support democratic education according to the youths' view. As I will conclude this dissertation, although Arendt did not apply her view of power in the public sphere, as such, to the sphere of education, the connections, with appropriate considerations, should be made. The implications of Arendt's theory of power's five elements will be discussed collectively as a theory. I will, however, separate the argument in two: first I clarify the students' employment of power related terms, which will show how Arendt's view of power captures their perceptions of everyday power in the Brown house. Second, I will draw on the implications of Arendt's theory for how a democratic sphere is supported by communicative power.

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view, as the methods in this study commend

Group's Power, Teachers' Authority

As was hinted by her treatment of the term authority, Arendt shared Habermas' concern about the simplistic notions with which the dominant political theories conceptualized power. Her view of power was also conceived, in part, as a response to the dominant political science theoretical confusion of terms, as Arendt explains:

It is, I think, a rather sad reflection on the present state of political science that our terminology does not distinguish among such words as 'power', 'strength', 'force', 'authority' and finally 'violence' – all of which refer to distinct, different phenomena and would hardly exist unless they did…it is fair to presume that they refer to different properties, and their meaning should therefore be carefully assessed and examined (Arendt, 1986, p.63).

To demonstrate my argument on power, the students' definitions of power must be examined according to this same logic, as should the ways in which democratic education scholars use power-related terms, which is what my conversation with this discourse compels. In the students' definitions of power, it is unlikely that a single term could be used to describe opposite interpretations of power. For example, it is unlikely, as Irene's earlier quote above suggests[35], that both the teacher and the students have power and at the same time that "the teacher will always have more power that is just how it is" (Irene, Third interview, 05.15.2007, p.16). It is, similarly, unlikely that Aiden could take

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[35] Irene: … It's an interesting way to think about it; about like the exchange of power and how teachers allow students to have a certain amount of power, and how students allow teachers to have a certain amount of power….But all teachers have the ability to offer power to students and all students have the ability to offer power to teachers (Irene, Third interview, 05.15.2007, p. 14).

away the teachers power and have it (Aiden, Second interview, 05.05.2007, p. 12)[36] ,

while at the same time claim that "if it's a student versus a teacher, no matter what the

teacher has the ultimate say...and he can always pool that I'm the teacher I don't have to

deal with this; I'm right you're wrong thing" (Aiden, Third interview, 05.25.2007, p.1).

These seemingly contradicting descriptions of everyday power, and others like them[37],

must describe different phenomena, or else, definitions of distributive power, which I

previously showed are over-simplistic in their description of everyday power, must be

brought to the fore.

　　　Arendt's action-based view suggests that the students' descriptions correctly

captured the essence of power when they described the teachers' ideal position as being

'in control'. In other words, the participants correctly interpreted the teachers' legitimate

and unquestioned authority as the result of their being empowered by students. However,

in some of their descriptions, the students also had the terms confused, meaning that they

used the term power, instead of separating their descriptions into the appropriate related

terms. According to Arendt's theory of power, the students, not the teachers, were the

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[36] Aiden was quoted earlier saying that "you take it, you know you take away the teachers' power, and by taking it away from them you now have it… it's a power trip. [You] want to be an authority figure because you have power over somebody and it's a power trip on my side to be able to take that power away from somebody (Aiden, Second interview, 05.05.2007, p. 12).

[37] As a foundation while the students agreed that power is available to students in the house, as the opening section of this chapter showed, they also agreed that the teachers in fact were the most powerful in the classroom. Seven students made this explicit claim, and three African American young women also explained that they find the teachers more important when they use their power or voice because the teachers make the decisions in the classroom. "When I go to class raise my hand it is for the teachers, I'm not gonna talk to my friends" (Nitara, Third interview, 05.25.2007, p.3). [The teachers] "Are the people that give you grades" (Lysandra, Third interview, 05.16.2007, p.7). "Yeah I don't have to make impression to my class mates they are not giving me the A" (Nitara, Third interview, 05.25.2007, p.3). Teachers' having the most power was the articulated preference of seven students, as the discussion of the first major theme entails. Teachers were given the legitimacy to rule the classroom. Thus teachers' having the most power was not a problem according the participants but a choice, as I repetitively asserted.

owners of power; their group generated it when they spoke and acted with the teachers in

the public space of the class. It was the students' support that was lent to the teachers to

carry on with the group's mutual overarching goal[38]: A pedagogically good and justice

based education. Students being the generators of power explain why, as long as the

teachers fulfilled the conditions that the students expected, they enjoyed legitimacy, and

conversely why, if the teachers did not act in such accord, legitimacy was withheld.

Karyn's and Delicia's definitions of power effectively described its dynamics in the class.

The students were able to influence and change the way the teachers taught. Such

changes reflected the group's power and accordingly the house's democratically ruling

teachers[39] mostly followed the students group's wishes.

However, the difficulty that Habermas' distinction between system-based and

action-based power theories heightened remains, because all forms of employing power,

meaning acquiring and maintaining but also generating and ruling, were present in each

classroom simultaneously. Since there was no real distance and no institutionalized

procedures between the students and the teachers, the latter varied between participating

in the public sphere with the students as equal members, speaking and acting with the

students, and being in authority, which then required unquestioned obedience. Indeed,

going back to Irene's comments, power between students and teachers was a two way

street, but in a different form than Irene postulated. Power was generated between the

students and with the teacher through speech, voice and action, as the students' multiple

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[38] Within the boundaries of this overarching goal there were disputes, as I will expand
[39] I will explain what being a democratic teacher entails according to my conception of power in the Brown house

references throughout the chapters to voice and speech were used to express how their power was enacted. But once the group reached some temporary choice or agreement, one that was not grounded in any institutionalized procedure, they consistently entrusted the students' power with the teachers who could have used this legitimacy to sustain learning. It was the teachers' position in relation to power that transitioned back and forth between generating it and ruling with it, not power in itself.

A Democratic Sphere of Education

In this space, between communicatively generating power and lending it to authority figures lay the democratic process that the students consistently sustained. Here also, lies the bulk of my debate with democratic education scholars. Neither distributive injustice in the political sphere, nor social reference groups' domination and subordination in terms of power in the social sphere occupied the students attention when they argued for justice-based education. As the students' explained, as their conditions demonstrated, and against what democratic practices prescribe, power was generated between the students, and with adults, on issues that constituted the group's project's boundaries. In this respect the Brown house's democratic education sphere was also anti-foundational. Adults did not dictate values of equality, or social and political goals. The students, acting and speaking in their educational public realm, determined what the group's mutual pursuit entails, including what constitutes justice and the quality of their education.

As I have argued, the realization of students' world views in collective power depended on the students and the teachers, on the whole group. It was not a calculated

action in a zero sum game. Particularly because power was a group resource and not an individual one, voice and action by themselves did not guarantee acceptance and agreement among the students and between them to the teachers. Communication in the house was established around the Brown house's agenda: The boundaries that symbolized the edges of the groups' mutual goal to receive quality and justice-based education. Interests, claims or ideas that supported good teaching and learning were admitted onto the agenda, as Karyn explained, "As long as it relates to what we're talking about…"(Karyn, Second interview, 05.02.2007, p. 17), and attempts to change or dominate the agenda were rejected. These boundaries were the moving force of the house agenda, and the students as a group accepted and rejected ideas while maintaining similar limits towards teachers' and students' interests alike.

In following the boundaries, or the limits, as the students often referred to the legitimate agenda, the students were not the teachers' favorites but the guardians of the collective well being, as they saw it. Through communication the students established new realities in the classroom and struggled to correct what their deep beliefs signified went wrong. The agenda's limits, which could be conceptualized also as a broadly pluralistic dominant discourse, protected the group's power against decay into force, domination and violence, as demonstrated in the examination of Aiden's and Irene's rejection by the group. Thus, the agenda, as it manifested in power that was generated between the students, and then in the teachers' authority, enjoyed the students' legitimacy as long as it functioned properly and in accord with the students' wishes as a whole. In comparison to the way power as a distributed resource was used to explain pluralism,

communicative action power in the Brown house could have only been created if power was a collective resource that was generated by the whole group, added and transformed at will by voice and action, and lent to legitimate authority figures to carry through.

In this respect, the last open question that I addressed, namely, why students used power to different degrees, is also answered by Arendt's approach. Students who understood the relationship between voice and power, who represented their world views, and were willing to face their peers and expose their natality in the public, were those who used their power more, as Max put it: "Kids that are active in the class, and constantly are always in class discussions may be more powerful in the class" (Max, Third interview, 05.13.2007, pp. 10-11). It was the demonstration and disclosure of "human natality: the birth of every individual [which] means the possibility.…to seize the initiative and to be unexpected" (Habermas, 1986,p.78) that filled the life-world of the class with praxis, with the web of human relationships (p.79), and which generated group power. Not all the students in the Brown house understood this importance of voice and similarly they were not all willing to risk being exposed[40]. Contrary to Henry's critical tone, the students who 'just had to be heard' were exactly the students who knew how speech and action contribute to justice and worthy communal existence; they were the ones who understood power.

The class's democratic education sphere functioned because the students and the teachers acted in concert. Within the classroom walls, the Brown house members created

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[40] As the students' references to quite students demonstrated.

a public space in which individuals appeared among their equals and leaders and together shaped their communal existence. More than other public spheres, such a space is extremely vulnerable, and depends on the group's legitimacy. While other public spaces are institutionalized, and what some of the students referred to as tyrannical teachers do not risk appearing as participating persons, democratic teachers in an educational democratic sphere are more exposed to the group's withholding their power and their legitimacy. This is so because a democratic educational sphere is the only sphere in education in which the teachers risk personal disclosure and sways between participation and ruling.

It seems appropriate to revisit Irene's explanation of power as praxis, which intricately captured the dynamics between action and choice, between power, legitimacy to violence and struggle, as I quoted her words above. When students took their power to themselves, it could harm the class' public space because these students were using force, not power, while trying to dominate and control the agenda, and violently imposed interests that resided outside the group's project. When students contributed their ideas to the group with others, they helped generate power and collective positive ends. When students gave their power to the teachers, they lent it to authority figures, who, if they did not fulfill the conditions of the group's support, betrayed their legitimacy, their role and their rule and endangered the group's power with decay into violence and tyranny as Arendt (1998; 1986) believes such behaviors threaten any public sphere's existence, and as the students demonstrated was the case in tyrannical teachers' classes.

That was the cycle of everyday power in the Brown house. It was ever-

changing, spontaneous, based on its members' world views and interests, communicative and hence more radically democratic. This communicative and deliberative nature together with its pluralistic praxis justifies calling the Brown house a democracy more than any other criteria. It got the Brown house closer to the Greek form of public deliberation as Habermas (1986) claimed is how Arendt's stylized the essence of politics as such, and evolved from the students' own voices and educational discourses. The Brown house was a vibrant deliberative sphere of youth and adults struggling together. It was not a perfect democratic sphere, but it was full of good intentions and for that the Brown house teachers enjoyed the legitimacy of the students, despite their reservations and conditions. Power in the Brown house should be theorized as praxis which constitutes an authentic public sphere and not as an individual resource by following distributive approaches.

The nine youths' perceptions of power, as they were captured by Arendt's communicative action theory of power, carries some important implications for the theorizing of power in education and similarly for the way democratic pedagogies are perceived in relation to power. I argue that democratic pedagogies should emphasize everyday power, because, as I showed, the students' discourses that were chosen in freedom, first and foremost, derive from the condition of *natality* (Burgh & Yorshansky, 2011) and not from social references. Arendt's conception of power suggests that individual differences between students' ability to understand and enact power matter. Social references, by themselves, could not clarify these differences. Students' own perceptions of good education, which they conceive as free agents and represent in their

own voices, should be considered within democratic education practices, if we do not

wish to fall into the trap of theorizing power by simplistic notions of distribution and

enforce a violent discourse, regardless of our best intentions. If we consider power as it

manifested in democratic praxis in the Brown house, students could more easily argue for

pluralism and justice based on their ways of knowing, or being in the world. However,

due to their condition of *natality*, those who understand power will use their voice

whether we welcome it or not.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to explore the meanings that students attribute to power and to the ways in which they exercise their influence, as they expressed in their own voices in a house unit in Northern City in New Jersey that is described by the school and district as committed to a democratic reform in education. My findings and discussion in Chapters Five and Six demonstrate that the three theoretical problems that I identified were relevant to the participants' thinking and meanings of power, and that by employing qualitative methods I was able to provide answers to the questions that focused my inquiry based on the students' meanings. In concluding this dissertation I will highlight how my findings relate to my theoretical questions and to my research question, and explicate what implications these findings carry for future research, theory and practice of democratic education.

The tension between sociologically based, distributive, and institutionalized theory and research of power and process-oriented and action-based approaches was the thread that cut across the chapters of this dissertation. This tension was mostly salient to my discussion of the students' meanings of their power in Chapters Five and Six, which directly addressed the three theoretical problems that I identified. The four major themes that the participants' perceptions yielded and their references to power theory did not support theoretical views of power that are based on distributive analysis of social stratification and social reference groups. Rather, power in these youths' perceptions was process-oriented, contextual and the sum result of individuals' agency and action. Everyday power, as I named contextual and action-based power, was generated by the

students of the Brown house unit and their teachers in a complex process of exchange. Only if the teachers' ethics, moral standings and pedagogies were evaluated as legitimate according to the students' interests, varied world views, and ways of being in the classroom, was power entrusted to the teachers by the students' group. In other words, the analysis of power in this study suggests that everyday power in the classroom primarily concerns the process by which power that is produced by the sum actions and desires of individuals is transferred to power as ruling, and emphasizes power's dependency on legitimacy while it is generated.

According to the students' perceptions, the implications of this perception of power are that power is based on interests, world views and ways of being in the world, not social references by themselves. Being male or female, African American, Caucasian, Latino, Jewish, or other, while contributing to some similarities in the students' ethical and pedagogical interests, and to their ways of life, did not configure their use of power and their participation in the process of its generation. Thus, power according to the participants was not equal in a different way than distributive theories of democratic education allude to. The use of power, not power in itself, was influenced by the personal preferences of individuals who were, more than others, willing to risk exposure and contributed, through the generation of group power, to creating a collective and contextual democratic educational sphere in the house. The students who used their power belonged to diverse social references, had various world views and interests, but stood out in their *natality* (Arendt, 1998; 1977b), (not equally as well) in their willingness to argue and pursue their world views and related interests in the Brown house's public

space. Power as a potential was equally possessed by free individuals in the classroom. It

was communicative action, the enactment of power resources, that was not equal due to

students' different materializations of *natality*, which in my interpretation means that

equality of power as participation in democratic education is beyond our reach.

Based on the students' perceptions of power and Arendt's philosophy I argued

for a model of democratic education that understands democratic education as a pre-

political sphere that is innocent of foundationalism. In other words, I claimed that

political ideals such as egalitarianism and equal participation that apply to the full-

fledged democratic sphere cannot be pursued in advance in an educational sphere, unless

they are expressed and chosen by the students in a classroom and generated by the

group's educational agenda's boundaries. This is so because political notions, particularly

those that were established on misconceptions of power, will not sustain the democratic

educational sphere. In order to sustain democracy through the generation of everyday

power democratic educators should cultivate deliberation, communicative action, and a

more broad articulation of students' voices to remain authentic and to enjoy the

legitimacy of the young. But, at the same time, democratic education theory and practice

should acknowledge that students have their informed interests and that these interests

should be considered as they are expressed. Democratic educators should engage children

in deliberation and communicative action in all aspects of teaching but also acknowledge

that:

a. In democratic spheres ideas and interests vary;

b. Establishing deliberation on foundational ideas other than those that students

express in their own voices, particularly in relation to learning and the organization of education, may collapse the democratic sphere into tyranny or other unjustified representations of ruling; and

c. Teachers' constant moving between being a participant and a representative of an office is bridged with authority that can be perceived more or less legitimate by different students.

The students' different degrees of enacting power and their unequal willingness to be exposed and to expose their constitutive world views and interests led this discussion towards additional issues and questions that based on the results of this study require further attention in educational research. To better understand everyday power in education we need to further explore why some students are willing to risk self-exposure and use their power while others are not. Such explorations should focus on a variety of possible up-bringing and background contributors to students' behaviors in school and also on philosophical, sociological, psychological and other interdisciplinary interactions. Furthermore, as I pointed out throughout the manuscript, properties of the peer group social realm may also be related and possibly influence how everyday power is manifested in the classroom. Thus, it is important to further explore if and how peer group circles' ties, alliances, and students' ability to use their everyday power are related and interrelated, particularly due to evidence and interest in the phenomenon of bullying among young people. Lastly, since everyday power may apply to traditional educational settings as well as democratic educational settings, it is also important to study and compare the findings of this study to additional age groups and school settings in order to

learn more about students' ability to use and generate power and to better understand their interests, perceptions and voices in those matters.

In addition, while this dissertation contributes to the theory of power in democratic education, there are theoretical and practical matters within this discourse that should be further explored, researched, and theorized in light of my new interpretations of power-related terms. For example, one of the questions that such future endeavors should undertake is, can authority, as the students in this study understood it, and democratic education coexist? According to the participants' interpretations of everyday power, clearly students in the Brown house heavily criticized the practice of tyrannical teachers. Such teachers were described as employing traditional teaching approaches that were based on transmission of knowledge, and therefore did not enjoy the students' legitimacy and support. In this respect the students in the Brown house shared democratic scholars' interpretations of the relationship between teachers' power and their authoritative control. This support was also evident in the students' favorable descriptions of teachers whose teaching styles could be described as progressive and re-constructionist, who enjoyed the students' legitimacy and whose authority was described as an ideal form in my analysis.

However, these preferences of the students in the Brown house cannot underplay the seriousness of the tension between the students' conceptualizations of power and power as it is employed in democratic education's theoretical foundations. This tension complicates how the term authority, as well as other power-related terms in education, are understood and applied. As I argued based on Arendt's philosophy, in

caring for children's freedoms by employing democratic education we blur the terms. In interpreting power as a distributive and institutionalized phenomenon we overlook how everyday power is generated by deliberation and communicative action, and how creative young agents who are willing to face self-exposure contribute to the cultivation of a democratic public sphere in the classroom. An over-arching confusion between terms such as power, force, violence, and authority has led to a series of more subtle confusions of political terms. I argue that this has also led to the inability to differentiate between:

1. Distributive and Institutionalized power — contextual and action based power;

2. acquisition and maintenance of power — generation of power and ruling;

3. successful strategic action — collaborative and process oriented modes of power generation;

4. participation as having power as a resource — participation as a potential in a process of generating group power;

5. the full-fledged political sphere that is based on democracy as institutionalized ruling — a democratic pre-political sphere of education, which is authentically founded on deliberation and un-institutionalized ruling.

The tensions and challenges that my contribution to the theory of democratic education brought to the fore should be further examined and developed in research, theory and practice. Power as it is understood by youth meanings and perceptions should be addressed in educational scholarship, and pedagogical practices that engage with power should also find ways to incorporate students' voices as my findings in this dissertation showed.

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Appendix A

Consent and Assent Forms

Letter to Accompany

Parent/Guardian Permission Form

First Phase of Study

Dear House Parents:

I'm currently a doctoral student at Montclair State University (MSU) specializing in Philosophy for Children. During my work as a teacher and curriculum developer I learned that a good curriculum does not guarantee success in the classroom. This made me wonder about the nature of students' involvement in and influence on their own learning. As part of my Doctoral studies at Montclair State, I want to conduct a research project in your child's school to explore this issue. I believe understanding students' influence on their learning can add to students' sense of empowerment and autonomy, and to teachers' ability to empower students in learning.

The purpose of the accompanying consent form is to provide you with information you need in order to decide whether you give permission for your child to participate in the research project I hope to do. Please read the information in the following pages carefully. You are encouraged to ask questions before deciding whether to give permission for your child to participate in this study.

If you have any questions please feel free to contact me via mail or phone:
Mor Yorshansky
Email: myorshansky@yahoo.com
Telephone: (973) 743-7334

MOR YORSHANSKY
905 Broad Street Apt' A8
Bloomfield, NJ 07003

Parent / Guardian Permission Form
First Phase of Study

As part of my doctoral dissertation at Montclair State University I am required to complete a qualitative research project. I would like to conduct this study in the *house* your child attends at Spring Valley Middle School. The purpose of this consent form is to provide you with information you need in order to decide whether you will give permission for your child to participate in my research project. Please read the information in the following pages carefully. You are encouraged to ask questions before deciding whether to give permission for your child to participate in this study.

Your child is invited to participate in the preliminary stage of the research project described below.

Project title: Children's Influence on the Learning Process and on Others' Actions and Ideas During Classroom Activities

Purpose: (1) to identify possible ways in which children influence the learning process, and (2) to explore children's perspectives on the ways in which they themselves and other children influence learning during classroom activities.

Procedures : My study will be carried out in two phases. Here, I am asking your permission for your child to participate only in the first phase of the study. During the first stage of my study, I intend to observe, take notes, audiotape and/or videotape some of your child's classes during two to three months of school. I will use these notes, audiotapes and videotapes for the second phase of my study – which will be examine the notes and videotapes to see whether students appear to influence learning during classroom activities, and to explore the students' perspectives on the ways in which they themselves and other students influence learning during classroom activities. In addition, I may ask students to answer questions during informal interviews. These interviews will take several minutes and will be conducted during free time and not during class time. Your child participation is important for my study, however if you do not give your permission your child will not be observed, audiotaped or videotaped. The notes, audiotapes and videotapes will be kept locked during and after the study and will not be accessed by anyone except myself.

Time involvement: This phase of the study will require no extra time of your child. I will observe during the regular school day and ask questions during free time and recess.

Risks and benefits: Your child's participation in this phase of the research involves no

risks greater than those ordinarily encountered in daily life, and will not influence his/her school performance in any way. Your decision whether or not your child will participate in this study will not affect his/her school performance in any way. There are no benefits to your child from participation in this phase of the study.

Confidentiality: Your child's individual privacy will be maintained and his/her identity will not be revealed in any written document and oral presentation resulting from this study.

Voluntary participation: Your child's participation in this study is voluntary. You and your child have the right to decline to participate or to withdraw your consent or discontinue participation at any time without penalty. Your signature below indicates that you have voluntarily decided to give your child permission to participate in this phase of my study – that is, to be observed and videotaped by me during regular school activities.

For questions about the study: contact Mor Yorshansky, 905 Broad street Apt' A8, Bloomfield, NJ 07003, Tel: (973) 743-7334, email: myorshansky@yahoo.com.

For questions about your rights: if you have any questions about your child's rights as a research participant, you may contact the Institutional Review Board chair at Montclair State University, Debra Zellner (zellnerd@mail.montclair.edu, (973) 655- 4327) or the MSU Administrator of Research and Sponsored Programs, Fitzgerald Edwards (edwardsf@mail.montclair.edu, (973) 655- 7781).

The extra copy of this consent form is for you to keep. A summary of study results will be provided to you upon your request.

If you have read this form and have decided to allow your child to participate in this research project, please understand that his/her participation is voluntary.

I give my consent for my child to participate in this study
Please initials: _____ Yes   _____ No

I give my consent for my child to be videotaped during this study
Please initials: _____ Yes   _____ No

I give my consent for my child to be audiotaped during this study
Please initials: _____ Yes   _____ No

I give my consent for my child to participate in informal interviews during this study
Please initials: _____ Yes   _____ No

_____   _____   _____
Name of Research Participant   Signature   Date

_____   _____   _____
Name of Parent/ Guardian   Signature   Date

<u>Mor Yorshansky</u>   _____   _____
Name of Principal Investigator   Signature   Date

<u>Dr. Jaime Grinberg</u>   _____   _____
Name of Faculty Sponsor   Signature   Date

ORAL ASSENT FORM
(First Phase of Study)

I am inviting you to participate in a research study that I am now going to describe to you so you can decide whether you want to participate or not. Feel free to ask me questions at any time.

Purpose: The purposes of this study are (1) to identify possible ways in which children influence the learning process, and (2) to explore children's perspectives on the ways in which they themselves and other children influence learning during classroom activities.

Procedures: Here is what I will ask you to do as part of the study. During the study I want to observe, take notes, audiotape, and/or make videotapes of a few of your classes during two to three month of school. I may also ask you some questions about things I observed in the classroom. You do not have to do anything differently than you usually do. I will observe regular activities inside and outside the classroom. The audiotapes, videotapes and notes that I will take will be kept locked all the time and no one will be allowed to see them except me.

Time involvement: Your participation in this stage of the study will not require extra time from you. I will observe, ask questions and videotape during the regular school day and during recess.

Risks and benefits: The risks associated with this study are not greater than the ordinary risks of daily life, and will not influence your school performance in any way. Your decision whether or not to participate in this study will also not affect your school performance in any way. There are no benefits for you from participation in this stage of the study.

Confidentiality: I will not use your name in any way connected to this study either

during the study or afterwards. No one will know you participated in the study

Voluntary participation: If you decide to participate in this study, I want to make sure you understand that you will participate only if you **want** to. You can say you do not want to participate now, and you can stop participation at any time without any punishment.

For questions about the study: Do you have any questions about the study?

Do you agree to participate in the study?   _____Yes   _____ No

Do you agree to be videotaped during this study?   _____ Yes   _____ No

Do you agree to be audiotaped during this study?   _____ Yes   _____ No

Do you agree to answer some questions during this study? _____ Yes   _____ No

_____

Name of Research Participant

_____

Name of Parent/Guardian

(The Parent/Guardian has signed a Parent/Guardian Consent Form.)

Mor Yorshansky   _____   _____

Name of Principal Investigator   Signature   Date

Dr. Jaime Grinberg   _____   _____

Name of Faculty Sponsor   Signature   Date

MOR YORSHANSKY
905 Broad Street Apt' A8
Bloomfield, NJ 07003

Parent / Guardian Permission Form
(Second Phase of Study)

As part of my doctoral dissertation at Montclair State University, I am conducting a qualitative research project. I have just completed the first phase of the study, about which you received information from me in September. I am now writing to ask your permission for your child to participate in another phase of my study. The purpose of this consent form is to provide you with information you need in order to decide whether to give that permission. Please read the information in the following pages carefully. You are encouraged to ask questions before deciding whether to give permission for your child to participate in this study.

Your child is invited to participate in the research project described below.

Project title: Children's Influence on the Learning Process and on Others' Actions and Ideas During Classroom Activities

Purposes: (1) to identify possible ways in which children influence the learning process, and (2) to explore children's perspectives on the ways in which they themselves and other children influence learning during classroom activities.

Procedures: If you give your permission for your child to participate in this phase of my study, your child will be asked to participate in several interviews. I will interview your child three or more times. Each interview will last about one hour and will be audio taped so that I can be sure I accurately capture what your child says. During the interviews I will ask your child questions about classroom interactions. He/she will be asked to explain his/her perceptions about students' behavior and influences on the learning process, including his/her behavior. In addition to the interviews, I may ask your child to participate in a focus group with several other participants. During the focus group meeting your child and the other participants will be asked to evaluate my analysis of data that I collected during the study. The focus group discussion will also be audio taped. The notes and audiotapes will be kept locked during and after the study and will not be accessed by anyone except myself. The interviews will be done outside class sessions to ensure that the study does not interfere in any way with your child's school work. The interviews will be scheduled with your child in advance and will be done either in school or after school according to your preference and your child's preference.

Time involvement: Your child's participation in this study will take approximately three hours which will be dedicated for personal interviews. If your child participates in a focus group it will take between one to two hours of his or her time.

Risks and benefits: Your child's participation in this research involves no risks greater than those ordinarily encountered in daily life or a regular class discussion. Participation in this study may reasonably be expected to add to students' sense of empowerment and autonomy in learning, and to teachers' ability to understand students' influences on the learning process. Your decision whether or not your child will participate in this study will not affect his/her school activities or assessment in any way.

Confidentiality: Your child's individual privacy will be maintained and his/her identity will not be revealed in any written document and oral presentation resulting from this study. I will use pseudonyms on all written reports of this study.

Voluntary participation: Your child's participation in this study is voluntary. You and your child have the right to decline to participate or to withdraw your consent or discontinue participation at any time without penalty. Your signature below indicates that you have voluntarily decided to give your permission for your child to participate in the study.

For questions about the study: Contact Mor Yorshansky, 905 Broad street Apt' A8, Bloomfield, NJ 07003, Tel: (973) 743-7334, email: myorshansky@yahoo.com.

For questions about your rights: if you have any questions about your child's rights as a research participant, you may contact the Institutional Review Board interim chair at Montclair State University, Tim Kirby (kirbyt@mail.montclair.edu, (973) 655- 7534) or the MSU Administrator of Research and Sponsored Programs, Fitzgerald Edwards (edwardsf@mail.montclair.edu, (973) 655- 7781).

The extra copy of this consent form is for you to keep. A summary of study results will be provided to you upon your request.
If you have read this form and have decided to allow your child to participate in this research project, please understand that his/her participation is voluntary.

I give my consent for my child to participate in this study

Please initials: _____ Yes   _____ No

I give my consent for my child to be audio taped during this study

Please initials: _____ Yes   _____ No

_____   _____   _____
Name of Research Participant   Signature   Date
_____   _____   _____
Name of Parent/ Guardian   Signature   Date

Mor Yorshansky   _____   _____
Name of Principal Investigator   Signature   Date

Dr. Jaime Grinberg   _____   _____
Name of Faculty Sponsor   Signature   Date

ORAL ASSENT FORM
(Second Phase of Study)

I am inviting you to participate in another stage of a research project that I am now going to describe to you so you can decide whether you want to participate or not**.** I described the first stage of the study to you in September, and now I want to explain what you will be expected to do in this stage of the study. Feel free to ask me questions at any time.

Purpose: The purposes of the study are (1) to identify possible ways in which children influence the learning process, and (2) to explore children's perspectives on the ways in which they themselves and other children influence learning during classroom activities.

Procedures: Here is what I will ask you to do as part of the study. If you agree to participate in this stage of study I will ask you to participate in three or more personal interviews with me. The interview will last about one hour each and will be audio taped, so that I can be sure I understand what you said correctly. During the interview I will ask you questions about classroom interactions. I will ask you to explain what you think about teachers' influence in the classroom, and about students' influence on the learning process. I will also ask you to explain students' behaviors from descriptions that I collected when I observed different classes in the house. These descriptions will include situations in which you were involved. I will ask you to explain your behavior in those situations, and what was your influence on the classroom in your opinion. The audiotapes and notes that I will take will be kept locked all the time and no one will be allowed to see them except me. The interviews will be done outside class so I can make sure that the study does not interfere in any way with your school work. I will schedule the interviews with you in advance. We can meet in school or after school hours according to your choice. In addition to the interviews, I may ask you to participate in a group discussion with several other students. In this group discussion, I will describe my analysis of the data to you and your classmates. I will ask you to think about what I described and to

assess if it truly represents students' influence on the learning process and on others' actions and ideas during classroom activities in the house.

Time involvement: It will take about three hours of your time to participate in this study. The interview with me will take about one hour each. If you participate in the group discussion it will take between one to two hours of your time.

Risks and benefits: The risks associated with this study are not greater than the ordinary risks of daily life, and will not influence your school performance in any way.
The possible benefits to students and teachers from this study are that it can add to your, as well as other students**,** sense of empowerment and autonomy in learning, and to your teachers' ability to understand students' influences on the learning process. Your decision whether or not to participate in this study will not affect your school performance in any way.

Confidentiality: I will not use your name in any way connected to this study either during the study or afterwards. No one will know you participated in the study.

Voluntary participation: If you decide to participate in this study, I want to make sure you understand that you will participate only if you **want** to. You can say you do not want to participate now, and you can stop participation at any time without any punishment.

For questions about the study: do you have any questions about the study?
Do you agree to participate in the study?   _____ Yes   _____ No
Do you agree to be audio taped during this study   _____ Yes   _____ No
_____
Name of Research Participant
_____
Name of Parent/Guardian
(The Parent/Guardian has signed a Parent/Guardian Consent Form.)

Mor Yorshansky   _____   _____
Name of Principal Investigator   Signature   Date

<u>Dr. Jaime Grinberg</u>   _____   _____

Name of Faculty Sponsor   Signature   Date

MOR YORSHANSKY
905 Broad Street Apt' A8
Bloomfield, NJ 07003

Teachers' Consent Form

As part of my doctoral dissertation at Montclair State University I am required to complete a qualitative research project. I would like to conduct this study in the *house* you teach at Spring Valley Middle School. The purpose of this consent form is to provide you with information you need in order to decide whether you agree to participate in my research project. Please read the information in the following pages carefully. You are encouraged to ask questions before deciding whether to participate in this study, and to ask questions at any time during the study.

You are invited to participate in the research project described below.

Project title: Children's Influence on the Learning Process and on Others' Actions and Ideas During Classroom Activities

Purpose: (1) to identify possible ways in which children influence the learning process, and (2) to explore children's perspectives on the ways in which they themselves and other children influence learning during classroom activities.

Procedures : As a participant in this study, you will be asked to participate in the first phase of data collection. During the first stage of the data collection I intend to observe, take notes and/or videotapes a few of your classes, and conduct informal interviews during two to three month of school. This will not require you to do anything differently than you usually do. I will observe regular classroom activities. The observations at this stage will concentrate on students' influence on the learning process and will not focus on your teaching. I will use these notes and videotapes for the second phase of my study - which will be to examine the notes and videotapes to see whether students appear to influence learning during classroom activities. The notes, audiotapes and videotapes will be kept locked during and after the study and will not be accessed by anyone except myself.

Time involvement: The first phase of the study will require no extra time from you. I will observe during the regular school day.

Risks and benefits: Your participation in the research involves no risks greater than those ordinarily encountered in daily life. Participation in this study may give you new insights into students' influences on the learning process.

Confidentiality: Your individual privacy will be maintained and your identity will not be revealed in any written document and oral presentation resulting from this study.

Voluntary participation: Your participation in this study is voluntary. You have the right to decline to participate or to withdraw your consent or discontinue participation at any time without penalty. You have the right to refuse to answer particular questions. Your signature below indicates that you have decided to participate in this study voluntarily.

For questions about the study: contact Mor Yorshansky, 905 Broad street Apt' A8, Bloomfield, NJ 07003, Tel: (973) 743-7334, email: myorshansky@yahoo.com.

For questions about your rights: if you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Institutional Review Board chair at Montclair State University, Debra Zellner (zellnerd@mail.montclair.edu, (973) 655- 4327) or the MSU Administrator of Research and Sponsored Programs, Fitzgerald Edwards (edwardsf@mail.montclair.edu, (973) 655- 7781).

The extra copy of this consent form is for you to keep. A summary of study results will be provided to you upon your request.

I give my consent to be videotaped/audiotaped during this study
Please initials: _____ Yes _____ No

I give my consent to participate in informal interviews during this study
Please initials: _____ Yes _____ No

If you have read this form and have decided to participate in this research project, please sign below.

_____ _____ _____
Name of Research Participant   Signature   Date

Mor Yorshansky   _____ _____
Name of Principal Investigator   Signature   Date

Dr. Jaime Grinberg   _____ _____
Name of Faculty Sponsor   Signature   Date

Appendix B

Three Interview Guides

**Students' Influence on the Learning Process and on Others' Actions and Ideas
During Classroom Activities
Guide for Student's Interview- First Interview Cycle**

Student's name: _____

Date: _____

Interviewer's name: _____

I am so glad we have this opportunity to talk about students' influence on learning in the house. I am trying to understand how students influence learning in your house. I have spent some time observing classes and I am interested in the ways students seem to influence what is going on in the classrooms. I would like to talk to you about that and get your sense of what is going on.

1. If there was an eighth grader interested in attending the school, what would be the positives and negatives that you would tell the student?

Probes: (try and explore how the students situate themselves in the context of the house culture) (pay attention to language)
What could you tell him or her about the teachers in the house?
What could you tell him or her about the students in the house?
What could you tell him or her about group clichés in the house?
What could you tell him or her about the school?
What could you tell him or her about learning in the house?
Does everyone feel or think this way or just you?
What could you tell him or her about this school year?

2. I want to learn as much as I can about students' views of students' influence. If you were me, who would you interview and why?

Probes
I noticed that you only mentioned boys/girls, African American/ Caucasian students…
(Pause) how do you explain that?
I noticed that you did/did not include yourself? (Pause) do you think you influence
What is going on in the classrooms?

3. In what ways do you think you influence what is going on in the classroom?

Probes:
Can you give me an example? Can you explain why not (in case they say no)
When I observed classes in the house I noticed that you often…. (describe one or two general influencing situations for each student)
What did you want to get out of it?
Did you achieve it? Why or why not?
Was it important for you? Why?
Were there other ways you could use to get there?
Were you thinking about it?
Is it different when your friends are with you in the class? How?
Is it different for you with different teachers? How?

4. In what other ways do students influence the classes? Can you describe them?

Probes:
How did you notice these students?
How are they different from you?
Do you and your friends talk about influential students? Why? When?
Do you talk about influential groups of students? Why? When?
Can we role play here? Suppose I was one of your friends what kind of things will you say to me about influential students?
Do you and your friends do things on purpose?
Do you and your friends say things on purpose? What? Why?

Is there anything else you would like to tell me?

Were you comfortable talking to me here? Would you prefer to meet in another place next time?

Students' Influence on the Learning Process and on Others' Actions and Ideas During Classroom Activities
Guide for Student's Interview- Second Interview Cycle

Introduction.
Since our last conversation and my conversations with some other students I thought a lot about the things we talked about. Did you think about it? I would like to ask some questions and get your ideas about a few things, okay?

1. Learning environment
Many of the students mentioned the learning environment in the school. They also talked about the way teachers teach in the house. Do you have any comments on this?
In your opinion, do the learning environment and the way teachers teach affect
 students' ability to influence what is going on in their classes?
Does it allow students to have more power in the classes? How? Why?
What would you call that type of learning environment and teaching?
Could you think of a specific name or title for the learning environment?

2. Teachers evaluation of students
Some of the students describe how teachers evaluate students' learning and behaviors.
How do you think teachers evaluate students?
Are all the students evaluated equally? Why do you think that?
How does race influence the way students are evaluated?
How does gender influence the way students are evaluated?
How does students' behavior influence the way they are evaluated?
How does doing homework influence the way students are evaluated?
How does learning ability, (being smart) influence the way students are evaluated?
Are teachers using more ways informal ways to evaluate students?
Who do you think decides how teachers evaluate students? Can you give examples?

3. Control
Some people told me that students should obey what the teachers say and do what the teachers want in the class, and others think that students should also be able to make decisions in the classroom. What do you think?
Who controls the classes in your opinion? Why?
Who should control the classes in your opinion? Why?
Do teachers influence students more than students influence teachers? Why? (Or who
 influences more, teachers or students? Why?)
Can students influence teachers?
Can students influence teachers as much as teachers influence them?

Can all students do that?

What are the differences?

4. Choice

Some students told me that students make many choices in the school and others told me that students cannot make choices. Tell me about it. Do you think students make choices in the school? What kind of choices?

Can students choose who they want to hang out with?

Can students make choices in the classrooms?

Are there limitations on their choices?

Can you give examples?

What affects these choices? Race? Gender? Behavior? Learning? Humor?

5. Voice

Some students told me that the students in the house talk and participate in the classrooms. Why is it important to say what you have to say? Do students and teachers listen?

Why would students want others to listen to what they have to say?

How do students say what they think about the house?

Why do students want teachers to listen to them?

Why do students want other students to listen to them?

What does it mean to make a difference in the classroom?

When people respond to someone's opinions does that mean they agree with them?
 Why or why not?

Are all students able to say what they want? (discourse)

Can students criticize the teachers in the class?

Can students speak about all their opinions, or are there opinions that they cannot speak about?

Should all students be able to say what they want? (what kind of attitude to power do they have?)

Why would some people be afraid or shy to ask questions or participate?

Does race, gender, or social status affect that?

6. Student's interests

Some students told me that some students communicate what they want or believe should happen in the classroom and others don't. Why do you think students say what they want in the class or not?

What kind of things do students want in the classroom? Why?

Do these things serve their interests?

Do different students want different things in the class?

Do students disagree about what they want class to be like? Why?

Do different groups of students disagree about what they want class to be like? What groups are there?

Can all students and groups talk about what they want equally?

Do students joke around or disturb the class if it is against their interests?

Why do students need support from others to influence? From whom?

Do you think getting attention is important for students in the classroom?

Why would students want attention?

Are the way students influence class related to their social status? How?

Can students influence without knowing that they do?

Can students influence in ways that are bad for them?

Can students influence the class in a way that hurts what they really want? (trying to get to their ideas about false consciousness)

Do students lie about what they want or think?

Do students hide what they want or think?

7. Diversity and difference

Some students talked about diversity in the school. What does diversity mean?

Does diversity matter in the classroom?

Does diversity matter between the students?

Some students said that the students in the house all get along and some said that they have arguments and groups cliques, which one is a better description of the house in your opinion?

Why do different students describe the same reality in different ways?

Does race influence the way students get along? Why? How?

Does gender influence the way students get along? Why? How?

Does learning style influence the way students get along? Why? How?

Do some students get what they want more than others? Among students? With teachers?

What does it mean to be different in the house?

Why is it important to be different?

8. Culture

Some students told me that the differences between students impact how they behave and influence classrooms. Why would some people think that?

Do someone's parents affect how they influence the class? How?

Does home life affect how students influence the class? How?

9. If you could create a perfect or ideal school what would it be like?

How would teachers teach in a perfect school? How would they not teach?

How would teachers treat their students in a perfect school? How would they not treat their students?

What would learning be like in a perfect school? What would learning not to be like?

What would the building look like in a perfect school? What wouldn't be in the building?

How would you characterize the student body in a perfect school?

What would the administration be like in a perfect school? What wouldn't the administration be like?

What groups of students would exist in a perfect school? Which group would not exist?

Would students have power in a perfect school? What does that mean in your opinion?

Students' Influence on the Learning Process and on Others' Actions and Ideas During Classroom Activities
Guide for Student's Interview- Third Interview Cycle

A few days ago I explained in the house what I learned about students' influence and the classes had discussions about it. I would like to ask you a few questions about what we talked about and about your ideas on students influence and power, okey?

Now after we spoke how would you describe your influence?

The four ways students influence the classes are described in this chart (present page to the students). Do you have any comments about the four categories of students' influence that we talked about?

What new thoughts do you have about these ways that students influence the class after our class discussion?

Do you think there are other ways students influence the class that I did not paid attention to?

Do you want to respond to the things that other students said in class about the ways students influence the classes?

Which type of influence do you think best explains your behavior?

How is your behavior similar to this type of influence?

How is your behavior different than this type of influence?

How are you different than other ways of influence on the classroom?

Which type of influence do you think least explains your behavior?

Agency

Why do you want people to hear what you have to say? (with school, class, friends, teachers?)

Do you have specific opinions about learning that you want people to know? About

other things?

Why are they important to you?

How do you make a difference in the classroom?

Probes:

How does your race influence the way you make a difference?

How does your gender influence the way you make a difference?

How do you describe how you learn?

How does the way you learn influence the way you make a difference?

Consciousness (Awareness)

Did you learn new things about yourself since we started talking? What did you learn about yourself?

What did you learn about your influence?

What did you learn about your power?

What does it mean for you to be yourself?

Is being yourself important in order to influence the class?

In your opinion do students who know themselves influence more?

Is it important to know what is going on, to be observant in order to influence?

Are there particular things students need to know in order to influence the class successfully?

In your opinion are the things we have talked about related to power?   How?

Do you think students have power in the house?

What kind of power do students have?

Do you think you have power?

Why do you have more power than other students?

Do you have any questions? Do you want to add anything?

Thank you so much for your participation. (Give student a small gift)

Appendix C

Data Collection Methods Matrix

The following method matrix suggests which data should be collected for each question

asked in this study, and what forms of analysis were employed in order to answer each

question.

Research question	Relevant phenomena	What kinds of data could answer this question	Which data collection methods I will use	Data analysis
How do students explain power?	1. Which theories of power are implied in behaviors during classroom observations? 2. Which power theories are implied in students' meanings? 3. Are there consistencies and inconsistencies in perceptions of power between sources?	1.Students' behaviors, teachers' behaviors and the interactions between them among generation and between generations 2. How students react to teachers 3. Are students' behavior constant or changing 4. Students' perceptions on power and on their moves within power 5. Students' reasoning on their behavior 6. Students' meanings of their influence on classrooms	1.Classroom observations 2. Personal Interviews	1.Identify students' ways to move and influence in relation to power conceptions 2.Identify students who change the agenda 3.Compare my impressions to theoretical discussions and form new concepts and categories 4.Identify manifestations of agency and social identity in attempt to influence the agenda 5. search for students' meaning describing intent, agency, influence and power 6.Search for themes in students' perceptions about power, agency and about choosing behavior and voice
How do students explain why they choose to enact power?	1.What students say and how they behave in arguments during classrooms' observations? 2.Is there theory about such behavior? 3. What do students explain about their power and influence 4. Why do students say they use their power and influence? 5. Mostly how students perceive make meaning and conceptualize	1. Field notes analysis and my interpretations of possible ways of understanding students' behaviors 2. Students' descriptions of their behaviors and the ways they make meanings of these behaviors 3. Students' explanations of their behaviors, interests and opinions to others. 4.How teachers accept and reject students' attempts to influence 5. Students' perceptions on power and their moves within power 6. Students' implied and specific perceptions on theoretical views of power 7. Students' explanations and reasoning of their influence	1.Classroom observations 2.Personal interviews	1. Identify shifts in the students' agenda 2. Identify students who change the students' agenda 3. Identify attempts that fail to shift the students' agenda 4. Compare my impressions to theoretical discussions and form new concepts and categories 5. Identify manifestations of agency and social identity in attempt to influence the students' agenda 6. Form questions for interviews and revisit 7. Identify students' ways to move and influence in relation to power conceptions 8.Search for themes in students' perceptions of agency and of choosing behavior and

	their experiences?	on classrooms 8. Possibly, the ways students represent their social identities and interests (if they address it)		voice 9. Identify normative and identity claims in all data sources 10. Search for power related themes and meanings in students' perceptions
How do students explain the school's environment, as a context to make sense of power?	1. Which theories of democratic education and power (if at all) are reflected in the teachers' work 2. Which theories of democratic education and power (if at all) are reflected in the students' perceptions of the house's learning environment? 3. Which theories of democratic education and power (if at all) are reflected in the students' meaning of their moves within power in classrooms?	1. How students behave in different teachers' classes? 2. Are the differences subtle, extreme or anything in between? 3. Do students argue with teachers about teaching and learning preferences? 4. Do students mention democratic teaching and learning as their preferences? 5. Do the students' perceptions and meanings refer to the teachers' teaching styles and to the houses environment? 6. Are there connections between the students' descriptions of teachers' teaching, learning environment to their views of power?	1. Analysis of field notes 2. analysis of Interviews	1.Check for theoretical themes in students' perceptions 2.compare students' behaviors to their perceptions about teaching and the learning environment 3. search for patterns in students' descriptions of learning environment to their meanings of power
Do social references of race, gender, social class, ethnicity, and possibly others, influence the meanings that students attribute to power?	1.The ways students' relate their moves within power and their interests to their social reference groups' 2. Similarities and differences in students' perception within and between social reference groups 3. Students' awareness of their perceptions of their identity and agency	1. Similarities and differences in students' behaviors and perceptions within and between social reference groups 2. other students' descriptions of students' behavior (from similar and different reference groups) 3. Students' perceptions of their social identities and their interests 4. Students' meaning making of their behavior in classrooms in relation to their social identities 5.Creative formations of social identities 6.Various perceptions of discourses in students' perspectives of personal and reference group interests	1. Analysis of field notes 2. analysis of Interviews	1.Identify similarities and differences in students' behaviors among and across social reference groups 2.Generate themes from students' perceptions 3.Revisit field notes, form more questions in relations to students' perceptions and repeat the process 4.Generate theory of students' power based on students' perceptions 5. search for patterns of power perceptions and social references in the students' meanings

Appendix D

Examples of Participants' Influence and Power Behaviors

Participant name	Examples from observations	comments
Aiden	"Aiden: political commercials seem over the top. Mr. D.: they're horrible Students get excited and continue to talk about commercials" (Third period science, 11/7/06, p. 2). "Aiden: why do people take life so seriously, just chill. People put stress on themselves, Mrs. W. like what I said Aiden: no, just don't take life as a race Students respond C: I don't like getting stressed Nitara: then you'll not get things done Aiden: it is not neglect; do it; mentally do it. …. L: I agree with Aiden, if you don't do HW, you'll not die. Do it tomorrow. I take my time Aiden: take life lightly N: Aiden is right but there's a fine line… … Aiden: why do you assume that if we are not be occupied all the time we'll get crack addicts? It's self righteous … Aiden: my friend thinks. When she's done HW she contemplates. It is productive Mrs. W. don't have to Mrs. X.: Aiden is right. Some parents keep kids busy to get out of trouble" (Second period language arts, 11.16.06, pp. 6-10). "Aiden and C call out glucose. Aiden: (to C) I said it before you CY: did he say cancer? Aiden: yes CY, sugar makes cancer"(Third period science, 11/7/06, p. 8). "Mrs. X.: read your paper (quietly) Aiden! Do you want to get out? Mrs. W.: and why are you in this chair? Aiden: I found it here (a big comfortable couch) Mrs. W.: try again. … Aiden: (brings chair back then turns to two other students while standing in front of the class) good job" (Second period language arts, 10.15.06, pp.4-5). "Aiden: I'm going to read aloud. I'm reading aloud! Mrs. X.: did everybody proof read? Aiden insists on reading aloud … Mrs. X.: (to me) look at this (reads a paper) I'm not going to say who that is Aiden: I wanted to read this Mrs. X.: Aiden you and I are going to have lunch together today"(Second period language arts, 10.15.06, p.5,8).	Influences the agenda with teachers and peers. Sets the whole class's agenda for an extensive amount of time based on his beliefs. Gets support from several teachers. Competitive. Uses class knowledge to influence peers. Influences peers more successfully than others Get disciplined by teachers. Not always successful while trying to change agenda. Stretches the rules but not always successful with his agendas.

	"Aiden: I guess in the 60's (laughs about Mr. Brown who loves that era) Students giggle C: that's worse than you Class loud in response" (First class social studies, 11/2/06, p.3). "Mr. Brown: it is amazing how the greatest musicians come from a working class background Students: who was the other one? Mr. Brown: McCartney Aiden: who sacks (point his hand) Mr. Brown: gets angry. Do you want to stay here? Where's you notebook? (First class social studies, 11/2/06, p.6). "Aiden is not writing anything. Nothing on his table but food and water … Aiden: I say 13 and 16 Mr. A.: you don't have to Aiden: but I want to Mr. A. but I don't want to" (Sixth period Math, 11.28.06, pp.7-8).	Successful among peers Disciplined strongly by teacher. (unsuccessful with Mr. Brown) Aiden's agenda here was rejected by the teacher. But he still got attention in the classroom
Delicia	"Mr. D.: (turns to me) remember what I told you [how this class is out of control], I don't know what happened today. But I like it today. Student: because Delicia isn't here Mr. D.: Delicia is the fire? J: yea students: yes SY: Max is the fire (Max was in class that day)"(Sixth period science, 11.7.06, p.3). "Delicia: You look different Mr. A. CR: yeah, more bold Delicia: woo, the tie the tie Mr. A.: it's not really me" (Second period math, 10.26.06, p. 2). "Mr. Brown: warning Delicia to not sing out loud Delicia: who's singing the song? Mr. Brown: on the sheet Delicia starts talking again Mr. Brown: Delicia Delicia: you're on top of it aren't you? "(Third period social studies, 12.5.06, p.3). "Mr. Brown: who killed Kennedy? (most class raises hands) Delicia: me me me (Teacher picks her) Lee Oswald Mr. Brown: explains how Oswald is connected to Kennedy's enemies" (Sixth period, 9.26.06, p.6). "Delicia: where's my cookie dough? Did I eat it? (look for it) Y: I don't know (the whole table talk to Delicia about her cookie dough and laugh, nobody wants your cookie dough) Delicia (announces to the class) I lost my cookie dough" (Sixth period social studies, 9.26.06, p.1).	Influences the agenda. Get support and acknowledgment from peers. Draws everybody's attention More successful with other teachers, jokes around with them, pushes the limits, gets little consequences if at all. (teachers are amused with her) Gets what she wants more than other students Influences agenda with peers.
Henry	"Bell rings – students get in Henry: something stinks of education" (Sixth period social studies 9.29.06, p.1) "Henry sneaks into class when teacher doesn't see" (First period language arts, 10.13.06, p.4). "Mrs. X: why didn't you want to read this?	Pushes his agenda among peers

	Henry: because its Ben's Students around him laugh Mrs. X. smiles" (First period language arts, 10.16.06, p.9). "Mrs. X. collects surveys from students. She takes it from Henry and he quickly grabs it back (pulling hard) Mrs. X: I'm sorry Henry, You're not done? Henry smiles, continues to write and hands the form back in less than a minute (not a word comes out of his mouth)"(First period language arts, 10.18.06, pp.4-5). "Mrs. X.: did you read it before you put your names? Henry (quietly no one heard) wouldn't it be better if we listened to it on iPod? (Connotes the listening Vs. reading research project that is done in their house)"(First period language arts, 10.18.06, pp.5). "Max: can we use headphones (burst into the conversation) Henry: so you can do homework at the same time Mrs. X.: don't say that Henry Henry: other homework Students respond to both Henry and Max's comments"(First period language arts, 10.18.06, pp.6-7). "students are excited about the iPod Mrs. X.: where do you put iPods? Henry: in this tiny pocket inside my pocket. (Students laugh)"(First period language arts, 10.18.06, p. 7). "M: how do you turn down? V: does it stay at the same place? Henry: Good question Mrs. X.: (to the class) did you hear that?"(First period language arts, 10.18.06, p. 8). "Mrs. X.: look around you who you'll decide to be your leader on an island? W: ML (student laugh) CY: I would leave Irene: that is the point you can't … ML: Henry (students laugh) Max: I want him to be a hunter possibly ML: you have good leadership (Henry laughs, students laugh) Mrs. X.: what are his leadership qualities? ML: I don't know but I will follow him" (first period language arts, 11.14.06, p.9).	Get peers attention with wit, knowledge and humor Gets teacher's appreciation for his sharp challenge Gets away with his way. Doesn't read when doesn't want to etc' Appreciated and accepted among peers. Henry is not getting out of his way to get this acknowledgment, unlike others.
Hilary	"J tells Hilary something Hilary: who do you think you're talking to? Not with this mouth" (Fourth period math, 10.26.06, p. 1). "Lysandra: (to Hilary while arguing with Mrs. X.) do you work, you never do you work Hilary: shut up" (Sixth period language arts, 10.16.p.5).	I did not identify her during observations. In these examples Hilary is pushing her agenda among peers. Demands respect.
Irene	"Irene: it is salmonella disease. Move away E. I don't want to do it. (To TY) you'll have to do most of it, sorry. I don't want to hold this. (Goes on and on)… …(argues with Mr. D.) I am not touching raw chicken. We'll all die of salmonella… Mr. D. I would appreciate it if you do it.	Irene is pushing her agenda relentlessly, never stops, regardless of others and of consequences.

Irene: (continues to scream) no. (a lot of students respond to her, teacher constantly stands next to her) Mr. D. If you're going to get sick go to Mr. Brown's room. I am not here to babysit. (Irene makes faces, doesn't leave)… (Mrs. W. comes in and talks to Irene who is still making a scene) Mr. D. enough is enough. It is o.k. for you to not do it, not to disturb the class. (This scene continues until the class ended" (Second period science, 10.6.06, p.2-4).	Gets her way sometimes because teachers can't deal with her… Not willing to compromise
"Irene tries to say something. Mrs. X: sh, sh sh M: I just want to say the substitute is scary Mrs. X.: I wait until you are quiet. Irene (raises her hand tries to say something and whispers) Mrs. X., Mrs. X.,(doesn't get permission and stops) Mrs. X. explains the new project" (First period language arts, 10.16.06, p.2).	But disciplines other times immediately, or being ignored.
"Irene: but... if we didn't pay attention or (argues with teacher about how the grade will be influenced if she isn't a good listener. Argues for a while, but is satisfied with the teacher's response)"(First period language arts, 10.18.06, pp.2-3).	
"Mr. Brown starts talking with a British accent Irene exclaims about it and talks to Max … Mr. Brown criticizes local high school band for their level Irene call out again Mr. Brown: what? Irene: a lot of people can actually play Mr. Brown: I played during high school Irene: ah- ah… what did you play? (loud) Mr. brown: guitar Irene comments more and Mr. Brown gets into an argument with her" (Third period social studies, 2.11.06, pp. 3-4).	
"Irene: can't we look at all the sheets at once? Mr. Brown: it is confusing. I have a system. Irene: it's a bad system (repeats her words) Delicia: Irene's always arguing, so funny" (Third period social studies, 12.5.06, p. 6).	Not taken seriously among peers.
"Mr. D.: a new born was raised vegan… (tells them a true tragic story) Irene: the child not only got brain damage, but had to go to an orphanage Mr. D.: I did not say he was brain damaged N: you did Irene's ethical issue is not picked by the class" (Second period science, 11.7.06, pp. 5-6).	
"Irene sits in a wrong place Max: I have a feeling you are in the wrong seat. Why do you sit here? Mr. X.: Irene go back to your assigned seat Irene: this is my seat until prime time is over (stays in her seat for three minutes) Mr. X.: Irene go back to your assigned seat now or leave" (first	Not successful among peers.

	period language arts, 11.14.06, p.1).	
	Max: she knows when to talk. She just doesn't care. She doesn't stop talking. Mor: so does she have power? Max: somewhat. But, a lot of kids just sort of tune her out Don't listen to her anymore. Because She just talks too much. And she knows it. (I laugh) so there are some kids that just talk all the time, but and they, they lose power becomes how much they talk. (Max, third interview,)	
Karyn	"Mr. D. it's chicken. You eat it. I love how you people get disgusted with things they eat. Karyn: I don't eat it Mr. D.: Karyn our little vegetarian is the only one aloud"(First period Science, 10.6.06, p.3). "Karyn goes to Mr. Brown at the back, tells him how her parents know McCartney's publicist who lives in Northern City Mr. Brown is excited" (Second period social studies, 11.2.06, p.1). "Mr. Brown: Lennon was high school band; I was in a high school band. … R: I got it … Karyn: it's a dream you had! Mr. Brown: it's true I played three shows (laughs with students)" (Second period social studies, 11.2.06, p.4). " Karyn: that's what I wrote my report about Mr. Brown: you talk over me stop Karyn: sorry, I told her.. I'm sorry" (Second period social studies, 11.2.06, p.4). "Mr. Brown: thank WY he found your erring Karyn: thank you WY, thank you so so much (in the middle of class, acting, eyes wide, smiles moving hands, then leaves to her own class" (Sixth period social studies, 12.5.06, p.2). "Mr. D.: who wants to take attendance? Many raise their hands Mr. D.: F gets picked because his team lost … Karyn: why do you laugh at each other? … Students in the class yell and talk about sports Karyn: I don't care about sports. Why would people get so worked out about it? Mr. D. defends his position that competition is important (not exact quote) Karyn: why they say we we we? Mr. D.: people feel involved, they did some studies… (Karyn carries her point in the conversation over all the others for several minutes)" (First period science, 11.7.06, pp.1-2).	Pushes her personal agenda, quietly, reasonably. Gets teacher's acknowledgment Relates to teacher's interests privately Challenges gently. gets her way with the teacher and sometimes disciplined but not severely Changes agenda among teachers mainly. Get little support or response from peers. Plays within the rules, doesn't challenge really.
Lysandra	"Lysandra and LT walk around Lysandra: did everyone staple? Walks around staples students' pages (her own initiative) Mrs. X.: sit down Lysandra, stop. We don't need to staple. Lysandra: it was LT's idea	Gets acknowledgement by teachers and peers. Initiative Self assured

	LT: it wasn't my idea Mrs. X.: look around assume you're on a deserted island LT: like lost? Mrs. X.: yes, just this class. Decide, who would you trust to lead? LT: D Mrs. X.: who will you trust like when you chose committees? Who will be able to put people together? Student: I'll pick M Lysandra: can you say why? … Student: I'll pick Lysandra, she improved a lot. She thinks of the coolest things, she'll know how to survive. Mrs. X.: I think you're on to something because people respond to her … D: I like to lead but I like to sit back and get ideas. I think Lysandra will be good" (Sixth period language arts, 11.14.06, 00.8-10).	Takes charge
	"Lysandra: it isn't fair. You didn't say it was homework. Mr. D. you know what Lysandra (gets over to her writes something on her quiz page) you are right"(Fourth period science, 10.5.06, p.3).	Gets her agenda with teachers
	"Lysandra: LT you are my group. (LT walks over to her)… Lysandra: give it to me LT" (Fourth period science, 10.6.06, p.2). "Lysandra (to a student who announced he is done) no you're not there is another page (student accepts her role, advice…)"(Fourth period science, 10.6.06, p.7).	And with peers by giving orders and taking authority positions.
	"Lysandra: Mrs. Y. we can do it, when you give us something to do we will be quiet. … (The three girls continue to talk about the yearbook) Mrs. Y.: you have to be quiet (the class is having a test) Lysandra: I'm quiet (continues to discuss yearbook with class, the behavior continues for about ten minutes)"(Sixth period language arts, 10.13.06, pp.2-3).	Responds to others' distress. Reads social situations
	"Lysandra: I want to read mine V read Lysandra's paper out loud. (Mrs. Y. lets them even though she refused a few minutes earlier) Lysandra makes the class quiet and V reads. Lysandra: you can't read (the entire class is quiet listening to them) Lysandra: I wrote that (brags) V reads hers (the students talk) V: excuse me …. Students call to Lysandra: yours was good" (Sixth period language arts, 10.13.06, pp. 6-7).	Changes the agenda by taking control and authority position with peers. Hardly disciplines, even when crosses the rules.
	"Students ask what causes Lysandra stress Mrs. X.: do you listen Lysandra? Lysandra: yes, my mum. Too much coming at one time. I have a packed schedule …. My mum puts me on stress, but I get to chose. Chores are stressing me. It comes before HW. I'm like NO school comes first.. I read	Gets people's attention and respect

	before I go to sleep… I choose to do it to go to college, leadership, a lot of stuff, a lot of stuff" (Sixth period language arts, 11.16.06, pp. 10-11).	Gets her way
Max	Mr. Brown: what they have in common? Students: can kill Kennedy Mr. Brown: Mafia, what they can do? Students: laugh A: CIA doesn't kill (ignored) Mr. Brown: who killed JFK? Students Oswald Max: that's not proven (calls out, did not get permission) Mr. Brown explains how Oswald is connected to all the groups Max continues to calls out about the topic SY: he could have been anyone Max: how can you be connected to all of them at the same time? L: but all… (interrupted) C speaks to Max about his comment Lysandra: that is crazy (looks at her friends) Max insists on his theory Mr. Brown: stop. Take your passports we are going to Europe, Berlin. (Third period social studies, 9.26.06, pp. 3-4). "Max sits in teacher's couch, asks everyone questions. C answers him Other students clean tables after lab… Mr. D. I have quizzes. Max back to your seat or A turns to F. Max: I got an A?"(Sixth period science, 10.6.06, pp. 5-6). "Mrs. X.: you don't want to go to Mr. Brown's room he's in a grouchy mood. Max: (stands up) we will not go there because he is in a grouchy mood but because you sent us there"(First period language arts, 10.16.06, p.5). "Mrs. X.: talks about the assignment Max: (gets up, walks around and respond to her words) you could choose a different picture. There was so little going on. How many people in the house wrote he got fired? (asks the students) raise your hands Student: jail Max: jail and work are the same thing"(First period language arts, 10.16.06, p.9). "Mrs. X. (reads O's paper. She can't read and tells O): you are not the one reading so many papers…. Max: (standing next to her) do I have it? Mrs. X.: yes you do, yours is very good" (First period language arts, 10.23.06, p. 7). "Mr. Brown: …seniors will step on you next year Students respond Max: I know people" (Third period social studies, 2.11.06, p.5).	Influences the agenda with knowledge and reason Persistent, continues to push his agenda, successful among both teachers and peers Challenges, positive, hardly disciplined. Gets his way with most teachers Challenging teachers Very loud and present in the classes. Moves away freely Answers back, pushes the limits
Nitara	"(Phone rings) Nitara gets up "I get it. TY go to office" Mr. Brown: now, no wait to end. Next time put me on the phone. Nitara explains the conversation to Mr. Brown" (Sixth period, 9.29.06, p.2). "Nitara: can we take the paper? …	Takes charge, takes responsibilities and makes decisions. Moves freely in the classroom. Advocates for herself,

	Mrs. Y.: start writing you don't have much time. (Nitara didn't get the response she wanted) Nitara: Mrs. Y. can I have a tissue? (gets up walks to Mrs. W) Nitara: Mrs. W. said we **can** take the work sheets out) Mrs. W gets in and explain to Mrs. W. what those worksheets are" (Second period language arts, 10.13.06, p.2). "Mrs. X.: Nitara wants to read hers everybody listen! Nitara reads (everyone is quiet)… Aiden makes faces, commenting to a sad point in Nitara's story Nitara claps to herself (Mrs. X. talks to her) Nitara claps some more"(Second period language arts, 10.15.06, p.6). "Nitara laughs aloud Mrs. X.: it's not that funny, You know what, people listened to yours. Nitara: Yes it is" (Second period language arts, 10.15.06, p.9). "Nitara's head on the table, quiet doesn't talk at all. Mr. A.: Nitara … Nitara: I'm sick can't breath Mr. A.: go to bathroom, get a drink, go to nurse. If you feel you need to put your head down try to deal with it differently Nitara: argues. (Lays differently on table) how about this please? Mr. A.: I believe I answered already Nitara still lies on the table … Nitara: (to Mr. A) why do you breathe like that? Mr. A insulted Nitara continues to attack. I didn't get all that she said but it is about Mr. A.'s comments earlier about her throat and neck pain before" (Third period Math, 10.27.06, pp. 3,5). "Nitara goes to Mr. Brown's desk and reports what happened with Mr. A.'s class with MC. Defends her side to him: that's not what happened, you don't say shut up. Mr. Brown: I'll speak to MC too but sit down now (later speaks to MC" (Sixth period social studies, 12.5.06, P.1) "Mr. D.: he's not joking. Your skin will age… (to Nitara and E) I don't know what you are doing Nitara: we try to make notes for W. Mr. D.: I think it's great what you're doing (continues teaching)" (Fourth period science, 11.7.06, p.5).	creative, find teacher's support. Not willing to compromise, but also finds creative ways to avoid confrontation. Gets acknowledgment Pushes teachers' limits and argues back when her agenda is not accepted. Fearless Advocates for herself Knows the rules well

Appendix E

A Comparison between the Students whom I Thought Influenced the Classrooms to the Students whom the Participants Perceived as Influencing Students.

Participant name	Participants perceptions of influencing students	Relevant quotes from interviews	Students whom I also identified as influencing students
Aiden	Aiden, Delicia, Z (white male) N (white male) M(white female)	"Probably me, Z, umm... N, probably um...(pause 6 seconds) Delicia, M that's who I can really think of" (Aiden, second interview, p.1). "Mor: very interesting. Ok. well, um… the people that you did mention, why do you think they're influencing? Aiden: well, they're all outspoken, you know trying to contribute the most during class and in class discussion, but also they tend to have different views on thing such as in miss X class whenever we have an argument, I tend to go first, Z goes second, then everyone else's arguing starts with 'oh I agree with Aiden' or 'oh I agree with Z' and then it goes onto it. So it's really, you know, the people who tend to lay the foundation for arguments, because nobody else is opinionated enough, is outspoken enough to actually carry a debate"" (Aiden, second interview, 5.5.07, p.1). "Mor: is Delicia leading the foundations? Aiden: Delicia is a person of her own. (both laugh) She, well it's, there's some discussions where Delicia will be very into it, you know, just start and get really hard into it. And sometime she just stays out of it. And so it really with Delicia everything depends on the day, because every day she could be a different person. She tends to be very outspoken, very opinionated, very…(pause 5-6 seconds) trying to find the word.. Boisterous. Mor: I don't know what that word means Aiden: it's basically it's very you know big and loud, and just throws her opinion, Mor: Direct? Aiden: yeah, just 'this is what it is and it's my way' that's how Delicia is… but umm... whereas say Z would be like well 'this is what I think, here is a bazillion facts to support it and a little more of my opinion" (Aiden, second interview, 5.5.07, p.1).	I identified Aiden, Z and Delicia, and included Aiden and Delicia in the final sample.
Delicia	Justin, LT (African American male) SY (Hispanic male) CT (African American female)	"Delicia: that's not, halfway true because some of the students they do say more things like Justin in Mr. D class. You have noticed that? He doesn't get in trouble at all. I mean he is just like, he says the most, he yelled out things all the time there are always off-topic and he never gets yelled at but everybody else Mr. D is like you now I can't have you in my classroom. Justin. He just jokes with Justin all the time, and maybe I'm like that with other teachers but I	I identified Justin, SY and CT. SY refused to participate. I did not approach CT because the other African American

| | | really don't notice it like that, I don't notice that
Mor: so, is Justin influencing learning in the house?
Delicia: yes, he has his own way of learning too, Justin. He makes jokes about everything more than I joke around. We are just like the class clowns of House Brown, but he just jokes all 24/ 7. I know when to stop and he just keeps going, (Mor: what does it mean to) And the teachers keep, they just keep laughing but they still, his jokes are so stupid(laughs, Mor too)
Mor: what's the difference between knowing when to stop and not knowing when to stop?
Delicia: because when we joke around there is always a place where the teachers get irritated and then you know, like they'll either look at you differently or something and you'll just know when to stop. But Justin you can look at him he can look, the teacher can look at him like the evilest look and he just keeps going. And then they'll just start laughing" (Delicia, first interview, 3.12.07, p. 10).

"Delicia: I don't know any girls who influence it differently, I mean CT she's just, she jokes around sometimes and laughs out loud but, it's just funny, but nobody like, nobody else I remember
Mor: nobody else?
"Delicia: yeah, SY, J, and LT" (Delicia, first interview, 3.12.07, p. 10). | females agreed to participate and I found them more appropriate. Justin was included in the sample but later dropped out of the study. |
| Henry | N (white male)
Max
Irene
J (white male, not really influencing)
Karyn
TY (African American male)
WY (African American male) | "Henry: if I were you I'd interviewed N ammm, mainly because he, he is he is pretty outspoken (pause 3 to 4 seconds) he is definitely really smart, he knows what's happening in the school and (pause 9 seconds) ammm, he can give you a different view than a lot of people in the school.(Pause 4 seconds). he probably has a good opinion on most of the teachers. I mean, like very, not like oh they are really good teachers, more like detailed thing he can analyze what the teachers are doing and(pause 5 seconds) yeah. ammm...
Mor: how was he influencing the classroom?
Henry: oh he... I'm only in one of his classes, but he is, mainly because he is outspoken, he really gets the debate going ammm, he gets the debate going in language arts class definitely. I'm not in to many of his other classes but going by what he does in our language arts class, I find that he definitely, he does make a big impact on learning, he starts the debate, he sometimes takes the devil advocate he always speaks what he feels. ammm, but besides him, not too many people I, Max would be one, just because he's always joking around….

Henry: Max is in a lot of my other classes so I know, I think that he could get some good, I'm not just talking about our language arts class, but all these people just happen to be in their… ammm, ammm it's just House Brown right? aaa, probably Irene I don't know why she(laughs, Mor too) is, she is(pause 6 seconds), she's talkative, she's weird, just like Max you can't. You probably can't formulate a straight opinion of what she | Max, Irene and Karyn were included in my sample.
I did not identify TY. I thought about WY but did not approach him.
Interestingly, N was mentioned by several students as influencing and I did not think he was a good candidate to participate in interviews.
I also had taught him before in another program in town and decided not to choose N to not complicate this study in terms of ethics trustworthinetc'. |

		thinks by just observing her, ammm, but I'm not sure if she has anything to interesting to say. ammm (pause 11 seconds) ammm, I'd also say, although I'm not in to many of his classes, no maybe not. ammm (pause eight seconds) maybe J? He doesn't seem to affect, I'm not sure if he, I'm not in, I'm in one of his classes, but he would probably have, if you want a diversity in opinions, he would definitely give you, give you a different look at (pause for 3 second) ammm, he probably say different things than other people might have said, that I named. ammm, I'm not sure if, how he, if you're trying to find someone who affects the learning process, he might not be one. But he could probably pick up on people who does. ammm Mor: so he is not influencing himself, but he knows who will? Henry: yeah that's pretty much what I'm trying to, I'm thinking, and ammm (pause 10 seconds) honestly, I was surprised when you picked me. I didn't really feel like I affected the learning process too well" (Henry, first interview, 3.3.07, p.6). "Henry: ammm, maybe Karyn. but she is rather close to Irene(Pause 8 seconds) yeah"(Henry, first interview, 3.3.07, p.7). "Henry: I'm not in too many African-Americans, in classes with them. Oh right TS as well Mor: TS? Henry: yeah Mor: how does he influence? Henry: ammm he is outspoken, that's pretty much what I'm going by. He ammm he he asks questions that sometimes help ammm some people who just feel rather embarrassed that they don't know what it is ammm he, he ammm, he is loud he makes people laugh, I'm pretty sure he's a nice guy I just never got the chance to know him.(Pause 20 seconds) ammmm, probably WY as well. (Pause five seconds) he makes, ammm he he extends the learning, like if Mr. Brown makes a reference to one thing, he probably knows a lot about the subject and he can also, he can connect it to another, he can connect it to something else that is really interesting, and Mr. Brown might take that lead and teach a bit about that. Ammm, I am not in any of his other classes, then social studies, of what I've seen of him in social studies he… yeah"(Henry, first interview, 3.3.07, p.7).	
Hillary	Was not asked because we skipped the first interview protocol due to time constraints		
Irene	Irene Karyn LT (African American male) Henry	"Irene: I guess, I'll probably interview me and Karyn, because we talk a lot (laughing) yeah, so we, yeah we definitely. I don't know if you will call it influencing in a positive or a negative way, but we change the course of the conversation often" (Irene, first	Irene, Karyn, Henry and Max were included in the sample

| | Max
N (white male)
TY(African American male) | interview, 3.10.07, p.3).
"Irene: who's African-American? Ummmm, yeah I guess you know LT, you picked him actually
Mor: who?
Irene: LT. He influences of the class and
Mor: how? Why?
Irene: I don't know, he talks I guess he makes comments. But that happens I mean that's pretty much how everybody that I can think of influences the class, making comments and changing the conversation, or making people laugh or something. And yeah. Because like, Henry sometimes he says things that people would not normally think of and that can start the conversation in an entirely different direction, stuff like that "(Irene, first interview, 3.10.07, P.10).
"Irene;-ummm, like talks and argues and stuff? I guess, like N does a lot.
Mor: in what way?
Irene: ummm, he argues too, but usually against me. Ummm, yeah, he often talks a lot in the conversations. Like in group discussions in miss X's class. Him and Max, they both have a lot to say in group discussions. And TY, do you know TY? Sometimes he can influence the class because he has really interesting questions that like the teacher will add to them, and that could lead into a difference" (Irene, first interview, 3.10.07, P.10).

"Irene: Max. He can get away with anything he never gets in trouble. He can…
Mor: between the students or with the teachers?
Irene: both, more with the teachers (Irene, second interview, 05.01.2007, p.20) | I did not identify TY although both he and N were mentioned by several students as influencing students. |
| Karyn | Justin
P (white female)
Irene
Aiden
T &AM (African American females)
Karyn | "Karyn: (laughs) I don't really know about how, I didn't realize that I had any influence over anything. Mor: Ammm
Karyn: so, but (sigh) who would I interview? Probably some of the same students that you're interviewing. Justin, ammm, maybe, let me think, maybe P, ammm, I don't know
Mor: you said Justin, you said P try and think of different classes
Karyn: (burst into my speech) Irene, definitely yeah Mor: okay
Karyn: (sigh, pause) maybe Aiden?
Mor: Aiden?
Karyn: I'm just trying to think of my classes, and who I think influences me a little" (Karyn, first interview, 3.1.07, p.4).

"Karyn: well, Justin because he speaks out a lot in class, and he just disrupts a lot of things I think(laughs).ammm, P, is sort of the same way, but she asks good questions, you know she's a good student, I think, I think that she's smart. But, I think that she does speak a lot and you know, and she makes people think, you know, other ways, differently. And Aiden, well, I'm only in algebra with him, but for the first half of the year he didn't take notes and he just | Justin, Aiden Irene and Karyn were included in the sample. T and AM were identified, but as before were not approached because I already had three African American female influencing participants. AM though was a very unusual influencing student. I did not think P was a strong candidate who persistently influenced the classes in which she participated. |

| | | doodled and everything and I think that might have affected Mr. A. I think that might have made him think that he wasn't teaching well, or something like that.
Mor: oh so, he affected how the teacher thought?
Karyn: I think maybe
Mor: maybe?
Karyn: yeah, pause, and also he spoke to other kids, because he wasn't taking (laughs) notes, so that's sometimes. And I joke around with him, but I think that sometimes that throws me off a little bit with what Mr. A is teaching, so.
Mor: so he influences how you feel about Mr. A?
Karyn: he doesn't influence how I feel about Mr. A, but he influences, I think, just a little bit about what I learn from Mr. A.
Mor: ammm , and how about Irene? Why is she influencing?
Karyn:(laughs) well, Irene, she's really smart, and she asks really good questions, and she argues with the teachers a lot, and she says her points of views, and then she also says some other things, that aren't really points of views or anything, and they are just" (Karyn, first interview, 3.1.07 ,p.4).
"Karyn: ammm (pause, sigh) AM asks some really good questions in class, that really... you know sometimes she asks questions that I didn't realize I had until she says them. And like, oh yeah that's true. T maybe (laughs) she's she's my friend, but she is a really good writer in language arts, she's really smart. But when she is in a bad mood, she just doesn't really, she's snobbish, she shouts at a lot of people. So, maybe I would include her too" (Karyn, First interview, 3.1.07, p.5).

"Maybe I would, I don't know.(Laughs) I think I'm a lot like Irene in some ways, that I argue my point and then ask a lot of questions, but I don't think that I speak out of turn as much this year, as Irene might do. But yeah maybe I would include myself" (Karyn, first interview, 3.1.07, p.5) | |
| Lysandra | Lysandra
Nitara
CT (African American female)
KL (African American male)
Irene
Max | "Lysandra: I will interview CT, I can say names right? I will interview CT because I think she influence the class a lot and ammm, Nitara…
Mor: ah-ah so, go on
Lysandra: I think I will interview CT or Nitara. I think I will interview Nitara because she ammm she influences a class like a lot. ammm she's really talkative like she talks a lot and stuff like that, so I think she influences the class like without her it wouldn't like be as much social, really be socializing that much. And CT because I think she influences because she's a leader like me, I think I am a leader too let think I can lead the class and ammm, I think like some of the stuff that I do she does like people follow so we influence the class a lot. And CT is the president of the school so she influences a lot too so and people follow her and stuff like that.
Mor: okay anyone else? | Lysnadra, Nitara, Max and Irene were interviewed.
CT was identified but as I already explained above was not included in the sample.
I did not think KL was a consistent influential student |

		Lysandra: ammm, KL too. He is the vice president I think he is like a leader too and he talk a lot too, so he influence the class a lot too. ammm like stuff that he do like people like to do so it is they copy after him a little bit Mor: well, I noticed that you only included African-Americans Lysandra: I'm not hanging out with Caucasians that much, but if I could pick a Caucasian Mor: in the classrooms think of influence in the classroom who would you pick? Lysandra: (pause 5 seconds) I don't know, M, (ammm, to herself, I don't know Caucasians who influence the class) They really don't talk that much in class (pause 5 seconds) nobody. um, I don't think I could pick a Caucasian that will influence class, they don't talk that much "" (Lysandra, first interview, 3.19.07, p.3). "Mor. so, only African-Americans influence the classroom? Lysandra: I mean, I don't think Max influences the classes. I don't think Max does, like I didn't see anything that Max would do that will influence the class. He'd like to read a laid back person, so Mor: and why did you say him? Lysandra: because (laughs) he got interviewed. Mor: so you don't think he's influencing? Lysnadra: not really I don't see a way he would influence the class Mor: okay. And I noticed you included yourself, so you think you're influencing the classroom? Lysandra. I think I influence the class **a lot .** I think that ammm, especially Mr. A's class. Because, I really, Mr. L I really don't like him, because I don't think he is a good teacher …. Mor: so how do you influence his classes? Lysandra: I talk a lot in his classes and I answer, I think I answer a lot of questions in his class, so I influence it. And then make people, other people on it, like when I raised my hand, it seemed like... Everybody's shy in the class because a lot of people in his class don't talk that much" (Lysandra, first interview, , 3.19.07, p.3). "Lysandra: ummm, alright all right, I want to rewind a little bit. But in social studies Irene she brings up like a lot of debates and stuff like that and she argues a lot about stuff like in social studies. And her and Mr. Brown are always going back-and-forth about a lot of stuff. So I think that ummm she influences the class a lot with the debates and stuff like that. And she talks a lot in the class, like not side conversations but she talks and answer questions a lot, Max too he is really smart so"(Lysandra, first interview, 3.19.07, p.12).	
Max	CF (white male – not really influencing) SY Delicia	"Max: in our house, if I were you I would interview CF maybe. Mor: Why? Max: because he probably has the highest grade average in the class. And just getting the viewpoint of	Delicia, Aiden and Max were interviewed. SY was asked to participate and

| | Aiden Max | somebody who is ahead in the class and, I don't know, maybe he would have different ideas about like how the teachers have to teach based on students that aren't at that level . And I'd have you interview ummm, SY. Mor: why? Max: I'm pretty sure you already are, but because, I don't think there's anyone in any of my classes that does more in class and sometimes it's positive and sometimes negative, but he likes to talk, and he is loud. So, he can effect a class more than pretty much everyone except maybe Delicia or Aiden, from what I've heard , because I don't have any classes with him, I've heard he is pretty Mor: So how is D. influencing? Max: she is, she can brighten the mood pretty well in class, because when she's loud she just if she starts laughing it's pretty contagious. So even if it's really like a boring or dull class and nothing really is going on , like she will just start , she'll just be crazy, be doing , I don't know, whatever she'll just start laughing at something and everybody is like Delicia come on, gosh. So, I mean, it can be good, it can be bad cause it can also slow the teacher down and whatever they're doing. Um that's not good for the teacher , but usually most of the time, onmm, I mean I have her in class in Mr. D's so, he's usually like , he can feed off of it, and turn it into a good thing, make the class better. So I mean sometimes it's good when kids are allowed and gets their opinions out there and sometimes it can be bad though. Mor: So how is Co influencing, I didn't get that though? Max: Co, um influencing, I don't know but he doesn't, he doesn't talk too much, or he doesn't like he is not that loud. but he seems to pay attention a lot to what goes around, so maybe he has a good idea about who affect things and how" (Max, first interview, 3.6.07, P.5).

"Max: oh, I didn't realize I could. Ummm I mean, I guess I might cause I can be pretty loud too sometimes. For any reason, and trust me from someone who knows, it's not always good. But I guess I would include myself. Mor: You would? Max: probably. Because, I mean, I at least try to influence the class based on like what I think the answer is" (Max, first interview, 3.6.07, P.6). | refused. |
| Nitara | Nitara KL (African American male) | Nitara: um… I would interview KL, you know KL? I would interview him because like he has Caucasian friends and he has black friends. So like he can see in between the lines of people who are nice in this group or who are nice in that group. Like he can see like people's phoniness to other people so like he has, his like his diversity of friends would be good because he can ss, he can like tell you like well" (Nitara, first interview, 3.13.07, P.7).

"Mor: so you're influencing the classroom? | Nitara was interviewed

As for KL I did not think about Nitara's criteria for selection before I heard this idea from her. I am also not sure that this |

		Nitara: yeah. I think so, I think I can be a bit one…. like I'm, like sometimes I have days when I'm really quiet, when I'm really trying to pay attention. Some days when I don't get things I'm raising my hand constantly because I don't understand. So I raise my hand to ask questions and get the answers to those questions so I could be able to learn and understand what the lesson is about Mor: I noticed that you didn't mention any Caucasians as influencing the classrooms? Nitara: because most Caucasians they are really quiet. And even if they don't understand, they won't like say I don't understand. Like they'll keep it in. Like most of my friends, like my friend…she is Caucasian. She like she just .. she might not understand it, because I don't know if she understand it or not, because she never raises her hand for like questions. Like you could tell if I don't understand anything if I'm constantly raising my hand asking questions. So I don't know if she's influencing the classroom. Most people who are um who I see they constantly raise their hand they are participating" (Nitara, first interview, 3.13.07, P.8).	criterion was indeed relevant for my sample selection, but I
Summary		**Aiden**- was chosen by three participants including himself **Delicia** – was chosen by two participants other than herself **Henry** – was chosen by one participant and not by himself **Irene** – was chosen by four participants including herself **Justin** – was chosen by two participants **Karyn** – was chosen by two participants and not by herself **Lysandra** – was chosen by herself **Max** – was chosen by four participants including himself **Nitara** – was chosen by two participants including herself **Z (white male)** – was chosen by one participant and I did not identify him as a consistent influencing candidate **N (white male)** – was identified by three participants and I may have needed to include him in the sample but I had previously taught him elsewhere and also did not think he was needed to strengthen the results **J and CF (white males)** were each suggested by one candidate based on different criteria that I did not find relevant for this study. The participants themselves changed their minds after they were asked to describe their influence. **M & P (white females)** – were each suggested by one candidate. I thought Irene and Karyn were better candidates and also had a previous relationship with them. **CT (African American female)** – was identified by two participants. I identified CT as an influencing student but preferred Delicia, Lysandra and Nitara who were better candidates because their behaviors were	

| | | varied, unique and consistent **T &AM (African American females)** – were each identified by one participant. They were not selected for similar reasons as CT. **SY (Hispanic male)** – was chosen by two participants. Refused to participate. **LT (African American male)** – was identified by two participants **TY (African American male)** – was identified by two participants **WY (African American male)** – was identified by one participant **KL (African American male)** – was identified by two participants I may have improved my sample and my study if I had insisted on including LT, WY or TY in my sample. I identified them but not as consistent influencing students and did not approach them. | |