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TEACHING AND LEARNING PARTICIPATION:
LATINO YOUTH CIVIC ENGAGEMENT IN A HIGH SCHOOL

Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in

EDUCATION

by

Fe Moncloa

June 2015

The dissertation of Fe Moncloa is approved:

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Vice Provost and Dean of Graduate Studies

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Abstract

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Civically and politically engaged Latino youth are the future for bolstering American democracy because Latinos are the fastest growing ethnic group in this nation, and they constitute more than half of the youth population in California. To support Latino youth civic participation, this study aims to understand high school organizational programs, practices, and policies that influence Latino youth civic engagement.

This investigation is a comparative case study of the institutional factors that foster or impede high school Latino youth civic engagement. In this study I adopted Ogawa, Crain, Loomis, and Ball (2008) conceptualization of cultural-historical activity theory and institutional theory as an integrated framework and as a lens to describe and analyze four participation learning spaces, defined as spaces where youth have voice, influence and shared decision making.

My observations and interviews were informed by an interpretivist and constructivist epistemology (Lincoln & Guba, 2000) and utilized ethnographic approaches . Data sources were comprised of 320 hours of participant observation field notes from October 2012 until November 2013, artifacts and interviews. I collected artifacts from the school and the school district. I conducted focused participant observation in two elective classes and two student clubs, and conducted

formal interviews with 12 Latino youth from low-income families, 10 teachers, and two school administrators. I analyzed participant structures, goal mediated activity, and social interactions among teachers and youth, as well as youth peer processes that supported civic engagement.

The findings of this study indicate that institutional pressures such as increased graduation rates and a focus on discipline, contributed to an absence of administrator leadership for civic engagement. Teachers who supported participation learning spaces had autonomy for the instruction and content of these spaces, and they exhibited organizational citizenship by giving the limited free time they had to support students' civic engagement. Teachers' style and choices, which were shaped by their training and personal experiences, influenced classroom or club climate, peer interaction, and pedagogy. This analysis is relevant to educators and administrators who wish to support Latino and diverse youth civic engagement in high schools, and for researchers interested in elective participatory learning environments.

Acknowledgements

Thank you to the students, teachers, staff members and school administrators at Westfield High School who welcomed me with open arms and allowed me to study their school. I extend a special thanks to Rod Ogawa and Jonathan Fox for their guidance and mentorship on this dissertation. Thank you to Cindy Cruz and Shelley Murdock for their helpful feedback on earlier drafts of this dissertation.

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Chapter One

Introduction

Civically and politically engaged Latino[1] youth are essential to the future of American democracy because Latinos are the fastest growing ethnic group in this nation and they constitute more than half of the youth population in California (California Department of Education, 2013; U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Of all the institutions that immigrant populations encounter in the United States, the school system is the primary one; hence, schools play a key role in shaping their citizenship and democratic participation (Flanagan, Syvertsen, & Stout, 2006) . Families also play a key role because those in which Latino youth talk about politics as part of everyday life teach their children that it is important to pay attention to the news and the world around them. For some youth, these conversations may help them to step up and participate (Niemi & Sobieszek, 1977). For young people who may not experience these conversations at home, schools can serve a mediating role for civic and political education (Kahne & Sporte, 2008).

Unfortunately, Latinos youth are underrepresented in two key indicators of civic participation: voter turnout and civic knowledge proficiency (Sullivan &

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[1] I grappled with the best word to describe the Latino population where, in California, the majority is of Mexican descent. The terms "Latino" and "Hispanic" are used interchangeably in the literature to describe persons of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Dominican, Central or South American descent, or others of Spanish or Portuguese culture or origin, regardless of race. In the absence of a better word, I use "Latino" throughout this paper for the sake of consistency with cited literature.

Godsay, 2014). Understanding why Latino youth are not well represented in the civic arena is a complex task. Latino youth represent a diverse group, with various cultural, linguistic, racial, class, and immigrant status differences (Seif, 2009). As a group, Latino youth face varying structural barriers to education, including civic learning and practice, which often are impacted by their immigrant and socioeconomic status. Gandara and Contreras (2009) describe schools that serve predominantly Latino youth from low-income families as sites where facilities tend to be inadequate and are staffed by low quality teachers who are not well trained to address Latino students' learning needs. In schools, including high schools, Latino youth tend to be tracked into regular classes because of a perception of limited English proficiency. To address the issue of low Latino youth civic participation and to contribute to the field of Latino youth civic engagement, this study aims to understand high school organizational programs, practices, and policies that influence Latino youth civic engagement.

By contributing to an understanding of this phenomenon, this study can inform high school educators' and administrators' practices to facilitate Latino youth civic engagement. This study employed a qualitative and comparative case study methodology to understand different arenas in which high school students had opportunities to develop civic engagement (Stake, 2000). Purposeful sampling was used to select an urban high school that served predominantly Latino students and where the majority were eligible for free or reduced lunch. Using ethnographic methods, I conducted extensive participant observation in two classes and two clubs

in a high school and conducted in-depth interviews with 11 Latino students, 10 teachers, one staff member, and two administrators.

This chapter begins with an overview of the context and background that frames the study, followed by an articulation of the problem statement and purpose. Next, I present the research questions and methodology. This chapter includes a discussion of the researcher's positionality and assumptions and concludes with a proposed rationale and significance of this research study, definitions of key terminology used, and an overview of the dissertation.

Context and Background

The growing Latino youth population in California (California Department of Education, 2013; U.S. Census Bureau, 2010) alerts us to the demographic imperative to focus our efforts on understanding how Latino youth learn (or do not) to become civically engaged. For example, a study by the Center for Information and Research on Civic Engagement (CIRCLE) examined a wide range of civic activities such as electoral, service, and political voice, and found that Latino youth were the least civically engaged compared to young African Americans (most engaged group), Asian-Americans (heavily engaged), and Whites (moderately engaged) (Lopez et al., 2006). Although young Latinos reported lower levels of civic engagement compared to their peers, when controlled for socioeconomic status, many of these gaps disappeared (Marcelo, Lopez, & Kirby, 2007).

In contrast to low rates of civic participation, Latino youth have the highest rate for participating in protests. The civic potential of Latino youth became evident

during the marches of 2006, when young Latinos held rallies at their school, walked out of school, and joined huge marches to express their support for immigrant workers and the need for immigration reform (Bada, Fox, & Selee, 2006). A study conducted by Lopez et al. (2006) indicates that 23% of Latino youth (ages 15–25) and 18% of children of immigrant parents reported participating in protests during the previous 12 months. However, young people who were born in the United States to parents who also were born there reported a lower protest rate of 10%. These studies reveal that immigrant and nonimmigrant youth participate in various civic activities, but these studies fail to shed insight on how Latino youth learn to participate in these activities.

Data from the Pew Hispanic Center (2009) illustrate the discrepancy of educational experiences among Latino immigrant youth: first, second, third generation, and beyond.[2] For example, Latino adolescents who are foreign born have a higher high school dropout rate (33%) than Latino youth who are first generation (9%) or second generation or higher (12%). Latino teens who drop out (or are pushed out) of high school have reduced opportunities to learn how to engage in civic activities in school and in their community. Schools that foster youth civic engagement can play a critical role for this population and for society. In summary, these demographic data illustrate how poverty and immigration status impact Latino youths' educational achievement, which in turn impact Latino youths' civic learning and engagement (Campbell, 2005).

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[2] Pew Hispanic Center used data from the U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey and from the Annual Social and Economic supplement.

Problem Statement

Research indicates that Latino youth have low levels of both civic knowledge and voter turnout when compared to White youth. Despite the investment of teachers and schools to impart civic knowledge to Latino and diverse youth through U.S. History and U.S. Government classes, low levels of Latino youth civic participation persists.[3] Levinson (2010) describes this disparity between non-White, poor, and/or immigrant youth and White, wealthier youth as the "civic empowerment gap" (p. 331). She adds that schools can and should address this problem. While we have the data on Latino youth civic participation in terms of civic knowledge and participation, there is little information as to why this phenomenon occurs. To begin to understand how to reduce the civic empowerment gap, we need an understanding of the school's institutional factors that foster or constrain Latino youth civic engagement.

Statement of Purpose and Research Questions

The purpose of this comparative case study is to understand the high school programs, practices, and policies and how these factors influence Latino youth participation learning spaces.[4] By identifying the similarities and differences among these participation learning spaces, this research will identify the institutional

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[3] In a study of a high school where approximately 50% of the students were Latino and low-income, Moncloa (2012) found that in regular civics or U.S. Government classes, students' learning was mediated by textbooks and rote memorization. In contrast, students in Advanced Placement civics classes participated in moderated discussions of controversial topics where the teacher bounded the direction of the conversation.

[4] In this dissertation, learning environments and participation learning spaces are used interchangeably. Learning environments are the spaces in which youth learn civic engagement.

challenges and strategies these spaces face and how they are influenced by the school

as an institution. The findings will offer recommendations for school administrators

to make more informed decisions regarding the support and opportunities needed to

increase Latino youth civic engagement. To address the problem, this study examines

the following research questions:

1. What high school programs, practices, and policies facilitate or impede
   participation learning spaces where Latino students have opportunities for
   civic engagement?

2. How and to what extent do social interactions between teachers and
   students or among students in participation learning spaces facilitate or
   impede Latino youth's civic engagement?

3. What are the similarities and differences among participation learning
   spaces that shed light on the institutional factors that foster Latino youth
   civic engagement?

Research Approach

I received approval of the University of California, Santa Cruz Institutional

Review Board to conduct this study. This investigation is a comparative case study

of the institutional factors that foster or impede high school Latino youth civic

engagement. I used qualitative methods such as extensive participant observation,

collection of artifacts, and documents, and interviews were the primary methods of

data collection. Participant observation methods were used from October 2012 until

November 2013, once or twice a week during the school year and during the summer.

The interview process began three months after the researcher developed

relationships with students and teachers. The information obtained from participant

observation, collection of artifacts, and interviews formed the basis of the findings of

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this study. Each interviewee was given a pseudonym, and all interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed verbatim.

The data were triangulated using multiple data gathering methods and sources. Coding categories were derived from the literature and guided by the conceptual framework as a starting point, and other categories emerged from the data. Coding categories were developed and refined on an ongoing basis during and after data collection. To validate findings, I conducted member check-ins with students and teachers during data collection and five months after the data collection phase ended.

Assumptions

I entered this high school with extensive experience working to strengthen the capacity of Latino youth and families to improve their communities. My experience is mostly in nonformal learning environments and I had limited experience working with high schools. Prior to the present study, and to get a sense of how schools are organized to foster civic engagement, I conducted an exploratory case study of a high school in the same school district and similar social context to identify instances of Latino youth civic apprenticeship (Moncloa, 2012). Based on this pilot study, plus my experience and background, I made the following two assumptions regarding this study. First, most social science classes offer limited opportunities for students to learn active civics. This assumption is based on my observations in my previous study and from the statements made by the U.S. Department of Education on the state of civic education (2012). Second, youth may experience active civics in nonformal learning environments within the school, such as student clubs or other

extracurricular activities. Lastly, in environments in which the teacher interacts with students in multiple roles, such as teacher, mentor, advocate, counselor, and facilitator, youth civic engagement is promoted. This assumption is based on the literature on youth–adult partnerships in schools (Mitra, 2005).

The Researcher

In October 2012 when this study started, I brought to this project extensive practical experience in working with adolescents to promote positive youth development and civic engagement. I acknowledge that my insight and experience can bias my judgment regarding research design and the interpretation of findings. To limit this bias, I engaged in critical self-reflection through journaling and dialogue with professional colleagues and my dissertation committee advisors. To address my subjectivity and bias, I triangulated the data using multiple sources and conducted reliability checks with professional colleagues.

Study Rationale and Significance

The rationale for this study is derived from the researcher's desire to discover strategies and opportunities that can support teachers and students as they create spaces to increase Latino youth civic participation in high schools and beyond. An increased understanding of the conditions that foster or impede this learning may increase the potential of Latino youth and young adult long-term civic and political participation. Increased youth participation in our democracy will lead to a healthier nation.

Definitions of Key Terminology Used in this Study

Civic engagement: Defined as the range of activities that build on the collective resources, skills, expertise, and knowledge of people to improve the quality of life in communities and to contribute to public life. These activities include electoral activity that focuses on the political process (e.g., voting); service activity that contributes to improving one's local community and helping individuals (e.g., volunteering, service-learning, belonging to a community organization); and citizen-centered activity that focuses on expressing one's political voice (e.g., attending a public-issue meeting, writing to an elected official, or sending an e-mail petition) (The National Conference on Citizenship, 2009). To this definition, and to provide a nuanced description of service activity, I add the provision of translation services and tutoring, two activities in which immigrant youth participate (Stepick, Stepick, & Labissiere, 2008). Under political voice, activities such as protesting and advocacy complement citizen-centered activity as defined above (Ginwright & James, 2002; Seif, 2011).

Latino youth: Most Latino youth are United States-born citizens of Mexican descent, while a fourth are first-generation immigrants (Pew Hispanic Center, 2009). Latino youth represent a diverse group with various cultural, linguistic, racial, class, and immigrant status differences (Seif, 2009).

Participation: I place participation within sociocultural learning theory defined as an evolving form of membership, identity, and knowledge construction within a community of practice (Lave & Wenger, 1991). Participation in authentic civic

activities may take place in "invited spaces" such as student body government or a school club in high school, or "emergent spaces" where people "create their own opportunities and terms of engagement" (Cornwall, 2002: ii).

To explicate the various youth participation levels that young people may exhibit, I draw on Hart (1992) for his conceptualization of the youth ladder of participation. Hart describes youth participation processes across a non-linear continuum that range from youth are manipulated, youth are decoration, to token participants. Hart explains that these first three "rungs of the ladder" are considered non-participation, while the following activities count as youth participation: youth are assigned and informed, youth are consulted and informed, youth share decision making in an adult initiated activity, youth initiate and lead an activity, or youth and adults share decision making.

Spaces: I selected the word "spaces" to denote the various localities in which young people may engage in civic activities in a high school. I conceived of these spaces as places where activity and learning occur and draw on cultural historical activity theory (CHAT) to make meaning of these arenas (Engeström, 1999).

Participation learning spaces: I defined participation learning spaces (PLS) as learning environments where a youth's voice, influence or shared decision making are present and respected (MacNeil, 2000). In a high school, an example of participation learning spaces may include school clubs, student body association, a particular gathering place in the school, or sports teams (Moncloa, 2012; Russell, Toomey, & Crockett, 2010). In these spaces, youth are respected for their ideas and opinions and

feel free to state them in their classes, sports team, clubs, or other spaces (Fredericks, Kaplan, & Zeisler, 2001; Mueller, Wunrow, & Einspruch, 2000). To strengthen youth participation, teens need supportive relationships with friends, teachers, coaches, or caring adults (Halpern, Barker, & Mollard, 2000). In these relationships, youth are able to explore new interests and are encouraged when they fail. Youth influence is present when youths are involved in planning, implementing, and problem solving during their participation on matters that affect them (Krueger, 2005). Shared decision making with adults is present when youth are valued as partners in all steps of the decision making process (Camino, 2000; Hart, 1992). Youth shared decision making may be present in youth-led spaces, where adults are not involved (Hart, 1992).

Overview of Chapters

The dissertation includes seven other chapters in addition to this introductory chapter. The second chapter provides the background to the study, including a brief description of the different arguments that scholars offer in regards to barriers and strategies for Latino and diverse youth civic engagement.

The third chapter introduces the theoretical framework behind the study. As mentioned above, two areas of inquiry informed the study: cultural historical activity theory and institutional/organization theory. This chapter describes how these theories informed the design, research questions, and investigation of participation learning spaces.

The fourth chapter outlines the study's research methods. Specifically, it includes a description of how the high school was selected, how participation learning spaces were selected, and how participants were recruited for the study. The chapter ends with a description of the different data sources used during the analysis phase of the study to answer the research questions.

The fifth chapter presents two cases: the Leadership Class and the Sociology Class. Each case is described as an activity system and uses cultural-historical activity theory to guide the analysis. This chapter addresses the second research question and describes the relationships between teachers and students, and among students, that foster or impede Latino youth civic engagement. This chapter includes a description of what data were used and how the data were used to arrive at the conclusions presented.

The sixth chapter presents two additional cases: the Interact Club and the Human Rights Club, using CHAT to guide the analysis. Each case is described as an activity system. This chapter also addresses the second research question. In addition, similar to chapter five, it includes a section that summarizes findings.

The seventh chapter offers a cross-case analysis of these four participation learning spaces using institutional/organization theory. This chapter addresses the first research question and describes the programs, practices, and policies that facilitate or impede Latino youth civic engagement in participation learning spaces. This chapter addresses the third research question and identifies the similarities and

differences among participation learning spaces that shed light on the institutional factors that foster Latino youth civic engagement.

Finally, the eighth chapter presents a discussion of the findings in light of existing research, as well as potential limitations of the study and recommendations for educational institutions, teachers, and further research.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

Latino youth make up more than half of the youth population in California, and 23% of the United States youth population (California Department of Education, 2013; U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Latinos comprise one of the fastest-growing segments of the population and will play a significant role in shaping the health of our nation. Latino youth, compared to White youth, have low levels of civic knowledge and electoral turnout (Godsay & Kirby, 2010; National Center for Education Statistics, 2011). To address this issue, schools, organizations, and families that foster youths' civic engagement can play a critical role for adolescents and for society.

The aims of civic education are for youth to acquire "civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions through learning and practice" to protect and strengthen American democracy (U.S. Department of Education, 2012: 1). Scholars suggests that people most knowledgeable about politics are more likely to participate in it than those with less knowledge; however, knowledge alone is not a sufficient precondition for civic engagement (Zukin, Keeter, Andolina, Jenkins, & Delli Carpini, 2006). Rather, it is through the engagement in civic and political processes, dynamics, and relations that civic life has meaning for people (Yates & Youniss, 1999). Civic engagement scholars and practitioners have joined in an urgent call to action to increase youths' civic engagement because the success of this country requires an engaged citizenry.

This study seeks to contribute to the call to action to increase Latino youth civic engagement and examines the institutional factors in a high school that promote or impede low-income Latino youth civic engagement. This study places special emphasis on the policies, programs, and practices of a school as an organization, and how these factors influence Latino youths' civic and political learning and participation. Multidisciplinary studies reveal that youth develop civic competencies in multiple contexts such as family, communities, and youth organizations; however, this chapter places greater emphasis on the high school institutional factors that promote youths' civic development.

To begin to understand adolescents' civic participation, conceptual clarity of the terms "civic engagement" is needed as it applies to adolescents between the ages of 16 and 18 years.

What is civic engagement?

Civic engagement denotes activities that young people participate in that contribute to the well-being of others. In high school, adolescents' civic engagement is composed of a range of activities that contribute to teens' civic development of knowledge and skills. Flanagan and Faison (2001) define youth civic development as encompassing the development of civic literacy, skills and attachment. Civic literacy encompasses knowing the affairs of the community and political issues and the processes by which youth effect change. Civic skills is defined as having "… the competencies in achieving group goals, and civic attachment as a feeling or belief that individuals matter in community affairs" (Flanagan & Faison, 2001: 3). Building on

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the definitions provided by Flanagan and Faison, I define civic engagement as the range of activities that build on the collective resources, skills, expertise, and knowledge of people to improve the quality of life in communities and to contribute to public life. These activities may include electoral activity that focuses on the political process (e.g., voting); service activity that contributes to improving one's local community and helping individuals (e.g., volunteering, community service, or belonging to a community organization); and citizen-centered activity that focuses on expressing one's political voice (e.g., participating in protests demonstrations or advocacy) (Ginwright & James, 2002; Seif, 2011; The National Conference on Citizenship, 2009).

Adolescents' civic engagement activities are influenced by various contexts such as families, schools, organizations, communities (Brofenbrenner, 1979). Whether young adults exercise their right to vote or participate in civic activities is influenced by their family and school (Zukin et al., 2006). Families play a critical role in youths' civic and political participation. By talking about politics as part of everyday life, families teach their children that it is important to pay attention to the world around them—and for some, to learn to take the next step of participation (Niemi & Sobieszek, 1977). For young people who may not experience these conversations at home, schools can serve a mediating role for civic and political education (Kahne & Sporte, 2008).

Adolescent Civic Engagement

For the last two decades, and as a result of the 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child,[5] there has been a global impetus to enhance learning opportunities whereby youth can participate in civic and political matters that affect them. The 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child states; "All children … have the right to: a) articulate their views and express their views freely, b) be heard in all matters affecting them, including policy matters, and c) have their views taken seriously and in accordance with their age and maturity" (United Nations General Assembly, 1989, p. 5). The call for increased youth voice and decision making in civic activities suggests that in addition to acquiring civic knowledge, the application of this knowledge to practice is necessary for full civic participation.

Civic engagement represents an important vehicle for promoting positive youth development,[6] whereby youth are provided the opportunities and supports to become contributing members of society (Balsano, 2005). Developmentally, adolescence is a period when youth explore and anticipate their lives as adults and

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[5] Interestingly, the United States and Somalia are the only two countries that have not ratified the 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child.

[6] Positive youth development is an approach that promotes positive outcomes, often referred to as thriving, in young people and helps them meet the challenges of childhood, adolescence, and adulthood. It is a comprehensive, research-based approach to developing young people by promoting caring relationships with peers and adults, healthy behaviors, leadership development, academic achievement, and other forms of success in young people. As such, young people who participate in positive youth development programs are more likely to enter adulthood prepared to contribute to society through work, civic engagement, and caring for themselves and others (California 4-H Youth Development Program, 2012).

develop their sociopolitical orientations (Youniss & Yates, 1997). During

adolescence, young people are ready to take on new social concerns and they feel

passionately about social issues that are relevant to their lives (Zeldin, McDaniel,

Topitzes, & Calvert, 2000). Adolescents' level of civic knowledge influences their

pathways to civic engagement. Youth with increased civic knowledge are more

likely to vote, discuss politics, contact the government, and take part in other civic

activities than their less knowledgeable counterparts (Zukin et al., 2006).

Schools, organizations, and communities benefit from youth participation and

decision making because young people have an opportunity to apply their unique

skills, knowledge, and talents to solve problems and create new opportunities (Zeldin

et al., 2000). For example, at a school in Chicago, a group of minority students

organized to change the school policy on discipline that they felt singled them out

(Larson & Hansen, 2005). A study conducted in Hampton, Virginia, showed

evidence that youth involvement on city governing boards facilitates their civic

engagement while positively impacting the city's urban spaces and schools to meet

the needs of young people. Sirianni (2005) found that youth civic engagement is

enhanced when youth participate in collaborative decision making with adults, and

when adults shift their perception of youth from "youth as problems" that need to be

fixed to "youth as resources" and partners to address community issues. This cultural

shift took place in organizations—all invited spaces—such as city youth

commissions, governing boards, school superintendent's youth advisory council,

parks and recreation, and principal's advisory group. This study also found that

youth became invested in their community and assisted in increasing the number of neighborhood associations, watershed restoration projects, and recreational spaces in parks, and reduced juvenile crime by half (Sirianni, 2005).

In summary, we know that during adolescence, youth are developmentally ready to engage in civic activities at various levels where they can have voice, influence and shared decision making, and in multiple social contexts. However, we know less about what happens in schools where the majority of teens have the opportunity to be exposed to civic knowledge, skills, and practice. The next section provides a brief overview of the study of adolescent civic engagement, followed by the role of schools in shaping youths' civic learning and practice.

Civic Education and Participation

Schools are "the only institution with the capacity and the mandate to reach every young person in the country. Of all the institutions, schools are the most systematically and directly responsible for imparting citizen norms" (Carnegie Corporation of New York & CIRCLE, 2003, p. 12). However, as evidenced by youths' low levels of civic knowledge and engagement, the challenges we face in civic education in the United States are great. Youth civic knowledge is insufficient, according to the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) on civic education (National Center for Education Statistics, 2011), and young adults' participation in the electoral processes is low (Sullivan & Godsay, 2014).

The reports conducted by NAEP over the years have shown limited progress on civic knowledge for students. In 2010, the average score for 12th grade students

was lower in 2010 (148 out of 300) than in 2006 (151), but not significantly different from 1998 (150). In addition, only 27% of 4th graders, 22% of 8th graders and 24% of 12th graders performed at proficiency levels. In 2010, African American and Latino students were twice as likely as White youth to score below proficient, even though the gap between White and Latino students narrowed since 1998. A similar civic knowledge gap exists between America's wealthiest and poorest students. Higher parental education and family income were both associated with higher civic knowledge; however, there were no gender differences (National Center for Education Statistics, 2011). In terms of political participation, voting trends reveal that young adults and voters of color are underrepresented in the electorate compared to older voters and White voters (File, 2013). In California's November 2012 general election, 50.8% of registered youth voted; however, turnout of eligible youth was 31.7%, which means that more than two-thirds of California's eligible youth (estimated at two million) did not vote (Romero, 2013).

In an effort to understand the issue of low civic knowledge and young adult voter turnout, scholars have identified several "youth characteristics" that may be associated with civic disengagement, such as: youth feel uninformed about politics and the electoral process (Hinds, 2001; Kahne, Middaugh, & Croddy, 2005); youth believe government and elections are not relevant to things they care about (Horwitt, 1999); or youth express that their vote will not make a difference (Chareka & Sears, 2006). Diverse youth may have low trust in government and feel that government excludes them (Flanagan & Faison, 2001). For Latino youth, family immigrant status

may account for low trust in government (Stepick et al., 2008). However, participation perceptions do not occur in a vacuum; as sites of mandatory education for all youth, schools play a complex role in influencing youths' civic engagement (Tyack, 1974).

What kind of citizen?

Westheimer and Kahne (2004) suggested that schools and organizations tend to develop one of three types of citizens: the personally responsible citizen, the participatory citizen, and the justice-oriented citizen. In a study of 10 programs, Westheimer and Kahne found that each one had the tendency to promote one kind of citizen. A program that aims to develop the personally responsible citizen encourages youth to conduct activities individually, such as contributing food for a food drive, following rules, and volunteering when asked to participate. Programs that promote the participatory citizen encourage youth to be active members of a group to conduct community efforts such as helping to organize a food drive. Few programs promoted the justice-oriented citizen in which youths analyze the interplay of social, economic, and political structures to understand the structural or root causes of issues and develop strategies to address them. Such programs would encourage youth to explore, for example, why people are hungry, and act to solve the root causes of hunger. Westheimer and Kahne (2004) assert that the variations among programs rest not so much on pedagogical limitations but more on political choices made by instructors or organizations.

The impact of these instructional approaches to youth civic engagement offers mixed results. Some scholars argue that youth who participate in social justice-oriented programs will demonstrate an increased commitment to and interest in political activities, while others state that programs that promote the participatory citizen, where youth conduct various community service activities, will result in future political involvement. For instance, students who participated in social justice community service in middle class high schools in Boston, where students examined the root causes of social issues by interacting with people in need (as opposed to students who did "standard" community service and did not interact with marginalized populations or did no community service) demonstrated greater interest in social and political issues (Metz, McLellan, & Youniss, 2003). Hart, Donnelly, Youniss, and Atkins (2007) conducted a study using survey data from the National Educational Longitudinal Study, a data set that collected surveys from 18,000 youth from the time they entered 8th grade through 10th and 12th grade, and two and then eight years after high school graduation. This study found that student involvement in any type of community service activities is a predictor of higher levels of civic and political participation. The different results of these two studies may be attributed to the quality of the service program, the teachers or adults involved, the context in which the school is located, and the measures used to define civic engagement, to name a few.

The studies discussed in this section offer a perspective on how various educational approaches impact youths' civic learning and development. The next

section provides a review of the institutional factors that influence youths' civic learning environments.

School Institutional Factors

Scholars find that factors such as access to social science classes, choice of curriculum and instruction, classroom climate, discipline and schools with limited resources influence youths' civic education and engagement. In addition, youths' participation in extracurricular activities, simulations of democratic processes, and playing a role in school governance has been noted as promoting civic learning and participation.

Access to Social Science Classes

Access to classrooms or activities that impart civic knowledge influences youth civic engagement. In the 2010 NAEP, 96% of high schools surveyed reported teaching civics (U.S. Department of Education, 2012). However, access to these classes is not always an equitable process for all youth. Kahne and Middaugh (2008) studied 2,366 high school seniors who had completed a U.S. government course mandated by the California History/Social Science Framework and Standards. Students completed a survey that assessed the prevalence and impact of civic education in their school. In this study, 40% of self-identified non-college bound youth received social studies instruction, compared to approximately 75% of students who intended to attend college. Equal access to high school civics education is of concern when we consider that those who are less educated and represent ethnic groups are underrepresented at the voting polls (Lopez et al, 2006).

Curriculum and Instruction

Best practices for civics instruction for adolescents abound. However, as evidenced by the results of the NAEP, approximately 25% of 12th graders score at or above proficient levels. Further inquiry into students' activities during civics classes reveals that adolescents spend more time reading, discussing material, and taking tests than participating in authentic civic activities such as role playing or mock trial (Coley & Sums, 2012). An examination of the curriculum in isolation from the classroom and school context revealed that textbooks also limit youths' civics education. Bennett (2005) explored the nature of citizenship in three American textbooks widely used in high school civics and social studies classrooms. She found that the texts failed to describe the role that participatory citizenship plays in institutions of democracy, and they offered limited information on "the means or reasons for the necessity of citizen participation."

In an effort to strengthen the civic education of children, the Carnegie Corporation of New York and CIRCLE, in consultation with the Corporation for National and Community Service, convened a series of meetings in 2002 to consult with expert scholars and practitioners about the state of civics education and civic engagement in the United States. The resulting report, Civic Mission of Schools, summarizes these conversations; it offers a research-based description of six components for effective and feasible civic education programs that can "help to develop competent and responsible citizens" (Gibson & Levine, 2003, p. 6). These components are listed below:

1. Provide instruction in government, history, law, and democracy.

2. Incorporate discussion of current local, national, and international issues and events into the classroom, particularly those that young people view as important to their lives.

3. Design and implement programs that provide students with the opportunity to apply what they learn through performing community service that is linked to the formal curriculum and classroom instruction.

4. Offer extracurricular activities that provide opportunities for young people to get involved in their schools or communities.

5. Encourage student participation in school governance.

6. Encourage students' participation in simulations of democratic processes and procedures.

As a follow-up to the Civic Mission of Schools report, and with the purpose of identifying the factors that may support the development of commitments to civic participation, Kahne and Sporte (2008) conducted a longitudinal study of 4,057 ethnically diverse and predominantly low-income students from 52 high schools in Chicago. The survey sought out information on the content, climate, and social interactions in the classroom; school, parent, and family support for students' academic and social development; and extracurricular activities and past commitments to civic participation. This study revealed a strong association between classroom instruction, including service learning activities, and civic participation. Additionally, the study suggests that for youth with limited social and familial supports in the form of civic and political interests, classroom instruction provided significant benefits to youth in the development of their intention to participate in civic activities.

Classroom Climate

Schools that provide an environment where civic practices are routine and are modeled for youth may promote students' participation in politics and community service. The influence of an open classroom environment or climate has been described as a factor related to civic education that may lead to political engagement (Campbell, 2005). In an open social sciences classroom climate, students and teachers discuss political issues and thus students are exposed to learning current events with opportunities to debate these issues. Drawing on the data of the IEA[7] Civic Education Study and focusing only in the results applicable to the United States, where surveys were administered in the fall of 1999, Campbell (2005) asserts that open classroom climate was found to predict higher levels of civic knowledge and the likelihood of voting. In a similar vein, Torney-Purta, Barber, and Wilkenfield (2007) found that an open classroom where more time was devoted to discussion of political topics and current events narrowed the civic knowledge and participation gap between Latino adolescents and non-Latino students.

An important dynamic in open classrooms is the teacher–student relationship. Flanagan, Cumsille, Gill, and Gallay (2007) found that adolescents, regardless of racial or ethnic backgrounds, were more likely to endorse civic goals if they felt their teachers were fair, caring, and respected students. Similarly, if teachers promoted tolerance and respect for all students, youth felt a greater sense of general trust in humanity, support for the American political system, and trust in civic leaders.

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[7] International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA)

According to Flanagan and Stout (2010) , social trust in youth and the developmental foundations of this characteristic are enhanced when young people believe that their lives are linked to others. When a student feels that he or she belongs and is an important part of the school, a group or collective identity becomes an important part of a young person's identity. This in turn may help the young person feel connected to others and increase the feeling of "we are all in this together" (p. 315).

However, not all youth experience open classroom climates and a sense of social trust in high school. In an ethnographic study conducted post-September 11, 2001, Abu El-Haj (2009) found that Arab American youth experienced a sense of "unwelcoming" in their interactions with teachers and in stores. For these Arab youth the rejection meant that belonging and United States citizenship were not equal terms. These youth felt a sense of belonging with their homeland, even though they had not visited their "home country" since childhood. Youth distinguished among cultural, ethnic, and national identities, and for these young people, "having U.S. Citizenship is not the same thing as being *American*[8]" (p.277). To educate these citizens, Abu El-Haj asserted that schools need to encourage transnational and immigrant youth to become full participants in their multiple worlds. This study suggests that youth experiences with stereotypes, discrimination, and social exclusion are associated with diminished social trust with teachers and among youth, and with the state.

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[8] Italics are included in the original text.

Discipline and Limited Resources

Racial inequities persist in schools, in particular for African American and Latino youth (Orfield, Kucsera, & Siegel-Hawley, 2012). Urban high schools in low-income communities may lack the financial resources and time to foster civic engagement in youth, compared to more advantaged communities (Kirshner, Strobel, & Fernandez, 2003). For other youth who also grow up in low-income communities and attend schools with limited resources, their civic participation often involves a critical analysis of structural forces and power (Ginwright & James, 2002). In schools with limited resources where basic things such as functioning bathrooms were not available to students, scholars assert that these public schools may educate students "away from, these 'obligations of citizenship' and toward civic alienation. They are learning that their needs are irrelevant to policy makers and government leaders" (Fine, Burns, Payne, & Torre, 2004, p. 2212).

An example of inequities in the school system is the racialized implementation of school discipline, which is associated with high rates for dropping out of school and lower academic outcomes, whereby African American and Latino youth are disproportionally suspended when compared to White youth (Losen, Hodson, Keith III, Morrison, & Belway, 2015). Scholars have speculated that the disproportionate suspension of youth of color may lead them away from future civic and political participation. Kupchik and Catlaw (2015) analyzed data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Adolescent Health (Add Health) from 1994-1996 to evaluate the influence on long-term political and civic engagement. The authors

found that students who are suspended in school were less likely than others, to vote or participate in civic activities later in life. However, these scholars did not find an association between suspension rates, race or ethnicity and long-term civic and political participation.

To further understand the diverse contexts that influence youths' civic engagement, the next section describes who participates and why in electoral, service, and political voice activities.

Youth Civic Participation: Who Participates (or Not) and Why?

Identifying similarities and differences among groups of adolescents in various civic activities will facilitate greater understanding of their civic engagement. A review of the literature on youth civic engagement reveals that there is more information on activities such as civic knowledge, service-learning and voting.

Using data from the National Educational Longitudinal Study (NELS), Hart et al. (2007) examined the long-term relationship between civic knowledge, participation in community service, and participation in extracurricular activities in adolescence with civic participation in early adulthood. NELS contains survey data from a study from 1988 to 2000. In 1988, the students were in eighth grade and by 2000, they had been out of high school for eight years. Hart et al. (2007) examined how civic knowledge and engagement in 12th grade predicted civic participation eight years later in a sample of more than 12,000 people. The results indicated that civic knowledge in 12th grade and participation in community service, regardless of whether it was required or voluntary or both, predicted voting behavior in local and

national elections. Involvement in extracurricular activities such as student government, sports, and clubs also predicted participation in national elections.

Participation in any kind of service activity in which a 12th grader held a leadership role, and frequency of service, was a positive predictor of volunteering in a civic or community service organization as an adult. Additionally, almost all indicators of civic participation in 12th grade (except for civics knowledge) were positively related to whether someone volunteered in a youth organization eight years later (Hart et al., 2007). While civic knowledge was a positive predictor for participation in national and local elections, it did not predict volunteerism in civic organizations.

With the understanding that youth may participate in more than one type of activity, such as political, service, and citizen-centered activities, and that the boundaries among these activities are fictitious at best, the next section is a discussion of youth participation trends of each these activities as separate elements. A discussion of the factors that promote or hinder youth civic participation is included.

Political Activity

Since 1972, young adult voter turnout has hovered around 50% (CIRCLE, 2008; Keeter, Zukin, Andolina, & Jenkins, 2002; Sullivan & Godsay, 2014). Scholars have identified a variety of reasons to account for the limited political participation of young adults, such as: youth feel uninformed about politics and the electoral process (Hinds, 2001; Kahne et al., 2005); youth believe that government and elections are not relevant to things they care about (Horwitt, 1999); and youth

express that their vote will not make a difference (Chareka & Sears, 2006). In addition, ethnic minority youth have a low trust in government and feel that government excludes them (Flanagan & Faison, 2001; Lopez & Kirby, 2003). For Latino youth, the family's immigrant status may account for low trust in government (Stepick et al., 2008).

Using data from the 2002 CIRCLE Council for Excellence in Government National Youth Survey and the 1972–2000 Current Population Survey (CPS), Lopez and Kirby (2003) investigated the civic behavior of youth and young adults. The CIRCLE survey included 1,500 people ages 15–25 while the CPS survey is a national study of adults of all ages. The results reveal that Latino youth were least likely to believe that voting is an important activity and they did not believe they could solve problems in their community. Unfortunately, Lopez and Kirby (2003) did not disaggregate the data between youth and young adults.

A recent study conducted by CIRCLE (2011) differentiates millennial youth by their various levels of civic and political participation or nonparticipation. The study used census data in 2008 and 2010 for youth ages 18–29 and shows that at least 75% of youth were somehow engaged in their community or in politics. The engagement level varied among youth, and factors such as non-college bound youth and low social and economic status negatively affected youths' political participation levels. Taken together, these surveys reveal that overall immigrant youths' political activities are similar to nonimmigrant youth when they share comparable

demographic characteristics. For minority and low-income youth, the lack of civic

opportunities in their schools may result in limited opportunities for participation.

Service Activity

While only those 18 years of age and older can vote, adolescents of all ages

can engage in service activities that facilitate their civic participation. Authentic civic

learning activities in high school may include extracurricular activities, community

service or service learning,[9] and student participation in school governance. In each

of these activities and for the most part, a dedicated teacher guides or mentors

students toward accomplishing established goals.

Mitra (2005) describes the efforts of teachers and students working together to

decide and implement a diverse high school's educational reform efforts. The author

found that the nature of the relationship between adults and youth influenced both the

process and the outcome of the activity, because teachers often had difficulty in

sharing decision making with students, or letting go of their role as teachers. In

situations where the teacher shared decision making with students, students were able

to develop leadership skills and student voice in the school's reform efforts (Mitra,

2005). The author asserts that the relationship between teachers and students can

influence youths' participation. In schools, effective teaching strategies and service-

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[9] In community service, youth provide service that is a benefit to others, regardless of
whether the beneficiary group or individual has expressed a need for service. In
service-learning, youth conduct a needs assessment to identify expressed needs, and
organize the service activity while integrating the activity into the academic
curriculum, which thus emphasizes both service and learning. Structured time is
provided for thoughtful planning of the student actions and guided reflection on the
service experience (Furco & Billig; 2002)

learning activities are the strongest predictors of commitment to civic participation for high school aged youth, having markedly stronger effects than school, neighborhood, or family factors (Kahne & Sporte, 2008).

In 2005, the Corporation for National and Community Service (CNCS) conducted a survey to study the civic attitudes and behaviors of approximately 3,200 12–18-year-olds. Results of the survey indicate that civic outcomes differed from youth from disadvantaged circumstances (youth who lived at or below 200% of the poverty line) and non-disadvantaged youth. Black, Latino, and immigrant youth were overrepresented in the disadvantaged group, as well as young people whose parents had a high school education or less. Low-income youth reported lower levels of volunteerism, lower intentions to participate in future volunteer work, and lower intentions to vote if eligible. However, disadvantaged youth are more likely to volunteer when they are asked, and teachers are most likely to be the persons who ask them (Spring, Dietz, & Grimm, 2007). Once again, the role of teachers is key in facilitating youths' civic engagement.

As discussed earlier, civic opportunity structures provided by schools may hinder youths' civic participation (Fine et al., 2004; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). A second Corporation for National and Community Service (2008) study investigated the prevalence of community service or service-learning programs in 2,000 elementary and high schools. Results revealed that only 20% of schools in communities with families with low incomes offer service-learning activities, compared to 27% of schools that are not in low-income communities. Principals

cited not having the staff resources to support a service-learning coordinator, limited access to training on how to conduct service-learning, and not knowing whether the school district had policies to support service-learning as factors that got in the way of providing service-learning opportunities for youth.

The CNCS study from 2005 revealed that while 44% of economically advantaged youth had a parent who volunteered, 27% of low-income youth had a parent who did so. In the context of schools, 31% of low-income youth participated in school-based community service or service learning, and 35% participated in school clubs or youth groups. In contrast, among other youth, 40% had participated in service activities while 53% participated in clubs or groups (Spring et al., 2007). It is important to note that these national surveys do not include measures of civic engagement that take into account immigrant youths' contribution to their community (Stepick et al., 2008). School-based community service generally entails volunteering at a nonprofit organization or school, not a religious or an informal community organization.

Political Voice

Participation in citizen-centered activity such as expressing one's political voice also is not restricted by age. The opportunity to express one's political voice may appeal to youth who may feel marginalized or excluded from electoral politics. Sanchez-Jankowski (2002) asserts that because of historical experiences of oppression and exclusion from formal institutions in the United States, some ethnic groups are more attuned to systemic injustices, leading to distinct forms of civic

participation. For immigrant youth, protesting and using social media to organize are some of these distinct forms of participation, where young people are more likely to respond to civic messages from local, informal institutions and engage in efforts to help their own communities (Zimmerman, 2012).

During the marches of 2006, an unprecedented number of immigrants including Latinos and allies protested against proposed anti-immigrant legislation across the nation (Bada et al., 2006). A study conducted by Lopez et al., (2006) indicated that 23% of Latino youth (ages 15–25) and 18% of children of immigrant parents reported participating in protests in the previous 12 months. In contrast, young people who were born in the United States to parents who also were born in the country reported a protest rate of 10%. Immigrant and nonimmigrant youth participate in different civic activities. The experiences of immigrant youth before and during the spring 2006 marches were varied. Gonzales (2008) conducted a study with undocumented college students and recent graduates. Undocumented youth either joined in collective action or were led into despair because of the perceived insurmountable challenges of their immigration status. The transition from being a high school student, when youth may not be aware of their status or don't necessarily think about it, to that of undocumented status was a traumatic experience for several youth that prevented them from active participation.

Studies of the civic participation of immigrant youth have been limited. Perez, Espinoza, Ramos, Coronado, and Cortes (2010) conducted a survey with 126 Mexican high school, community college, college, or recent graduate students to

identify their levels of civic engagement vis-a-vis academic achievement. The authors defined civic engagement as providing a social service to the community, activism, tutoring, and conducting functionary work. Youth participants were employed, had the responsibility of taking care of siblings, and had undocumented status. Despite these time constraints, 89% of youth and young adults reported participation in at least one level of civic engagement. The most frequent type of activity was functionary work, and college students were more involved in political activism. Similar to the study conducted by Hart et al. (2007), students who participated in some form of civic engagement had higher grades (Perez et al., 2010). These scholars suggest that inasmuch as service has been a formative experience for undocumented students in this study, it is expected that undocumented Mexican students will continue to be civically engaged into adulthood.

Immigrant young adults seek out spaces such as social media to negotiate, contest, advocate, confirm, and define their own citizenship and participation (Zimmerman, 2012). In the last decade, DREAMers (undocumented immigrant youth, young adults, and their allies) have reframed the national immigration debate from a focus on guest worker programs to a focus on the Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors (DREAM) Act. In a case study of 25 undocumented young adults, of whom the majority were motivated, social media savvy, and enrolled in college, these youth connected with each other online to engage in collective activity like DreamActivist.org (Zimmerman, 2012). Less is known about the

undocumented young adults who were not engaged in social media or were not in college who may have felt disenfranchised from the DREAMer movement.

More traditional forms of participation describe the expression of political voice as boycotting consumer goods for political or ethical reasons, signing paper or email petitions, contacting officials, and belonging to groups involved in politics; overall, youth participation in these activities remains low. For instance, Lopez et al. (2006) found that compared to young African Americans (most engaged group), Asian-Americans (heavily engaged) and Whites (moderately engaged), young Latinos were the least engaged. Although young Latino immigrants reported lower levels of civic engagement compared to their peers, when controlled for socioeconomic status, many of these gaps disappeared (Marcelo, Lopez & Kirby, 2008).

In summary, the studies presented in this section document the types of civic engagement activities in which youth or young adults engage and the rates by which cross-sections of youth participate in such activities. These studies illustrate the disparities among youth civic participation based on demographic characteristics. Few studies examine characteristics and civic experiences that could explain the disparity among subgroups (Gonzales, 2008; Perez et al., 2010; Zimmerman, 2012). In addition, as noted by Seif (2011), most researchers tends to lump Latino youth as one group, when within this group there is diversity such as gender, country of origin, immigration, education, socioeconomic status. Less is known about how low-income minority or immigrant youth participate in these civic activities in high school, and how institutional factors influence their participation. Moreover, with the exception

of a small mention, most scholars have not studied youth who do not participate in civic activities (Zimmerman, 2012, Gonzalez; 2008; and Perez et al., 2010).

Conclusion

Civic engagement among youth and young adults is low compared to adult civic engagement, and Latino youth civic engagement is low compared to White youth. We know that civic engagement provides benefits to youths, schools, and communities. In schools, factors such as classroom climate, teacher-student relationship, curriculum and instruction, access to social science classes, and ideological aims of citizenship education promote or hinder youths' civic engagement.

The review of the literature identifies limited studies that describe Latino and immigrant youths' civic engagement in high schools. Immigrant youth respond to discrimination, social exclusion and their undocumented status in different ways. For immigrant youth, contributing to their family and community is important, more so than for nonimmigrant youth (Davidson, 2011; Stepick et al., 2008).

Education scholars described the role that adults play in facilitating low-income youths' voice and civic engagement in high schools (Mitra, 2005). The nature of the relationship between teachers and students is key to facilitate youth decision making processes with teachers in projects centering on school reform. Mitra (2005) asserts that the success of the group's goals depends on whether the adult can serve as a facilitator of the group, as opposed to reverting to his/her teacher role and instructing students what to do. Exploration of student participation as a

relational process between teachers and students and among students, and between Latino youth and adults in formal or nonformal learning environments is absent, and is an important element of this study. In addition, exploring whether and how Latino youth learn to develop their voice, influence, and shared decision making in schools will facilitate an understanding of Latino young people's civic learning and engagement.

Chapter Three

Theoretical Framework

This study employs an integrated conceptual framework. This chapter starts with an overview of youth civic engagement research and a rationale for using sociocultural learning theories and institutional theory to study the factors that influence high school Latino youth civic engagement. Next, I describe how sociocultural learning theory, namely cultural historical activity theory (CHAT) and organizational and institutional theory informed my study. To examine Latino youth participation learning spaces, I draw on sociocultural theory to understand interactional and participation structures (Greeno, 2006). To examine the high school's programs, policies, and practices that influence Latino youth participation learning spaces, I relied on organizational theory (Scott, 2008) . Both of these theories seek to explain how participation structures are organized to influence the space or school and improve their practice. Ogawa et al. (2008) offer an integrated cultural historical activity theory and institutional theory framework which informs my study.

Civic Engagement

The previous chapter offered a literature review of youth civic engagement, but while these studies are valuable, they provide a fragmented perspective of youth civic engagement insofar as survey research does not study participation in situ. As Flanagan (2004) noted, missing is research "grounded in the everyday lives of adolescents" (p. 724). In turn, scholars studied youth civic participation in "the lived

in world" (Lave & Wenger, 1991) as a process embedded in context and developed

through co-participation (Kirshner, 2008; Kirshner & Geil, 2010; McIntosh &

Youniss, 2010; Nasir & Kirshner, 2003; Rubin, 2007). These researchers utilized a

"situative" learning theory, whereby the focus of analysis was not on individual

outcomes such as learning specific civic content, skills, and dispositions but on how

youth learned through participation in civic activities while interacting with others in

activity systems (Greeno, 2006). In this section, I review the literature that views

youth civic engagement as a social activity that occurs among students or between

students and teachers, as opposed to an individual activity.

For example, Kirshner and Geil (2010) utilized cultural historical activity

theory and expertise theory (Hatano & Oura as cited in Kirshner and Geil, 2010: 7) in

a study of eight youth-led organizations, to characterize access points between youth

activists and adult community leaders as learning environments. These youth

activists were diverse youth from low-income families who participated in eight

community-based organizations. Youth gained entry into local adult political arenas

by making presentations on their issues. Their purpose in these interactions was to

achieve local social change. The access points were characterized by youth

presentations to a group of adult community leaders in which youth presented

themselves as part of a collective group and not as individuals. To develop and make

their presentations, youth appropriated "social scientific forms of discourse" (p. 23)

such as presenting results from surveys and demographic statistics. The authors

concluded that in these access points, youth learned persuasive speech and

deliberation, skills that are critical for civic engagement. Kirshner and Geil (2010) are the only researchers to date who have used CHAT to study youth civic engagement.

Rubin (2007) examined the development of youth civic identity in four urban middle and high schools with diverse youth from various socioeconomic backgrounds utilizing situative learning theory. She found that youth exhibited a range of civic identities, from aware and empowered to complacent and discouraged. These identities were influenced both by their daily experiences, such as racial discrimination, and by socioeconomic inequalities in and out of school. Some students' identities fluctuated between discouraged and empowered, indicating they were uncertain of their role in effecting social change. This study highlights how students' daily experiences in and out of school influence the development of their civic identity.

Kirshner and Geil (2010) and Rubin (2007) utilized sociocultural learning theory to explicate how youth participated or not in civic activities. It would have been interesting to learn how the organization of the school or community-based organization may have influenced youth civic learning, participation, or identity development. In support of shifting our focus to include organizational structures, Greeno (2006) suggests that an analysis of learning in activity systems can entail "the ways in which an activity system is supported and constrained by the institutional setting of which the activity system is a part" (p. 84).

In this study, the institutional setting is the school as an organization, and I draw on the integrated conceptual framework of situative, organizational, and

institution theory offered by Ogawa et al. (2008) to understand Latino youth participation learning spaces to explain "the social context within which organizations operate" (Scott, 2008, p.211). What follows is a description of these theories and how they complement each other.

Sociocultural Learning Theory

Sociocultural learning theory asserts that human development cannot be understood as separate from the world in which adolescents live. Learning is mediated by the artifacts or tools teens use to engage in joint mediated participation in civic activities. Tools used by teens or teachers mediate culture and activity; in turn, culture and activity mediate tools. Thus, Latino youth participation in learning spaces is examined as a socially and tool mediated process that is constituted in specific sociocultural and historical contexts and reconstituted as contexts shift (Cole, 2003). From the perspective of sociocultural theory, participation learning spaces are influenced by cultural and social norms of each space. In this study, culture "comes into being wherever people engage in joint activity over a period of time" (Cole, 2003: 301).

To examine Latino youth participation learning spaces, I draw on cultural-historical activity theory (CHAT) (Engeström, 1999; Engeström, 1987). CHAT views an activity system or participation learning spaces as composed of the subject (individual) who transforms the object (goal) in the process of interacting with it through the use of mediating artifacts, and in relation to the other members of the activity system who share the general object, the rules (norms), and division of labor.

An activity system can be any space in which two or more people are engaged in joint activity. CHAT has been used as a theoretical framework to understand and analyze a range of activity systems such as: children playing in elementary classrooms (Hakkarainen, 1999); Latino youth and families who negotiate everyday life in communities (Pacheco, 2012); and hospitals adopting a new intervention (Engeström, 2001). CHAT is a useful theoretical framework to understand activity systems in which youth learn to participate in civic activities in high school.

An activity system, as conceptualized by Engeström (1987) is composed of six interconnected elements, which are depicted in Figure 1 below. The upper parts of the triangle represent individual and group actions mediated by the use of new tools or the adaptation of old tools that are embedded in an activity system. The lower part of the triangle refers to the division of labor between members of the community, who share the object of the activity. The social rules regulate actions of the members. As noted by the multidirectional arrows, each of the elements of CHAT influence each other in the cultural practice of daily life over time and across generations. In CHAT, the unit of analysis is not the individual learner or the teacher, instead the unit of analysis is joint mediated activity, which includes two or more individuals engaged in interactions that are mediated by cultural artifacts. The following section defines each element of CHAT separately while acknowledging that they are interconnected and inseparable elements. When appropriate, an example from the studies conducted by Kirshner and Geil (2010) will be used to describe each of these elements.

Figure 1. The structure of human activity systems (Engeström, 1987, p. 78)
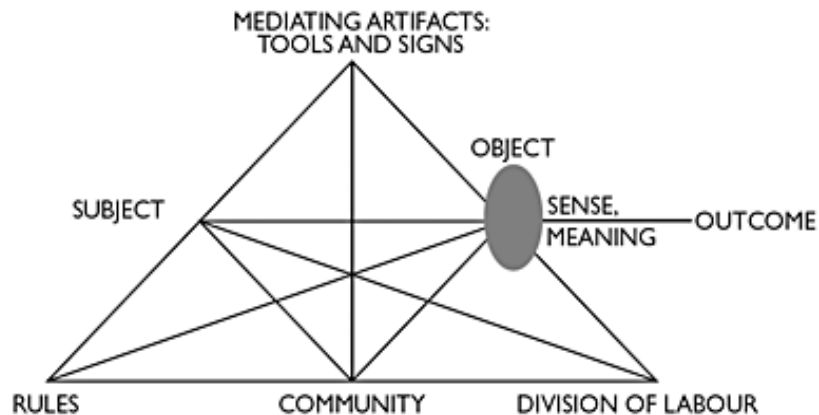
In the conceptualization of activity theory, object refers to the goal that connects individual actions to the collective activity; it also refers to the material or problem in which the motive and subsumed goals of the activity are orientated. For instance, Kirshner and Geil (2010) used CHAT to study access points between youth activists and adult community leaders as learning environments. In this study "youth came together around social change goals" (p. 16). Hence, for youth, the goal was social change.

Subject refers to any individual, dyad, or group that participates within a system of collective activity (Engeström, 1999). Subjects are the learners who interact with each other (Greeno, 2006) and act upon the object and transform it. In Kirshner and Geil's (2010) study, youth activists and youth serving staff were the subjects.

Artifacts are the fundamental constituents of culture and subjects appropriate and mediate artifacts in activity (Cole, 2003: 144). According to Wartovsky (as cited

by Cole, 2003, p. 122), artifacts can be understood as constituting a three level hierarchy; primary artifacts composed of material tools such as classroom space, textbooks, pens, and eraser board. Secondary artifacts are those that "consist of representations of primary artifacts and of modes of action using primary artifacts." Secondary artifacts facilitate the transmission of "modes of action and belief" and include language, norms, values, traditional beliefs, students' cultural identification, and reinforcement. Tertiary artifacts comprise imaginary worlds that can influence how we perceive the actual world and thus can provide a tool for changing practice. Tertiary artifacts include "works of art and processes of perception," such as worldviews.

As noted above, secondary artifacts also can be culturally held ideas (or ideational artifacts). Ideational artifacts are socially constructed over time, carrying the past into the present, the present into the future (Cole, 2003). Race, as a social construction (Winant, 2004), is historically and culturally situated. Race, as a secondary artifact, mediates youth thinking, learning, and access to educational resources in and across activities (Nasir & Hand, 2006). As an example, the influence of race on primary artifacts such as "ethnic neutral" textbooks has been noted by education scholars (Brayboy, Castagno, & Maughan, 2007). Racial and social processes "play a critical role in shaping everyday cultural activity by affording cultural practices, trajectories, artifacts, ideas and identities for individuals to negotiate, reject, and transform toward their goal of positive, social, and intellectual development" (Nasir & Hand, 2006: 468). The relationship between race and

learning has been explored by educational and critical theorists for some time;

however, most sociocultural theorists have focused primarily on understanding

learning and development of students with a focus on culture. A few sociocultural

theorists, such as Brayboy et al. (2007) and Nasir and Hand (2006), have sought to

understand the relation between race, culture and learning.[10]

Returning to the description of the elements of CHAT, social rules refer to the

"norms and conventions that constrain actions within the activity system" (Cole,

2003, p. 141). In Kirshner and Geil's (2010) study, the social norms were defined as

the collective behavior displayed by youth to develop and present information to adult

community leaders. The authors observed that in most instances youth prepared their

presentation in advance and ensured that each youth's presentation complemented the

others. In situations in which individual youth were faced with a challenging

question by adults, youth would caucus and decide on a collective answer to the

question.

Within activity systems, the division of labor allows for various roles or

practices that people engage in to vary in such a way " that agency is distributed

between the participants" (Greeno, 2006: 85). I use the definition of agency as

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[10] In Nasir and Hand's (2006) article about race and racism and its influence on learning, the role of power over youth, or within youth to negotiate, reject, and transform this power is not presented explicitly. I acknowledge the importance of considering power in this discourse, specifically as it pertains to racism and prejudice. However, I do not include power as a third theoretical framework in this study. I include it in the discussion of power over youth and within youth in participation learning spaces in chapter five and six.

theorized by Inden (1990) and identified by Holland, Lachicotte Jr, and Skinner (1998):

> … the realized capacity of people to act upon their world and not only to know about or give personal or intersubjective significance to it. That capacity is the power of people to act purposively and reflectively, in more or less complement interrelationships with one another, to reiterate and remake the world in which they live, in circumstances where they may consider different courses of action possible and desirable, though not necessarily from the same point of view. (p. 23)

This understanding of agency in social and cultural practice places subjects as community actors that display personal agency within the tension of humans as producers of social structures and humans as social products.

Community refers to the group members' perspectives and voice. Thus, the study of an activity system "becomes a collective multi-voiced construction of its past, present, and future zones of proximal development" (Engeström, 1999). The multivocal agency among members of the activity system may create opportunities for tension and contradictions, and serve as a "source of innovation, demanding actions of translation and negotiation" (Engeström, 2001: 136). In the study of activity systems, attention is needed to the historicity of the activity, objects and tools that have shaped the activity over time. The history of the activity system influences present activity (Engeström, 2001).

To further examine the second research question of this study, I draw on sociocultural scholars who offer conceptualizations of cognitive apprenticeship and scaffolding as tools to understand how multivocal social relationships influence Latino youth civic engagement. Brown, Collins, and Duguid (1989) assert that masters or experts hold a specific role in cognitive apprenticeship that is tied to instruction. In a math class in school, masters provided opportunities for practice in authentic activity, modeling, coaching, and fading. In modeling, for example, the experts explain and demonstrate problem solving. To model, experts think aloud while they problem solve, or "they model their strategies for students in authentic activity" (Brown, Collins & Duguid, 1989: 39). Coaching and fading, also known as scaffolding, are two critical components of the cognitive apprenticeship model. Coaching is described as supporting "students' attempts at doing the task," while fading is described as the process whereby the teacher "empowers the student to continue independently" (Brown et al., 1989: 39). Brown et al. note that by engaging in authentic activity, students observe and practice "the behavior of members of a culture, people pickup relevant jargon, imitate behavior, and gradually start to act in accordance with its norms" (Ibid: 34).   Adopting the practices of members of cultural group members highlights the social aspects of situative cognition.

To further explicate scaffolding, I draw on Wood, Bruner, and Ross (1976), who conceptualized this form of instruction as entailing four processes:

- Recruitment and direction maintenance: Interesting youth to the task, and motivating the learner to complete the task.

- Simplifying the task: Reducing the number of steps it takes for youth to understand the various elements of the process

- Controlling frustration and risk of failure: Completing a task under scaffolding should be easier than in doing it alone.

- Demonstration: Modeling solutions to complete a task or demonstrating an idealized version of the task to be performed.

In summary, cultural-historical activity theory will allow me to examine participation learning spaces to discern how these are organized to support or constrain youths' jointly mediated learning and agency through the use and appropriation of multiple cultural artifacts while they participate in civic activities. CHAT offers the tools to contextualize the dynamic activity that adolescents, teachers or caring adults participate in to foster or impede Latino youths' civic engagement. The conceptualization of scaffolding offered a nuanced understanding of the social interactions between teachers and students and among students. To study the organizational context in which activity systems are situated, I turn to institutional and organizational theory (Scott, 2008).

Schools and the Elements of Organizations

To fully understand activity systems, researchers need to analyze the spaces in which these activity systems reside (Greeno, 2006). Institutional theory provides the conceptual tools to address the first research questions of this study that seeks to identify and examine the high school programs, practices, and policies that facilitate or impede participation learning spaces where Latino students have opportunities for civic engagement. Institutional theory offers the tools to understand how social,

cultural and political forces influence participation learning spaces. Institutional

theory combined with CHAT, as presented by Ogawa et al. (2008) provides a

framework to understand how the dominant social, economic, political and cultural

forces in the environment shape schools as organizations, which in turn influence

youths' civic engagement. In this section, I first explain the elements of

organizations as articulated in institutional theory and how these elements correspond

to CHAT. Next, I describe how societal, cultural, and political processes influence the

construction of organizations.

Organizational goals are expected to govern decisions of individuals as

participants of organizations (Scott & Davis, 2007). The organizational goals

identified by schools tend to be connected to wider cultural values such as training

and education, in order to receive legitimacy from the society (Scott, 2008). The

goals of organizations are similar to the objects in activity systems, which motivate

the subjects to act upon the object. In organizations, participants are the subjects who

are motivated to act upon the goal(s). Participants in an organization may display

agency and have influence on the social world by "altering the rules, social ties, or

distribution of resources" (Scott, 2008: 77). In the study or organizations, the agency

of actors can serve to reproduce or contest power. This definition of agency for

organizational actors is similar to the one offered by Inden (1990) for human agency

in activity systems.

Technology refers to the work performed by an organization to achieve its

goals. Technology includes the "physical combined with the intellectual or

knowledge processes by which materials in some form are transformed into outputs"
(Sproull & Goodman, as cited in Scott & Davis, 2007: 125). Technology is similar to
the artifacts in activity systems, which are the tools that mediate learning (Ogawa et
al., 2008). In organizations, technology mediates the outputs of organizations, which
in turn influence the goal.

The formal structure of an organization is defined by the rules and the
governance systems (Scott, 2008). In the study of the social structure of
organizations, Sewell (1992) suggest including resources—both human and
material—to take into account the role of power in organizations. The rules and
division of labor of CHAT correspond to these elements. The informal structure of
an organization would also correspond to the division of labor which may be defined
in formal or informal terms (Ogawa et al., 2008).

Similar to CHAT, the elements of organizations are mutually constitutive and
cannot be separated. The mapping of an organization's elements, such as goals,
participants, technology, and formal structure to corresponding elements into an
activity system, allow for the study of Latino youths' civic engagement in multiple
contexts. As noted above, these tools facilitate the understanding of how these
multiple organizational levels shape and influence each other. (Refer to figure 2
below for an illustration of the elements of CHAT-IT model, which presents the
combined elements of CHAT with the elements of organizations (IT).

Figure 2. Conceptualization of CHAT-Institutional Theory (Ogawa et al., 2008)
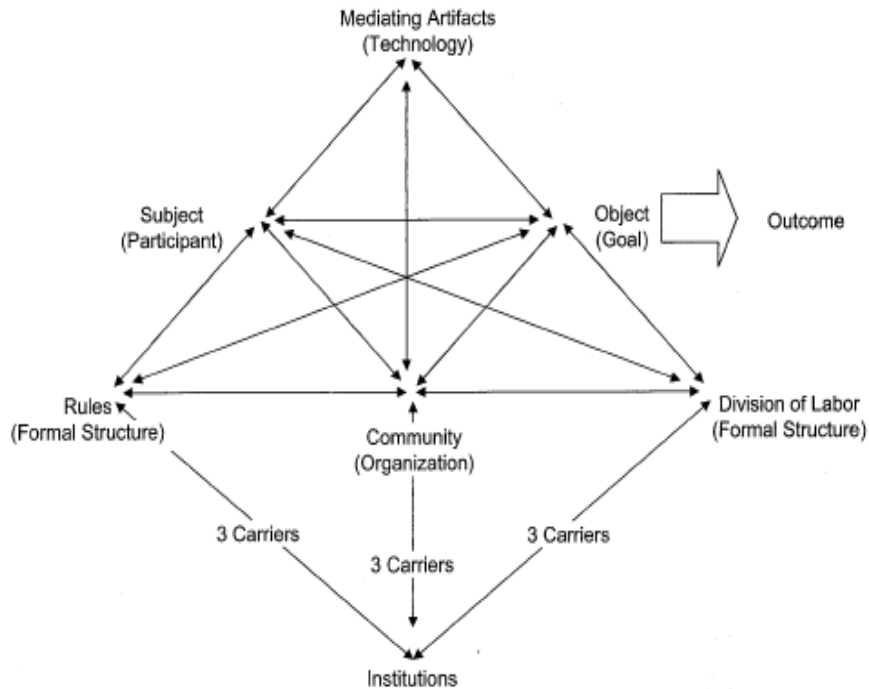
Organizational Field

The school is part of the organizational field, which is composed of a set of schools and related organizations such as school district, county office of education, state and federal funding agencies, parent–teacher associations, student body associations, teachers' unions, and the various public and private organizations that partner with these organizations. It is within this organizational field that goals, participants, technologies, and formal and informal structures are legitimized in these organizations and as such, the focus is on stability and maintenance. Schools tend to mimic what other schools are doing to obtain public approval and credibility. Hence,

the focus on stability leads organizations within the same organizational field to resemble each other, which is conceptualized as isomorphism. This explains why public schools across the nation resemble each other not only by the facade of a building, but also in the way schools and classrooms are organized, and by the ethnic-neutral curriculum they use (Brayboy et al., 2007).

Organizations and organizational fields are influenced by institutions through the normative, regulative and cultural cognitive pillars. In this study, I focus on the normative and regulative pillars that influence the school as an organization. The normative pillar is characterized by "normative rules that introduce a prescriptive, evaluative and obligatory dimension into social life" (Scott, 2008: 54). Values and norms make up the normative rules and constitute an adherence to a shared set of norms whether they are formal, informal or socially constructed. The normative systems are viewed as "imposing constraints on social behavior" while at the same time "they empower and enable social action" (Ibid., 55). The regulatory pillar in institutions describes the constraints, rules, and monitoring activities that constrain and regularize behavior. Examples of regulatory pillars that influence youth civic engagement are school discipline, social science standards, and school district policies and rules.

The "neutral" implementation of regulatory functions in schools is illustrated by the study conducted by Barajas and Rohnnkvist (2007) in two K–12 schools. The interpretation and practice of attendance policies varied between middle-class European American families and low-income migrant Mexican families. School

policies described excused absences from the school as doctors' visits or student or family illness. In cases in which a middle-class European American family requested an exception to the daily attendance policies to take their child out of school to travel abroad, the request was granted. In contrast, when a low-income Mexican migrant family requested an exception to take their child to travel with the family to help out with agricultural labor, the request was denied. By favoring the middle-class family, the school placed greater value on the learning experience of travel abroad versus learning about engaging in agricultural endeavors and contributing to the family well-being. The school, as an organization in this study, demonstrated the institutional ways of racializing students by implementing attendance policies that may appear race or class neutral, yet when implemented racialize the other in a white space.

Thirdly, the cognitive/cultural pillar denotes "the shared conceptions that constitute the nature and social reality and the frames through which meaning is made" (Scott, 2008: 57). In this pillar, compliance occurs because of the taken for granted assumption of the "way we do these things" (Ibid: 58). This pillar places importance of symbols and meanings such as flags, national anthems and "prevailing ideologies regarding preferred political or economic systems" (Ibid: 58). The cognitive/cultural pillar assumes all actors have a set of shared conceptions on these symbols.

Conclusion

The review and critique of the literature, combined with the researcher's own experience and insights, contributed to identification of the integrated theoretical

framework offered by Ogawa et al. (2008) as the conceptual framework for the design and implementation of this study. In this study, I use sociocultural learning theory and institutional theory to frame my research methodology with the purpose of understanding the organizational structure of schools and how this structure influences participation learning spaces and vice versa. To my knowledge, scholars have yet to investigate high school youth civic engagement using CHAT or institutional theory; nevertheless, in this chapter I draw from scholars who investigated civic engagement in a non-formal learning environment to provide examples of activity and organizational elements to illustrate these concepts.

Each of the categories of the conceptual framework informs this study's research questions as outlined in chapter one. The first question seeks to identify the organizational programs, practices, and policies that facilitate or impede Latino youth civic engagement in high school participation learning spaces. Therefore, the logical conceptual category to capture data to answer this question would be "Organizational Facilitators" and "Organizational Barriers." The second research question intends to uncover the social interactions between teachers and students or among students in participation learning spaces that facilitate or impede Latino youths' civic engagement. Hence, the appropriate categorizations are "Social Relationships Facilitators" and "Social Relationships Barriers." The third research question aims to identify the similarities and differences among participation learning spaces that foster or impede Latino youth civic engagement. "Similarities and Differences" are appropriate categories.

The diagram depicted in Figure 3 illustrates the conceptual framework I developed before entering the high school. I drew on the literature review and theoretical frameworks to hypothesize the institutional factors that serve to facilitate or impede Latino youth civic engagement. I placed these constructs in Table 1 below to facilitate data gathering. In the left column, I placed the key concepts from this study's research questions; for example, I listed the institutional factors under study such as the programs, policies, and practices. I relied on a previous pilot study (Moncloa, 2012) to elicit the categories under program. In this pilot study, I learned that high school student clubs, in the same city and school district, meet during school hours and generally during lunch, as opposed to after school, which facilitated Latino youth participation. However, the 35-minute lunch period is short; thus, under barriers, I placed scheduling constraints. In the next row, and based on this same study, policies that facilitate Latino youths' participation are elective classes. However, the way some school policies are implemented by teachers or administrators may be rigid which constrain youth participation. Under practices, when teachers support students and create an open classroom climate, diverse youth tend to participate (Campbell, 2005). In spaces where teachers exert a pedagogy of control, students do not participate (Moncloa, 2012; Mitra, 2005). In regard to social relationships among teachers and students, elements that facilitate participation include a caring teacher who supports students in multiple roles. Under barriers, and similar to the practices mentioned above, I included teachers who control decision making and don't include students in this process (Mitra, 2005). The elements that

facilitate peer interaction include a mutual caring relationship and scaffolding to

reach a goal. A constraint to Latino youth participation was youths' low self-esteem

(Perez et al., 2010). As I gathered data and conducted analysis, I added descriptors to

each of the major categories. The conceptual framework was continually revised and

refined during the course of this study.

Table 1 Conceptual framework elements

	Facilitators	Barriers
Institutional factors		
Programs	School clubs are held during school hours	Scheduling constraints
Policies	Elective classes	Rigidity of policy implementation
Practices	Teachers collaborate to support students Open classroom climate	Pedagogy of control
Social Relationships		
Teacher and student	Teacher offers a caring relationship and multiple roles to support students	Teachers control decision making
Student and student	Caring relationship Scaffolding to reach goal	Lack of confidence in ability

Figure 3. Conceptual framework

Facilitators and

Constraints

1. Institutional
factors

2. Social
relationships in
participation
learning spaces

Latino youth
civic
engagement
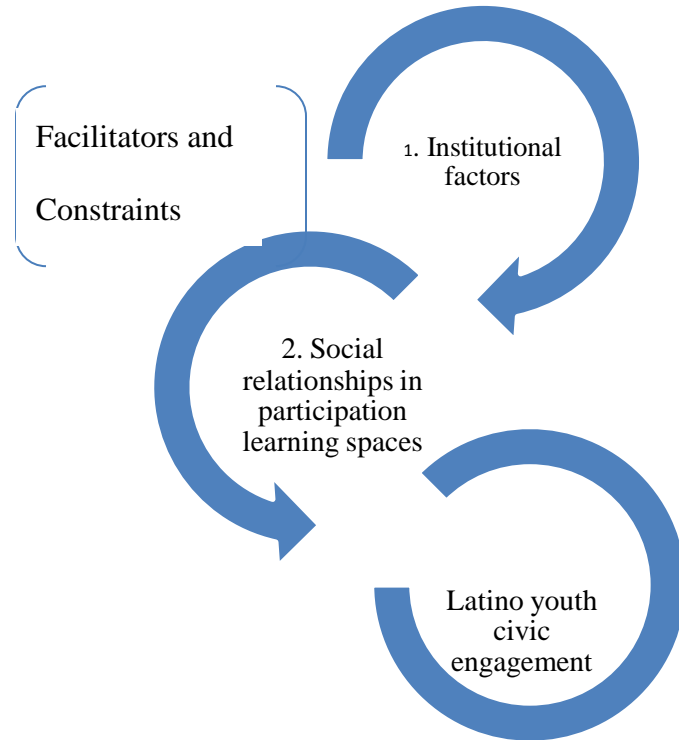
Chapter Four

Methodology

The conceptual framework discussed in chapter three integrates cultural-historical activity theory with institutional and organizational theory. Building on the work of civic engagement scholars and the framework offered by Ogawa et al., (2008), this comparative case study seeks to understand an urban high school's programs, policies, and practices and how these institutional factors influence Latino youth civic engagement. My hope is that by contributing to an understanding of this phenomenon, this study can inform high school educators' and administrators' practices to facilitate Latino youth civic engagement. This comparative case study addressed three research questions:

1. What high school programs, practices, and policies facilitate or impede participation learning spaces where Latino students have opportunities for civic engagement?

2. How and to what extent do social interactions between teachers and students or among students in participation learning spaces facilitate or impede Latino youths' civic engagement?

3. What are the similarities and differences among participation learning spaces that shed light on the institutional and organizational factors that foster Latino youth civic engagement?

This chapter describes the study's research methodology and discusses the following topics: (a) rationale for research approach, (b) overview of research design

(c) description of the research sample, (d) methods of data collection, (e) analysis and synthesis of data, (f) ethical considerations, (g) issues of trustworthiness and credibility and (h) limitations of this study. This chapter ends with a brief summary.

Rationale for Qualitative Research Design

A qualitative methodology places an emphasis on discovery and description and the focus is on interpreting the meaning of experiences. This study's research questions are best answered using an interpretivist constructivist epistemology, an approach that draws largely from the social sciences and presents reality as subjective, a socially constructed interpretation (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). The interpretive approach offers new insights that may vary from context to context; it acknowledges the subjectivity of the researcher and how, in the process of conducting research, the subjects may be influenced. Interpretivist research involves engaging in critical reflexivity also known as dialogic meaning making. This process acknowledges that research analysis is informed by the unequal power structures encountered by the participants as well as the researcher (Rosaldo, 1994) . These philosophical tenets speak to my research questions, which aim to understand the cultural and institutional factors that support Latino youths' civic engagement in a high school.

I chose not to use quantitative methods for this study because they were not useful to elicit the rich descriptions needed to answer the proposed research questions. The general objective of quantitative methods is to identify cause and effect, associations, test a hypotheses or theory, design an experiment, or implement

surveys (Creswell, 2003). This study is aligned with the qualitative research characteristics. These include: (a) inquiry into a social or human problem to understand the meaning that individuals or groups ascribe to the problem; (b) the use of a flexible and emergent research design in a natural setting; (c) adopting an interpretive stance; (d) and conducting data analysis that is inductive and iterative to establish patterns or themes (Creswell, 2003).

Rationale for a Comparative Case Study Methodology

To answer the research questions, this study is an instrumental case study (Stake, 2000) that sought to investigate various participation learning spaces and the high school organizational conditions that influence Latino youth civic engagement . I utilized a comparative case study methodology with ethnographic methods to provide insight into Latino youth civic engagement opportunities in a high school. Stake (2000) asserts that "comparison is a grand epistemological strategy, a powerful conceptual mechanism, fixing attention on one or more attributes" (p. 444). I used a comparative case study to identify the similarities and differences among participation learning spaces and the high school organizational practices. Stake adds that comparative case studies are the opposite of "thick descriptions" as articulated by Geertz (1973). In this study, I use ethnographic methods to describe participation learning spaces and include conflicting perceptions, relationships among teachers and youth, and how the spaces are organized for teaching and learning.

In an instrumental case, where the unit of analysis is participation learning spaces, the reader will learn how the phenomenon of Latino youth civic engagement

exists within each case. In the comparison of cases, "the uniqueness and complexities [of each case] will be glossed over" (Stake, 2000, p. 444), since the analysis is generally made on one or two characteristics. To reduce the possibility of misinterpretation, this study relied on multiple methods of data collection and multiple sources of evidence to triangulate the data.

Overview of Research Design

This comparative case study sought to understand the high school organizational programs, practices, and policies and how these factors influence Latino youth civic engagement. To understand this phenomenon, I explored three research questions to gather the information needed. The tables below lists the conceptual construct derived from cultural-historical activity theory or organizational theory that informed this study's research questions and design.

1. What high school organizational programs, practices and policies facilitate or

   impede participation learning spaces where Latino students have opportunities

   for civic engagement?

Conceptual Construct	Data to be collected
Organizational Theory	Field notes of participation learning spaces, and school events that are extensions of these spaces.
Normative Pillar	
Values, norms, roles	Classroom instruction and department meetings (if applicable)
Regulative Pillar	School documents on mission, policies, and student handbook as they inform or shape participation learning spaces.
	Administrator and teacher interviews. Identification of the organizational schemas and scripts.
	Determine if there is a difference between invited and emergent participation learning spaces. Conduct member check-in regarding these differences.
	Identify and select 16 low-income Latino youth to interview. Select 11th and 12th graders who are engaged in civic activities in the school and those who are not engaged in civic activities in the school. Conduct informal and formal interviews with these youth.

2. How and to what extent do social interactions between teachers and students

or among students in participation learning spaces facilitate or impede Latino

youths' civic engagement?

Conceptual Construct	Data to be collected
CHAT: Division of labor and scaffolding	Observation protocol
Organizational Theory: Informal and formal structures	Field notes of: participation learning spaces; school events that are extensions of these participation learning spaces; department meetings (if applicable)
	Administrator and teacher interviews (principal, assistant principals, school district administrators)

3. What are the organizational similarities and differences among participation

learning spaces that foster Latino youth civic engagement?

Conceptual Construct	Data to be collected
Institutional theory	Observation protocol
	Field notes of instruction and social interaction in classroom/club or emergent participation learning spaces.
	Documents associated with observed spaces.
	Informal interviews with teachers, students, and school administrators.
	Identify and select low-income Latino youth. Select approximately four 11th and four 12th graders who are engaged in civic activities in the school and approximately four 11th and four 12th graders who are not engaged in civic activities in the school.
	Conduct informal and formal interviews with these youth.

The Research Sample

In this section, I describe the criteria used to select the research site and how I gained access to the school. I provide the criteria used to select participation learning spaces and include a discussion of spaces that did not meet these criteria. I offer a rationale and description of the Latino students and teachers selected to participate in semi-structured in-depth interviews, and document the number of students, teachers and school staff who participated in informal interviews.

Site Selection and Access

I used purposeful sampling to select the site and developed selection criteria to identify the site (Patton, 2002). I selected a high school in a large city in the San Francisco Bay Area, in a county that has low young adult voter turnout rates. In this study, I was interested to learn the organizational conditions that foster or impede low-income Latino youth civic engagement. Therefore, I selected the high school using the following criteria: (a) more than half of the youth population is Latino; (b) more than half of the youth population is eligible for free or reduced lunch; (c) and the school exhibited all six evidence-based approaches that promote students' civic engagement as described in the Civic Missions of Schools report (Gibson & Levine, 2003). The promising approaches outlined in this report include:

1. Curriculum and instruction in government, law, history, economics, and other related courses (as required by California law).
2. Debate and discussion about current events and issues that matter to students.
3. Community service or service learning is required for graduation.
4. Extra-curricular activities.

5. Student governance and student decision making.
6. Simulations of political processes (e.g., mock elections, mock trials, lobbying).

In addition, I intentionally selected a regular public high school that was not implementing a special intervention to promote youth–adult partnerships or civic engagement. The two ethnographic studies cited in chapter two by Rubin (2007) and Mitra (2005) were conducted in high schools where a special intervention took place. Instead, I was interested in understanding the phenomenon in an urban high school that serves predominantly low-income and diverse students under everyday circumstances, so that this school can serve as a representative sample of high schools serving youth from low-income families in the San Francisco Bay area.

I gained access to Westfield High School by contacting the assistant vice principal of curriculum by email in May 2012 and then meeting with her in June 2012 to present the proposed study and to obtain her support. We talked for two hours that day. She asked me several questions and after I answered them to her satisfaction, she started to tell me the lay of the land of the school, including who the social science teachers were and what activities were organized by students. I selected this high school because it met all of the criteria and offered maximum variability in cases to elicit possible answers to research questions that can serve as a representative sample of the city in which the study was conducted (Patton, 2002).

The school is located in a large urban and diverse city in California. Some students travel up to 15 miles by public transportation to attend; others, who live nearby, walk or are driven to school by their parents, siblings, or friends. In this

setting, I conducted a comparative case study at Westfield High School from October

2012–November 2013. The school had 1,128 enrolled students during the 2012–13

school year, of which 58% were Latino, 18% White, 13% Asian, 7% African

American, and 0.80% American Indian. Of the total student population, 57% were

eligible for free or reduced lunch. Of the 653 Latino students, 73% were eligible for

free or reduced lunch (California Department of Education, 2013).

Selection of Participation Learning Spaces

To select participation learning spaces to study, I first gathered information to

develop social, temporal, and spatial maps, as suggested by Schatzman and Strauss

(1973). To develop a social map, I gathered information from the master schedule

that described the name of the teacher, the classroom, and the classes taught during

each period. The school did not have a club schedule and, at my request, the

Leadership class teacher developed one for me. In contrast, the sports team schedule

was posted on the school's website and was updated daily. I obtained information on

the roles and relationships within the school as an organization as well as the

communication channels, both formal and informal, from the secretaries and

administrators. To develop the temporal map, I obtained information from the master

schedule and the schedule given to students. I obtained information on teacher

meetings, staff and principal meetings, and student-organized events and rallies. To

develop the spatial map, I took pictures of the building from the outside and inside

and located students, teachers, and staff members within this map.

Armed with this information, I selected participation learning spaces, using the criteria listed below after I entered the field. This method is referred to as purposeful sampling of cases by Miles and Huberman (1994), whereby the cases selected represent a population of cases in the high school and offered maximum variability. Participation learning spaces that met all of the following criteria were selected for study:

1. Students were engaged in activities and have the opportunity for voice, influence or shared decision making with peers or teachers on matters that affect them.

2. More than half of the students self-identified as Latino.

3. Activities were youth relevant.

4. Teachers established a "connection with kids."

5. One of the promising approaches from the Civic Missions of Schools report was present.

I gained access to these spaces thanks to an introduction by the assistant vice principal of curriculum. A few months into the study, students invited me to attend various school clubs and events.

During the first three months in the field, I observed eight U.S. History classes and eight U.S. Government classes taught by three different teachers for a total of 20 hours. I observed Advanced Placement (AP) U.S. History and AP U.S. Government classes taught by two teachers for 20 hours. I observed four Mock Trial classes (3.40 hours), four Journalism classes (3.40 hours) and several school clubs (12 hours),

teacher and parent meetings (15 hours), sports teams (6 hours), and open spaces

where youth hang out during lunch (20 hours). In sum, I observed these spaces for

100.20 hours. What follows is a list of spaces where Latino youth participated that did

not meet the established criteria for participation learning spaces.

Table 2. Spaces that did not meet case selection criteria

Spaces	Rationale
U.S. History Class	Students had no opportunity for voice, influence, or shared decision making in matters that affect them. Students expressed their voice to answer questions posed by the teacher who requested specific information.
U.S. Government Class	Same as above
Advanced Placement U.S. Government Class	Students had opportunity for awareness of social issues discussed in class. The teacher presented historical topics and tied them to similar current events. Students did not have voice, influence, or shared decision making on matters that affect them. Students expressed their voice to answer questions posed by the teacher who requested specific information.
Advanced Placement U.S. History Class	Same as above
Journalism Class	The school's monthly newsletter is written by students in this class. The topics for articles were selected by the teacher, student editor, and with input from students. Students worked individually on articles. In the classes I observed, there was limited space for voice, influence or shared decision making in matters that affect them.

Spaces	Rationale
Mock Trial Class	To participate in this class, students had to compete against each other to make the team, and 28 slots were open each year. The school's mock trial team competed in the annual California Mock Trial Program, where schools develop a team of lawyers, witnesses, clerks, and bailiffs, and compete against one another in front of a real judge in a courtroom to win their team a verdict. To prepare for the competition the teacher prepared the scripts for students, and students' role was to understand and memorize these scripts. Approximately 10% of the students were Latino.
Key Club	This club is a branch of Kiwanis International and its members engage in numerous community service projects and fundraisers for multiple world-wide issues. This club was student led, yet less than 1% of the students were Latino.
Senior Women's Club	The purpose of this club was to mentor 9th grade female students. To do this, the teacher selected who would mentor whom and decided what activities students would engage in, and how.
Gay Student Alliance	Student led. Less than 3% of the students were Latino.
Link Crew	Teacher led. Most activities took place one month prior to the start of the school year and during the first two weeks of school. The rest of the year, participation dwindled to three European American girls.
Hip Hop Club	The club offered a space for youth to hang out and listen to music and dance. The teacher led the meetings. During the summer the teacher organized an annual hip-hop festival on campus which took place during the first two weeks of school. Students assisted by selling tickets. Ten percent of the youth were Latino.
Parent, Teacher, Student Meetings (English)	Students did not attend these meetings.
Parent, Teacher, Student Meetings (Spanish)	Students did not attend these meetings.

Spaces	Rationale
Student Council	This group was formed in November 2013 by the assistant vice principal of discipline. It was presented to students and teachers as a place for students to voice their concerns and figure out ways to address issues collaboratively. Students were elected to participate from their 4th period class or nominated by a teacher. Once a month, approximately 45 students expressed their voice on matters that concerned them, while the Associated Student Body president took notes. Once everyone stated his/her concerns, e.g., there is no soap in the boys' bathroom, the ASB president thanked them and told students he would bring this back to the administration. At the following meeting, the issues raised were not addressed, and students restated the same issues. All meetings followed this pattern. Youth had no influence or opportunity for shared decision making. Students expressed frustration with "Student Council" and stated these meetings were a waste of their time. It took the school three months to address the issue of no soap in the boys' bathroom, a basic health need.
Sports teams	In all sports teams, the teacher instructed students what to do to improve their performance. To support the participation of students in the team and to purchase uniforms and awards, all teams engaged in fundraising efforts. The coach decided what fundraising activity students would participate in and how.

To answer my research questions, I selected four participation learning spaces: two classes, Leadership and Sociology (both electives) and two clubs, Human Rights and Interact. The Leadership class offered students the opportunity to organize school-wide dances and rallies. The Sociology class gave them an introduction to ethnic studies. The Human Rights club sought to increase students' awareness of human rights. The Interact club provided an opportunity to conduct community service locally and contribute to an international service project. A description of these cases is included in chapters five and six.

Selection of students

I used specific criteria to select 16 Latino youth to participate in this study. Half of the students were in 11th grade and the other half were in 12th grade. All of them were eligible for free or reduced price lunch. To gain an understanding of the institutional factors that promote or hinder Latino youth civic engagement from the perspective of students, half of the students participated in school civic activities such as student council, school clubs, mock trials, debate club, or emergent participation spaces, and half of them did not. Once I selected the sample of students, the difficult part was to secure their participation.

Of the 16 Latino youth I selected and invited to participate in this study, five declined and one left the study midway. One 12th grade female student, who was the president of the Human Rights Club agreed to participate in the study but was taken ill for several weeks and withdrew from the study and the club. She was the only Latina in 12th grade in this club. I invited two 11th grade girls from this club to participate in the study, and both agreed; yet their parents did not sign the consent form. In addition, three 11th grade male students who were nonparticipants declined to participate in this study. In the end, I interviewed seven 12th graders, of which four were nonparticipants, and five 11th graders, of which two were nonparticipants.

Selection of Teachers and School Administrators

All 11th and 12th grade social science teachers who taught U.S. Government or U.S. History were invited to participate in this study. Teachers who supported students in school clubs, the student body association, and community service also

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were also invited to participate, and I interviewed 12 teachers. In the research design, my plan was to interview all school administrators. Unfortunately, the assistant vice principal of discipline passed away during this study and the person who stepped into this role refused to participate, stating she had more important things to do than answer my questions. I interviewed the high school principal and the assistant vice principal of curriculum.

Methods of Data Collection

The most fundamental question concerns the conditions that foster or impede Latino students' civic engagement in a high school. The comparative case study approach allowed me to understand whether civic engagement was taking place and if so how, and if not why not, and what were the similarities and differences among participation learning spaces.

As stated in chapter one, introduction, my professional and personal background and history influenced the analysis. As part of ensuring this study's trustworthiness, I took note of Rosaldo (2003) who suggests to social scientists to "explore their subjects from a number of positions" (p. 169). In an effort to answer the research questions from a multivocal perspective, I gathered data from multiple sources (refer to Table 3 below for a summary of data collection methods).

Table 3. Summary of data collection methods

| Data Collection | Participation Learning Spaces | | | | School |
	Leadership	Sociology	Interact	Human Rights	
Formal Interviews	Teacher 3 students	Teacher 2 Students	Teacher 1 student	Teacher	Principal Vice Principal Career Counselor
Informal Interviews	14 youth	66 youth	15 youth	12 youth	3 staff 3 teachers 30 students
Participant Observation Hours	44	42	30	27	177
Artifacts	-Leadership Handbook -Posters (N=45) -Flyers (N=31) Pictures (N=3)	-Handouts -Research project assignment -Textbook -Student final research project papers (N=22) Pictures (N=3)	-By-laws -Agendas -Flyers -Pictures (N=3)	-By-laws -T-shirt design -Agendas Posters (N=13) Pictures (N=3)	-Master Schedule -Newsletter -Website -Social Sciences Department Courses -School district reports -Pictures (N=7)

I collected data using the following ethnographic methods: 1) extended

participant observation of students and teachers; (2) informal interviews with students

and teachers; (3) semi-structured interviews with students and teachers; (4) artifacts

such as handouts, club flyers, school newsletters and policies; and (5) photographs of

participation spaces and the school. I invited participants to indicate their language

preference for the interview; 21 interviews were conducted in English, one student

interview was conducted in Spanish, and one student interview was conducted in Spanglish.

Ethnographic methods allowed the researcher to examine tensions between educators and students, educating and organizing, and will contributed to theory building about educating Latino youth for civic engagement. The researcher sought to uncover meaning by asking participants what matters to them but also by observing "indirectly and inferentially by looking for the perspectives and concerns embedded and expressed in natural occurring interaction" (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995, p. 28). The high school is dynamic and socially constructed, and as such I gathered data from multiple perspectives and sources to answer my research questions.

As noted above, during the first three months of data collection, I observed eight different regular social studies classes, two advanced placement social studies classes, a mock trial class, five school clubs, and open spaces in the school to identify and select the cases. This method facilitated observations of the interactions between students and teachers, and among students in participation learning spaces. This method also allowed me to develop a relationship with students, teachers, and staff. I captured my observations in field notes that aimed to describe the classroom or club culture using "thick description" (Geertz, 1974). Field notes consisted of systematic recording of behaviors and the meanings attached to those behaviors by study participants, events, and artifacts in participation learning spaces. These field notes also included my interpretation of the complexities of meaning (Emerson et al., 1995). I used the conceptual framework described in chapter three, which facilitated

the identification of elements of participation learning spaces and of the school as an organization. As the study progressed, the data analysis identified emergent themes, and consequently the field notes incorporated these themes into the observation protocol in an effort to verify or seek further exploration on these themes.

Ethnographic Methods

The role of the participant observer is influenced by his or her membership characteristics (Delaney, 1988). As a bilingual Latina woman, the researcher was perceived by students as a teacher or a parent. To avoid being confused as a teacher, I asked teachers, staff, administrators, and students to address me by name, as opposed to Ms. Moncloa, which is how students address teachers, and how teachers speak of and to each other. I did not want to be perceived as a teacher because teachers are enforcers of discipline rules and exert power over students. I described myself to students as a "fly on the wall" who would be observing the activities in classrooms, clubs, or in the various places where students hang out, and that I was not in their class or club to evaluate them or their teacher, just to observe interactions to answer my research questions. Students then asked me what my research questions were, and I shared these with them. Throughout this study, students would come up to me either during the class, club, or walking in the hallway and ask how my research study was going. During the study, students were comfortable breaking the school rules in my presence, such as using their cellphones in the classroom or smoking pot during lunch, knowing that I would not tell on them.

Interviews

I developed interview questions for students, teachers, and school administrators. I relied on my research questions, the conceptual framework, and a previous study I conducted in a high school to assist me in the development of these interview questions. To ensure that these questions were directly tied to my research questions, I arranged the tentative interview questions under each of the study's research questions in a document. I considered the range of answers each of these questions could offer and consulted with two professors to fine-tune the interview guides. Once I had draft interview guides for each population, I pilot tested them with teachers and students from other schools and revised the questions as needed.

I used an interview guide with these semi-structured in-depth interviews that allowed me to follow a set of topics and questions, as well as to allow the conversation to flow. These interviews, which allowed the researcher to corroborate preliminary findings from participant observations, were conversations between two people on a mutual topic of interest. Kvale (1996) asserted that the setting where interviews take place will influence the content of the interview. Thus, interviews with youth were conducted in the library, a space where youth said that they felt comfortable. Teacher interviews took place in their classroom; staff interviews took place in the library; and administrator interviews took place in their offices.

Student Interviews

I identified a group of Latino students from low-income families consisting of five11th graders and six 12th graders to conduct semi-structured in-depth interviews. I conducted informal interviews with these students in between classes as I walked with them to their next class, or before or after a class or club meeting. In these interviews, I sought to clarify information they provided me during the formal interview and I recorded these conversations as part of my ethnographic data. To conduct the formal interviews, I provided students with consent forms for their parents to review and sign. I scheduled interviews during an elective class or free period and at a time that was convenient for students. The assistant vice principal gave me a stack of "teacher referral notes" that are used to pull students out of class. The interviews took place between February and April 2013. Before the interviews commenced, I asked students to review and sign a university assent form and complete a demographic data sheet.

During the interviews, I started with an inquiry on the students' backgrounds and life histories as a way to get to know them. Next, I sought to elicit students' perspectives on classroom climate; sense of welcoming or unwelcoming in the school and participation learning space if applicable; goal of the activity; their role in each of the participation learning spaces, issues or problems in the school or community; student interests in addressing these issues; and interest in making a difference in their school or community (refer to Appendix A for interview protocols). The digitally recorded interviews in English were professionally transcribed verbatim. I

transcribed one Spanish interview verbatim, and transcribed the Spanish words in one

interview in which the students spoke in Spanglish. Table 4 below lists the students

who participated in semi-structured interviews.[11]

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[11] Under ethnicity, the word "Mexican," as an example, denotes that the student was born in Mexico, whereas Mexican descent means the student was born in the United States. In the sample of students, eight were foreign born and had undocumented status.

Table 4. Formal interviews with Latino youth

Name	Grade	Age	Participation Learning Space	Background	Gender	Interview Dates
Marco	12	18	Leadership Sociology	Mexican descent	Male	February 1 & 8
Eduardo	12	18	Leadership	Peruvian descent	Male	February 4 March 1
Monica	12	17	Leadership Interact Club	Mexican	Female	February 25 & 26 April 4
Daniel	12	17		Mexican descent	Male	February 21
Susana	12	18		Mexican	Female	February 21, March 1
Claudia	12	18		Mexican	Female	March 8 & 14, April 4
Ana	12	18		Salvadorian	Female	March 8
Alvaro	11	16	Leadership Interact Club	Mexican descent	Male	February 25
Esteban	11	16	Sociology	Chilean	Male	March 11
Fernando	11	16	Sociology	Mexican descent	Male	March 11
Patricia	11	16		Mexican	Female	February 28
Alicia	11	16		Mexican	Female	March 14

Teacher and Administrator Interviews

I gained access to the sociology teacher by an introduction from the assistant vice principal. This teacher introduced me to the rest of the social science teachers and invited me to attend a departmental meeting. To develop rapport with teachers before I started in-depth interviews, I conducted participant observation for three months in the following classes: Advanced Placement U.S. Government (1), U.S. Government (2), Advanced Placement U.S. History (1), and U.S. History (2).

I introduced myself to teachers as both a PhD student and a youth development professional who lived locally and had worked with adolescents, families, and communities for 20 years to promote civic engagement in nonformal learning environments. Teachers welcomed my participation in their classrooms or clubs and felt comfortable criticizing or complimenting the administration or each other in my presence. At times, a teacher needed assistance and I served as a teacher participant to tally votes, to provide feedback to students on their group project, or share an update of my research project with students.

I conducted semi-structured in-depth interviews with 10 teachers, one staff member (the informal community service coordinator), and two school administrators. Before the interviews commenced, interviewees were asked to review and sign a university consent form. To develop rapport, I first sought out information about their life histories and how they decided to become a teacher or staff person, and explored their perspectives on strategies they currently use, or used in the past, to promote Latino youth civic engagement. In addition, I asked what might get in the

way of fostering civic engagement. These in-depth interviews allowed me to expand on initial informal interviews and seek to uncover the organizational and educational policies and practices that support and/or impede Latino youths' civic engagement. The digital taped interviews were professionally transcribed verbatim.

Table 5 below describes the teachers, staff, and administrators selected for semi-structured in-depth interviews. These interviews generally took one class period of 50 minutes, with a couple of exceptions when teachers or administrators stayed after school to talk to me. All interviews took place in 2013. In the following section, I describe the purpose and content of the interviews.

Table 5. Formal interviews with administrators and teachers

Name	Class, Club or Activity	Background	Years at school	Interview Dates
Mr. Garcia	Advanced Placement (AP) U.S. History	Mexican descent	13	May 8 & 14 June 4
Mr. Jorgensen	Leadership Student Body Association	European American	13 6 with the Leadership Class	May 10, 21, 24, & 29
Mr. Madsen	Human Rights Club	European American	6 1 with the club	May 6 & 10
Mr. Bernard	Sociology	Mexican descent and African American	8 1 in Sociology	May 14, 15, 20, & 23
Ms. Flores	AP U.S. Government	Portuguese descent	5	September 9, October 10 & 18
Mr. Turner	U.S. Government	European American	9	September 5 & 23
Ms. Smith	Interact Club	European American	10 5 with the club	May 10 & 16
Mr. Steward	U.S. Government, U.S History	Greek	13	October 21 (2 hrs.)
Mr. Wright	U.S. History	European American	3	May 13 (2 hrs.)
Ms. Gernon	career counselor	European American	3	May 8
Ms. West	associate vice principal of curriculum	European American and African American	3	June 6 & 13 (4 hrs.)
Mr. Romero	principal	Mexican descent	3	September 5 & 24

Informal Interviews

Informal interviews were an appropriate method to use with adolescents and teachers in the classrooms and in other spaces since these conversations were spontaneous and part of the daily activity. During informal interviews, the researcher and the students or teacher engaged in a reciprocal dialogue to mimic natural conversation. Informal interviews with students were conducted in the classroom, the library, or walking from one class to another. Informal interviews with teachers, staff or administrators were conducted in their offices, classroom, or walking to and from one class to another. I recorded these data in a notebook as part of my ethnographic data.

School-level data gathering

I utilized multiple sources of data, such as participant observation, informal interviews, in-depth interviews, and document analysis. Participant observation and informal interviews were conducted during meetings such as parent–teacher–student meetings, teachers meetings, and teachers–principal meetings. In addition to the in-depth interviews mentioned above, I collected information from informants such as the school secretaries and students who helped at the front desk. I collected documents such as school newsletters, school web page, daily school announcements via a school television, and students' posters. I concluded data gathering in November 2013.

Data Management

The fieldwork and the quest for evidence to answer the research questions generated large quantities of data. Original field notes were transcribed using audio recognition software, Nuance Naturally Speaking, on a weekly basis. As suggested by Yin (2008), I developed an annotated bibliography of documents and web pages to organize these items for easy retrieval. At the end of each month, I organized my field notes around categories derived from the evolving conceptual framework that drew from the research questions, the elements of activity systems, elements of organizations, and normative and regulative carriers as a starting point. I organized the electronic data into folders and subfolders. I organized the paper data into five binders to archive the data for the four participation learning spaces and one for the school.

Methods for Data Analysis and Synthesis

The data analysis was an inductive process that took place iteratively throughout the study. From the moment I decided what to capture in the field notes; which youth, teachers, staff, or administrators to interview; or how I coded the data, I engaged in data reduction (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Data analysis focused on understanding the conditions that fostered Latino youth participation learning spaces in a high school. Data analysis relied on four mechanisms to ensure rich descriptions of Latino youth civic engagement in participation learning spaces and the school. First, I wrote analytic memos at the end of each participant observation and after each interview. Analytic memos are written or verbal spaces of reflection about a study.

Saldana (2009) asserted that analytic memos are "comparable to researcher journal or blogs—a place to 'dump your brain'—about the participants, phenomenon, or process under investigation, by thinking and writing about them and thus thinking even more about them" (p. 32). I engaged in an ongoing process of reflection and wrote analytic memos throughout the study to reflect on the similarities and differences among participation learning spaces and the social interactions among students and teachers that facilitated or hindered civic engagement. I wrote memos to capture the school's programs, practices, and policies that influence these spaces. Second, I used several flipcharts on the wall at home to draw my conceptual framework and added new categories and descriptions from the analytic memos.

During the first cycle of coding, I printed interview transcripts and field notes and inserted them into their respective binders. I read each document in its entirety and manually highlighted codes using various highlighter colors and post-its that resonated with the conceptual framework. Alternatively, I used holistic coding (Dey, 1993) to capture emergent codes. Holistic coding is used "to grasp basic themes or issues in the data by absorbing them as a whole [the coder as lumper] rather than by analyzing them line by line [the coder as splitter]" (Dey, 1993, p.104). As new codes emerged, I added new flip charts on the wall to capture additional categories for the framework or collapsed a few. In addition, new categories emerged as an inductive response to the various youth participation levels and the nature of the relationship between teachers and students, and among students in emergent spaces. For example,

I took note of the instances where I observed Latino youth civic engagement and whether these activities were scaffolded by teachers, youth, or both.

For the second cycle of coding, and once all of the transcripts and field notes were transcribed, I incorporated all of the codes and patterns from the wall into NVIVO 10, a qualitative data analysis software to facilitate coding and the identification of patterns and themes from my enormous amount of data (LeCompte & Schensul, 1999). To code documents, I read them in their entirety. While NVIVO allows researchers to read similar passages from multiple interviewees at the same time, I prefer to read the interview within the context that it is presented, inasmuch as topics in these conversations were interrelated. I coded each document using multiple coding strategies. As a first step, I coded the entire document using attribute coding (Bazeley, 2003). That means I highlighted the entire document and added the pseudonym of the participant as a code and class or club they taught. In doing this, every segment that is separated from the document as a pattern or quote carried the pseudonym of the person or participation learning space. In addition, the software allows researchers to define attributes for each interviewee, such as age, years of teaching, gender, etc. I used the software to code passages that offered descriptions of the school or participation spaces using descriptive codes (Miles & Huberman, 1994). I used in vivo coding when a phrase or nickname provided a concise description of the quote. For example, teachers referred to the principal as someone who could have been like Jaime Escalante, but wasn't. Therefore, "Jaime Escalante" became an in vivo code and I used it to represent what teachers had hoped the

principal would do to promote Latino youth civic engagement in the school. To capture expressed emotions of frustration, resentment, or joy, as examples, I used emotion coding (Goleman, 1995). In addition, I used simultaneous coding (Miles & Huberman, 1994) to ascribe different codes to the same passage.

To identify patterns and themes, I used pattern coding, as suggested by Miles and Huberman (1994). Using NVIVO as a tool, I displayed similarly coded passages from the data and generated a document with this information. I reviewed the first cycle codes that were assigned to these passages and then proceeded to assign them a pattern code when there was a fit. For example, during initial coding, I identified various youth participation levels under codes using descriptive or holistic coding. During the process of identifying themes, I assessed the commonalities and differences of these codes and assigned them a pattern code when applicable. I also used focused coding to identify themes (Charmaz, 2006). The use of focused coding consists of conducting searches for frequencies among initial codes. This search was greatly facilitated by the software. For instance, the topic of diversity was salient in almost all youth and teacher interviews in which interviewees described the culture of the school. By using focused coding, I elicited the frequency of this code in the data and identified it as a pattern.

I developed narratives for the participation learning spaces as a third data analysis strategy. I first wrote up a preliminary case in May 2013, using six months of data collection. These narratives included rich information and detail on the goals, participants, and division of labor in participation learning spaces, and how and why

these spaces are influenced by the school and school district organizational policies, programs, and practices. I shared a brief and preliminary summary of these cases in late May 2013 with students and teachers, as suggested by Yin (2008) as a mechanism to validate findings and to seek additional information. I completed the case narratives after I coded the data and identified the themes.

As a final step, and to identify the similarities and differences among participation learning spaces, I used NVIVO to create a matrix using the identified patterns and themes. I generated several data display matrices to facilitate within-case and cross-case analysis. At first, I synthesized the data by developing two data matrices as suggested by Miles and Huberman (1994). One matrix illustrated all participation learning spaces and the elements of activity systems as described by CHAT. The second matrix displayed the institutional factors that influence participation learning spaces. By conducting data display, I engaged in the process of developing conclusions and verification as part of data analysis. I verified these conclusions and discussed rival explanations with a colleague and two professors. The data for this comparative case study were triangulated using multiple data gathering methods and sources (Stake, 2000).

Using the information from data analysis and synthesis, I wrote four cases using the elements of cultural-historical activity theory to illustrate findings. Next, I used the data analysis matrix of institutional factors to write the cross-case analysis. Based on the synthesis of the data, I formulated several conclusions and developed recommendations for school administrators and researchers.

Ethical Considerations

  This study posed no serious ethical problems. I obtained an exemption for Category 1 from the UCSC Institutional Review Board because this research was conducted in a high school during regular school hours and the research sought to investigate regular education instructional strategies. With an exemption, I am not required to use consent forms; however, school administrators asked me to use them with teachers and students. I developed consent and assent forms in English and Spanish. I used consent forms for the parents of youth, assent forms with youth, and consent forms with teachers, staff and school administrators. All youth asked for consent forms in Spanish for their parents. One parent asked to speak with me in Spanish prior to the interview with her daughter, to explain further the purpose of my study. The rights of interviewees were explained to youth orally in Spanish or English prior to the beginning of the interviews.

  As a researcher, I have limited power to influence the future of the high school social science classes or informal civic education programs financially or by reputation. For teens and for teachers, the nature of the topic might be considered personal at times but probably not sensitive. All interviewees were informed that they were free to refuse to respond or to turn off the digital recorder. All of the information gathered was kept confidential. Digital recordings, notes, transcriptions, and all related materials with identifying information were stored in a cabinet at home. I used code numbers to identify transcribed interviews and notes. All names

were changed to pseudonyms and these pseudonyms were used in all notes and in this dissertation.

Issues of Trustworthiness and Credibility

To establish the trustworthiness of a qualitative research study, Lincoln and Guba (2000) assert that researchers must seek to control the potential biases that may be present throughout the design, implementation, and analysis of the study. Lincoln and Guba offer four constructs to ensure the trustworthiness of the study: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. In this section, I offer a brief description of each construct and discuss how I addressed them.

The first construct is credibility, where the goal is to demonstrate that the study was conducted in such a manner that the subjects were adequately identified and constructed. To establish credibility, I engaged in repeated and substantial involvement in the field and observed the high school and the four participation spaces for 13 consecutive months from October 2012 until November 2013. Prolonged involvement at these sites facilitated an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon under study. To ensure familiarity, I conducted a preliminary study in an urban high school with similar characteristics and within the same school district two years prior to conducting this study. In addition, I observed various spaces at Westfield High School before selecting participation learning spaces and conducting the interviews. To establish trust with students and teachers, I participated in several classes, clubs, meetings, and events in this high school. And finally, another strategy to establish credibility is the triangulation of data using multiple methods and sources.

In addition to the sample of teacher and student interviewees, I drew on a wide range of student informants in participation learning spaces and from teachers and staff in the school.

The second construct is transferability, which refers to whether the rich information provided in the research context under study may be a good fit, as determined by the reader, to another research context. Toward this end, I addressed transferability by the amount and quality of detailed information provided on the context of the study. Lincoln and Guba (2000) suggested that it is the responsibility of the researcher to provide thick descriptions of the contextual information of the site under study, so that the reader can make such a transfer.

The third construct is dependability, in which the researcher accounts for the changing conditions of the phenomenon under study and the processes and procedures used to collect and interpret the data. For Lincoln and Guba (2000), it is important to consider whether the findings are consistent and dependable with the data collected. In addition, dependability is addressed when the various processes of the study are described in detail, thereby allowing future researchers to repeat the work or to assess whether proper research practices have been followed. I addressed dependability in this study by offering a detailed description in chapters two and three of the literature that informed the conceptual framework of this study and described the variety of methods used in this chapter to elicit multiple voices and cross-cultural perspectives to answer my research questions. In addition, I kept a record of all decisions made throughout this study.

The fourth construct is confirmability which speaks to whether the data in this study answer the research questions. Miles and Huberman (1994) suggested that a key criterion for confirmability is the extent to which a researcher admits her/his own bias. I addressed confirmability by stating my bias in chapter one and in this chapter. I also addressed my bias in memos written during the data collection phase. To address the bias that I bring to this study, I conversed during the data analysis with a colleague whom I invited to serve as the "devil's advocate," and she critically questioned my analysis. These conversations facilitated the identification of rival explanations which were included in the analysis.

Limitations of this study

This study contains certain limitations. This is a study of one high school with a selective and small sample of Latino youth, diverse students, and teachers observed in participation learning spaces. It is important to note that cultural traits are not inscribed within individuals (Gutiérrez & Rogoff, 2003), and the conclusions drawn from this study cannot be generalized to all Latino/Latina youth, but should be used to broaden our understanding of how to support Latino youth civic engagement. Secondly, sociocultural learning and Latino youth civic engagement is best observed through daily interaction; however, because of my personal time limitations, I conducted participant observations twice a week during the duration of this study. Finally, this study was conducted in a high school that offers multiple programs and activities that have been shown to promote youths' civic engagement. I did not

observe the strengths and challenges faced by high schools and Latino youth where these factors are limited or absent.

Chapter Summary

This chapter provided a description of this study's research methodology. An interpretivist case study methodology was employed to illustrate the phenomenon of high school organizational programs, practices, and policies and how they influence Latino youth civic engagement. The site of this study was an urban high school in a San Francisco Bay Area city. At Westfield High School, I selected four participation learning spaces using established criteria that offered maximum variability. The participant sample included 13 students, 10 teachers, one staff person, and two school administrators. Three data collection methods were employed, including individual in-depth interviews with participants, 320 hours of participant observation, and gathering of documents and websites. The data were reviewed against the literature as a first step in data analysis, and secondly emergent codes and themes were identified. The data were triangulated using multiple sources.

Chapter Five

Leadership and Sociology Cases

This comparative case study sought to examine the high school's programs, practices, and policies and how these factors influence Latino youth civic engagement. The unit of analysis is participation learning spaces, defined as spaces where low-income Latino youth's voice, influence, or shared decision making are present and respected (MacNeil, 2000). This chapter addresses my second research question, which seeks to explain how social interactions between teachers and students or among students in participation learning spaces facilitate or impede Latino youths' civic engagement. To situate the cases, I first offer a description of the setting, Westfield High School, using the concepts offered by organizational theory, such as participants, goal, technology (similar to artifacts), formal structure, which includes rules, and governance systems. Next, I present the case narratives of two participation learning spaces: the Leadership class and the Sociology class.

The Setting: An Urban High School

Westfield High School (HS) is located in a city of one million people with a diverse population in terms of ethnicity, immigration status, and socioeconomic class. The neighborhood surrounding the high school is ethnically diverse and middle class. The high school opened in the fall of 1975 and it is one of six high schools in the district. The school building had large interior common areas and corridors, tennis courts, soccer and football fields, and an Olympic-sized swimming pool. This school offered media and design arts pathways and had a modern television studio with

numerous scheduled broadcasts fed to each classroom via closed circuit for school announcements. Students had access to classes and labs for animation, digital photography, and multimedia.

The data from the initial interview with Ms. West, the assistant vice principal of curriculum, combined with data from interviews with social science classes as well as participant observation in social science classes, confirmed that Westfield High School met the six criteria identified in the Civic Mission of Schools report: (1) the school offered curriculum and instruction to 11th and 12th graders in U.S. Government, U.S. History, and Economics as required by California law; (2) students enrolled in U.S. Government or U.S. History classes engaged in debate and discussion about current events and issues that matter to students; (3) community service was a requirement for graduation; (4) students participated in extracurricular activities such as school clubs or sports; (5) students were elected to serve in student governance and engaged in student decision-making; and (6) Mock Trial offered simulations of political processes.

Goal

The mission statement of the school includes: "to be a technological, collaborative, college-preparatory community that achieves academic excellence, respects individuality, and celebrates diversity" (Westfield High School Accountability Report Card, 2012-13). Mr. Romero, the principal, stated that his goal was for students to be "contributing members of society", defined as an economic contribution and not a civic or political one. He added:

I mean whether it be getting a job or going to school. But building,

developing their skill set so that they can, be productive adults, and, you

know, and productive adults meaning we've got to be able to take care of

ourselves. We have to be able to get a job, be able to financially support

ourselves to whatever means, not kind of go down the wrong path where you

get into, you know, the negativity that's out there, you know, and the reality of

life. You know, hopefully staying out of jail and, you know, staying off the

streets, that kind of productivity.

In this statement, the principal equated "productive adults" with gaining employment

and staying out of jail. When asked if the school promoted Latino youth civic and

political engagement, he responded:

You know, I don't, within their, I, I'm assuming within their Social Studies

class. I mean they talk about that. You have the U.S. History and

Government classes that they go through. There's nothing particular outside

of that. We have our, you know, Mock Trial classes. But there's not a, time

for where we sit down and say, this is how you register, this is how you vote.

Similarly, Ms. West, the assistant vice principal of curriculum, responded: "I

think it's hit and miss because you have Mock Trial. I have 1200 kids here. There's

28 kids in Mock Trial. That's less than 1% of the school population. So with that

being said, you know, we're not hitting all of the students in that regard."[12]

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[12] In reality, 28 students in Mock Trial translated to 2.3% of the total student
population. I add this note in case a reader is concerned about the math estimate
offered by Ms. West.

Both administrators expressed that it was up to the social science teachers to impart civic and political knowledge to students. Interestingly, neither of them mentioned the 40 hours of community service that students were required to complete, per the school district's policies, to graduate. Mr. Romero's and Ms. West's comments illustrate how the civic and political development of Latino youth and youth in general is not a priority for them.

Social science teachers emphasized going to college as a purpose for schooling. Mr. Garcia stated:

> Like I'd like to think that those two girls, and their just an example, really believe they can graduate from college. And to me, that's the purpose of what we're here for, right, is, if it's not college, it's something else, right, but just building that confidence that whatever it is that you wanna do you're gonna do, and, but understanding that it's, it's academics, right?

Mr. Bernard commented that the school is not preparing students for civic engagement, and stated:

> I think, in general, education as a whole, public education, private education, whatever you want to call it, whatever category it fits into as an entity, the nature of education as a system is preparing students to become citizens, right, as a whole. How engaged they are as citizens, I don't feel as if that's being met, right? Trying to teach our kids to be civically engaged, I, aside from students that are in, you know, Leadership and ASB, you know, the school

council, aside from that, I don't know if we're really preparing them and showing them modeling for that, you know.

Students articulated a goal for schooling that was similar to the one offered by Mr. Romero. Marco stated:

I think that it's because, they want to keep kids out of trouble, give 'em something to do, and they want to have a smart generation…And what I define as smart is understanding a concept, seeing the connections between different things, more understanding them like at a fundamental level, the basic pieces and how they come together as one

Similarly, Alvaro stated:

Well, for kids to be more successful and out of trouble. It was more of a main point for them to go to school and learn. Success means … Well, the American dream goes back to where my family comes from, basically being someone who, who knows his stuff, who's a businessman or who's successful in their own field as a doctor, as a lawyer, as anything else.

Another student, Alicia, stated: "I think they want, since we're, they want us to be educated because we're the future, you know. People are gonna rule, or rule, yeah, rule the world. We're gonna be in big businesses and all that." In these excerpts, students expressed a vision for themselves as future leaders and as educated people. School administrators, teachers, and students had a shared meaning of the goal of this school: to be educated and contribute to society economically, as well as

stay out of trouble. Administrators and Mr. Bernard agreed that the school was not preparing students for civic engagement.

Population of the School

During the 2012–13 school year, 1,128 students were enrolled in the high school of which 58% were Latino, 18% White, 13% Asian, 7% African American, and 0.8% Native American. Of the total student population, 57% were eligible for free/reduced lunch and of the 653 Latino students in the school, 73% were eligible for free or reduced lunch (California Department of Education, 2013). Students came to this school from nearby middle-class neighborhoods and from low-income and racially segregated areas of the city's downtown, which was approximately 15 miles away. Students living in poverty had family or work responsibilities to contend with. Of the 11 students I interviewed, six were undocumented and six worked after school and on the weekends. Of the six who had jobs, two were undocumented male students who worked by tagging along with their fathers to help them with their work. Three female students were responsible for picking up their siblings from school, feeding them, and helping with their homework. One of these students was responsible to take care of her 20-something developmentally disabled sister until her mother arrived around 10 p.m. The three students who were responsible to take care of siblings did not participate in school clubs, sports, or other school activities.

The school had 57 teachers, 35 classified staff, two assistant vice principals (instruction and discipline), and one part-time career counselor. One teacher served as the bilingual coordinator and provided coaching for all teachers in the high school.

For 1,128 students, the school allocated 1.8 FTE academic counselors to advise students on their academic or vocational pursuits. The principal was designated as the 12th graders' academic counselor; the assistant vice principal of curriculum served as the 11th grade academic counselor. A staff person and psychologist was the 10th grade counselor, and another staff person was the 9th grade counselor. There was no full-time academic counselor.

Artifacts and Technology

Technology refers to the work performed by an organization to achieve goals. The technology used by an organization refers to the "physical combined with the intellectual or knowledge processes by which materials in some form are transformed into outputs" (Sproull & Goodman as cited in Scott & Davis, 2007: 125). Administrators used monthly staff meetings, department chair meetings, and parent–teacher–"student" meetings to present ideas, discuss old ones, and support students' teaching and learning. Teachers used their classrooms, textbooks, conversations during class time or clubs, Internet, and monthly department collaboration meetings.

Mr. Garcia, department chair of social sciences, shared that these "collaboration meetings" were designed so that teachers could explore ways to teach similar topics collaboratively. However, during this study, administrators tasked teachers with the development of assessment tools to be implemented quarterly to students the following year. To ensure that teachers were working on the development of these assessments, administrators took turns visiting "collaboration" meetings. This year-long task eliminated the space to collaborate, confining the

opportunities for teachers to interact with each other to time between classes or at lunch time.

Students used various tools, too, such as taking classes, engaging in dialogue with their teachers and fellow students, and voluntary participation in clubs, sports teams, or school social and educational events. In addition, the majority of students had cell phones or smartphones that they used throughout the day. The school library had 20 computers with access to the Internet, and the media lab provided teachers with carts of Apple laptops for all students upon request.

The school used technology to achieve its goal, and during the first year it offered after-school tutoring for students to get homework assistance. However, none of the students I interviewed who needed assistance with homework could participate because of family obligations. During the second school year, the school changed the schedule and offered homework tutoring during school hours.

Formal Governance Structure

Westfield HS provided students with support through instruction, athletics, clubs and homework tutoring after school. The organization of the curriculum was compartmentalized across subjects. Within subject areas, courses that counted toward fulfilling the University of California or California State University admission requirements were further subdivided into advanced placement and regular classes. In addition, elective courses in each subject area were offered to students. The organization of instruction among regular U.S. Government or U.S. History classes centered on a set of rituals in which the teacher imparted knowledge and students

repeated this knowledge back to the teacher. In the Advanced Placement classes, a set of rituals also was in place; yet students had opportunities to co-construct knowledge by working in small groups to elicit the "correct" answers. All students were encouraged to enroll in Advanced Placement classes by their teachers and their class counselors; yet, no extra support was provided for students who experienced difficulty and eventually dropped the class. Ms. West asserted that, on average, 30% of the students enrolled in advanced placement classes passed the exam.

In addition to classroom instruction, Westfield HS offered several sports teams and school clubs. The information for sports teams was included and updated daily on the school's website. Students were required to have a "C" average to join sports teams or clubs, but this requirement was strictly enforced only with sports teams. The information for school clubs was absent from the official website, the student handbook, and from the school information provided at the front desk. Each September, Mr. Jorgensen, the Leadership class teacher, organized a Club Day in which all school clubs provided information and snacks to students during lunch. If a student missed school that day, or if a student was standing in line to get the free lunch, it was possible that this student did not learn of the various clubs offered that year. A handful of students knew they should ask the Leadership class teacher to get a list of the clubs.

However, based on informal student interviews, a majority of students did not know what clubs were offered and where to find this information, nor did they know that they could start a club of their choice with the support of a teacher. The assistant

vice principal and the principal were not aware of the number of clubs in the school, their meeting schedule, or which teacher was supporting what club. School administrators expressed they were not responsible for the content discussed in each club. Ms. West described how supporting clubs was not part of her assignment:

> But it is not under my radar. (laugh) And it's not on my list of things to do. I know about clubs. And I communicate with kids about what they're doing from time to time. And I purchase food when they have the club day, but that's about it. And =Mr. Madsen= tries to get me to buy Human Rights shirts. But as far as what they're doing and what their core belief is and what they're discussing, I have no idea.

Ms. West added that no one except the teacher who supported the club was responsible for the content.[13]

School clubs at Westfield High School were formed based on teacher and student interest. For a club to exist, a teacher provided his/her classroom and acted as a club advisor. Teachers volunteered to mentor students without additional compensation. Clubs met during the school day's lunch period and on the weekends for special activities. During the 2012–13 school year, 13 clubs met on a regular basis; two of them were started by students: the chess club, where students met to play chess, and the anime-games club, where students met to play video games.

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[13] No one in the school knew how many students participated in student clubs. The teachers who supported each of these clubs knew how many students signed up during club day, but no one kept track of attendance or participation.

Based on participant observation, I estimated that approximately 200 students participated in school clubs.

Westfield HS was supported financially by several local organizations composed of parent volunteers and community members who supported athletic programs. The English speaking parent–teacher–student association was primarily composed of seven parents and two school administrators who met monthly. This group provided overall support to the school's sport teams and organized a teacher appreciation lunch every year. An organized group of approximately five parents who are English language learners also met monthly. This group received information from administrators regarding new initiatives at the school, such as an increased number of advanced placement classes. While the School Accountability Report Card for 2012–13 stated that these two parent–teacher–student groups were composed of students, no students attended these meetings, nor were they encouraged to do so.

Informal Governance Structure

The social organization of the school allowed students to develop trusting relationships between teachers and students. All students who participated in interviews stated they had at least one teacher who served as their mentor. Students selected these teachers based on personality, friendliness, or the knowledge that their private stories would not be shared widely. For example, Eduardo described his interaction with Ms. Smith, an English teacher: "… like I just can talk to her. Like I feel like I can talk to her about anything … she just like has like a welcoming attitude

and like she's just awesome." Similarly, Claudia described her relationship with Ms. Gernon, an English teacher;

> Like it, she's like more than a teacher, cuz most teachers, like they just do
> their job, and that's it. But … she'd always tell us, like she'd rather have us be
> good, like if we're having emotional problems or something like, you have to
> be good and able, like to be able to learn. Cuz if you're thinking about other
> stuff then you're not gonna be learning anything. So every time I go in there,
> like, it just, it just feels good being in there.

These teachers created an environment where students could share their social and academic problems almost on a daily basis. Ms. Smith shared:

> I want to teach the students that aren't being fought over but need someone
> wonderful to connect to and to tell them that there are options and choices and
> possibilities … and I feel like I can make a bigger difference with my
> population and, I can reach out and maybe be someone that, that validates
> them in the process and makes it a little bit easier, cuz high school's tough.

> Ms. Smith added that many of her students were dealing with difficult

situations such as homelessness, teen pregnancy, and drug use that contributed to having a "tough" experience in high school. Ms. Smith provided an example of the life of a student that illustrates the challenges that low-income students experienced:

> Our students are broken. I talked to a girl yesterday who's not even one of my
> students but came in just crying. She's a foster child. She's been moved
> around in seven different homes. She's only getting from the state $700 a

month and she cannot afford rent. She cannot afford books. She can't afford transportation. She makes $50 too much to get a free or reduced lunch. But at the same time she can't afford food. She's torn between, she wants to go on to college, she wants to get a degree, she wants to get out of government assistance, and yet she doesn't know where she's gonna be at the end of the month for home.

Students sought out teachers to share their personal stories with and received validation and support—and in the process developed trusting relationships.

Most teachers and students were able to interact informally outside of the classroom during teachers' free periods, lunch, after school in sport teams, or via email for homework assistance. For example, Marco ate his lunch in Mr. Bernard's class several times per week, and Susana ate her lunch in Ms. Flores's class every day. Approximately 15 students ate lunch in Mr. Bernard's class, where students listened or danced to hip-hop. Approximately 20 students liked to hang out in Mr. Madsen's class during lunch, and they could request specific music genres or songs. An average of 20 students visited Ms. Flores's class, where students conversed with each other and the teacher on what Susana described as "teen topics" and some "more meaningful topics such as the cost of attending college." Students in the Sociology class contacted Mr. Bernard via email after school to seek clarification on homework assignments. Students who participated in out-of-school community service activities that benefitted the school interacted with teachers and their peers informally. These

teachers felt responsible for students' personal development as well as academic achievement.

Formal Structure: Rules

Teachers and students spoke about two sets of rules: the community service requirement and disciplinary policies. The California Department of Education does not require students to complete community service for graduation. This policy was instituted by the Valley Unified School District and students were required to complete 10 hours of community service per year or 40 hours for all four years to be eligible to graduate. The district offers several community service guidelines and I include those that are relevant to this study below:

All community service work will be completed outside of school hours. Projects will be approved only for work through a nonprofit community organization. Service hours will not be given for any of high school club meetings. Schools may enforce their own guidelines as long as they are not contrary to the guidelines listed above and are approved by the District Service Learning Coordinator (Valley Unified School District, 2014).

During the 2012–13 school year, Ms. Miller, the career counselor, learned that students had not graduated in previous years because they lacked enough community service hours. To address this issue, she created a binder with the names and contacts of organizations that students could approach to carry out their service hours. She also organized school improvement days, such as clean-up and tree planting to generate community service experiences for youth. Nevertheless, in March 2013, I

learned that 120 seniors were at risk of not graduating that year because they lacked

community service hours. Teachers responded to the apparent annual crisis by

offering students service opportunities during the school day that benefitted the

school, not a community organization as described in the school district's guidelines.

In the end, all of the students who needed community service hours were able to

graduate.

The second rule that students were concerned about involved discipline.

Incoming freshman received the student handbook that contained all of the rules for

the school.[14] Students who transferred into the school in subsequent years did not

receive this handbook; they had to learn "the rules" from other students, teachers, and

by inadvertently breaking the rules. According to the handbook, the rules for clothing

stated: "only one item of red or blue may be worn, to include no solid red or blue

shirts" (Valley Unified School District, 2012). When I asked Ms. West about this

policy, she stated the intent was to prevent fights among youth who were affiliated

with gangs.

Students from the Gay Student Alliance (GSA) club expressed concern about

the inconsistent enforcement of dress code rules, because they had observed that only

Mexican descent students were admonished for breaking this rule. However, these

students did not feel comfortable to collectively do something about it. On her own,

Lindsay, a transgender boy of European American descent and the president of the

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[14] The school website was a "work in progress" during the 2012–13 school year and the handbook was not available electronically. During the 2013 summer, the website was updated and students could find the Student Handbook online.

GSA Club, intentionally wore clothing that blatantly broke school rules for an entire week; yet, he was never stopped or admonished by teachers or by Ms. Healy, assistant vice principal of discipline. During his week of solidarity, Lindsay observed how Mexican-descent students were stopped and admonished by administrators for wearing more than one blue item.

Another discipline rule that was inconsistently applied to students was the use of a cell phone during class. In the Student Handbook, the language of this rule included:

> Cellular/digital telephones, pagers, or other mobile communications devices shall be turned off in class, except when being used for a valid instructional or other school-related purpose as determined by the teacher or other district employee, and at any other time directed by a district employee (Valley Unified School District, 2012).

In all but one social science classes I observed, and in all participation learning spaces, teachers allowed students to use their cell phones as long as they participated in class discussions. A female student in a social science class remarked "… some teachers are cool about it, and others trip over it." Students seemed to know who the teachers in the latter category were, and they included Ms. Healy. Two of the Latino students I interviewed shared stories of how Ms. Healy took their cell phones and kept them for several days before returning them.

In the interview excerpt below, Claudia, a girl of Mexican descent who did not participate in school activities, shared how her cell phone was taken away by Mr. Turner, a social science teacher:

P: With this teacher, that, I guess we just don't get along at all, and he is kinda racist now that I think about it.

I: So who's the teacher?

P: =Turner=. And we're always arguing, like all the time, and like if we like as a group before working or something, and we decide it's better to do something in another way, like, no. He says he's the teacher, so whatever his rules are. So we had to, we had to make this, this project about if we had our, if we could make our own country, what would we have as a rule, and I said, well, I don't think we should have an army. I think we should go back to like the Mexican system, right? And he started like screaming at me saying that, in Mexico everybody was like, what did he say? Like, vandelistas, and then criminals. Oh, he said criminals, and I was like, why are you gonna go and call like, just because one person is like that, and he's the only one that comes out in the news doesn't mean that every person is like that. So I like, and then I was like, then what's the point of us making our own rules if we're gonna have to stick with whatever you say?

I: You challenged him like that?

P: Yeah. And then he was like, and then he told me, oh, you know, I can

        make, if I choose to you're not gonna walk the stage. I was like, I'm

        not gonna walk the stage anyway, so (laugh) what're you gonna do?

        Yeah. He doesn't like me ever since. He took my phone away, and he

        kept it overnight. I was like, you can't do that. (laugh) But, yeah, he

        did it, he…

I: And did he take it because you were using it?

P: No, cuz we were arguing, and it was on the table, and he was like, and

        give me your phone anyways. I was like, why am I gonna give it to

        you? He's like, if you don't give it to me I'm gonna suspend you. I

        was like, okay, so he just kept it. He kept it overnight, like, oh my

        god.

In this excerpt, Claudia described how Mr. Turner used his authority over a student to arbitrarily implement a disciplinary policy. Claudia also asserted that Mr. Turner was a racist. I checked this assertion with Ms. West during an informal conversation, and she responded she had heard something about this from other students. She added the school did not have a way to address racist attitudes of a single teacher. To deal with such a situation, the school would have to present it as a professional development opportunity for all teachers, and she said that from her experience, she did not think the teacher would change his perspective. She added that, so far, the school had not provided diversity training to teachers.

Organizational Culture

The organizational culture of the school was shaped by the community in which the school resided, as well as the students and teachers. Students and teachers stated the school had a reputation as a "ghetto" school in the community. As described in a local newspaper, "Ever since a student was stabbed to death at the nearby metro station a decade earlier, Westfield had a reputation, deserved or not, as unsafe; Valley magnates sent their children elsewhere, and so did the parents of elite athletes"[15] (Valley Newspaper, 2014). This historical incident was mentioned by several teachers. Ms. Smith, English teacher stated:

> …because 10 years ago we had something happen at the metro that changed the, the community's perception of this school as being, uh, safe and, and respected. There was a fight or something at the metro, not at school but at the metro. But people so long removed from 10 years ago still bring this up to their children and it still becomes this perception that, that it's a ghetto school and fighting when that's really not the case.

Mr. Garcia provided additional details:

> November of 2000, there was a student who was murdered ... we had a, a student, who, a Mexican student who, he got a, I mean, I don't remember all the details. But he crossed with a kid, another student from the school, a Vietnamese student, at the mall, and they kinda continued the next day, and it, you know, they kept talking to each other, talking to each other, and finally

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[15] I used a pseudonym for the city and name of the newspaper.

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they were just like, well, let's meet at the metro station. So they showed up at

the metro and the student, the Mexican student was waiting and the

Vietnamese student showed up with some of his buddies and they showed up

with machetes and they killed the student, ah, or murdered him at the Light

Rail station and he died at the hospital. And I don't know how much of that

had an effect but I think it did have some of an effect where I think it really

opened up a lot of students immediately and staff members to the fact that we

can't have this happen…We lost like 400 kids the following year in terms of

enrollment.

According to Mr. Garcia, this incident sparked a conversation among students

and teachers that brought about a culture of diversity that is welcoming for students.

He added:

I think a lot of it is the relationships that were developed, I think that we

developed some really good relationship with the kids and I think the kids

really look to some of us for leadership and, and what is right and what is

wrong. And I think a lot of it has to do with the fact that we're some of the

only people that they can communicate those things to.

Mr. Romero, the school principal, arrived at Westfield HS three years ago.

Upon his arrival, he implemented a positive behavior intervention system as part of

the school's discipline efforts to reduce suspension and expulsion rates. He described

this discipline intervention as a way to focus and support students who are behaving

well through a system of nonmonetary rewards that, if accumulated, could be used in

exchange for snacks, school swag, or prom tickets. Teachers and administrators were responsible for clarifying, teaching, and modeling these behaviors for students. In turn, students received a token reward when they displayed positive behavior. One of the elements of this system was "diversity," defined as including the perspective of other students in the classroom and joining activities at lunch. The principal claimed that the school culture of diversity was due in part to the positive behavior intervention. Teachers disagreed and expressed that the diverse culture of the school was present before the principal came to the school. Furthermore, teachers asserted that the culture of diversity pertained to students and not to teachers because the majority of the teachers were white and from middle-class backgrounds. Thus, teachers understood culture in terms of race and class. For students, diversity meant that everyone was welcomed, regardless of ethnicity, gender, ability, or sexual preference, and that students did not hang out exclusively in cliques.

When asked to describe the culture of the school, both teachers and students stated that the diverse welcoming environment was an essential element of a student school culture that facilitated participation in class and student activities. Patricia, a junior, described the diversity of the school, which is representative of other students' perspectives:

I kind of feel welcome everywhere cuz we're such a diverse school that we don't have like those stereotypes of the bullies, the popular. Like kind of everyone gets along…Basically our student body is like different races and we

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all get along like, like I said there's no stereotype like, oh, you hang out there with your people, you know? It's just everyone gets along.

Mr. Madsen, the teacher who supported the Human Rights club, described how the diverse student population influenced learning:

… the different backgrounds of the students at Westfield, even though I believe around 60% of Westfield is Latino, there's still a variety of other, groups of students and I, and, you know, not just ethnicity but also, you know, gay, straight, those kind of things, different economic levels, and I think those diversities have really leant a hand to being able to support [the] Human Rights Club here at Westfield and be able to, you know, excite students because they, they say, hey, you know what? I've experienced this or I've heard about this and, you know, I mean the rest is in learning more and, and being involved in supporting human rights.

While Mr. Madsen was the only teacher who expressed the sentiment during a formal interview that the diversity of the student body facilitated participation and learning, this assertion is representative of the views of most teachers I interviewed.

The school culture among teachers was another story. Teachers expressed that their organizational culture was a fragmented one with a history of distrust toward school administrators. During a collaboration meeting among social science teachers, nine of them stated that prior to the arrival of Mr. Romero, administrators made decisions that impacted classroom instruction without consulting teachers. These teachers expressed that none of the current administrators visit their class or

ever say "great job" or "well done". Ms. Smith, an English teacher agreed that teachers lacked validation and stated:

> This isn't a warm fuzzy camp, but I think it needs to be in one aspect. I mean I think there need to be rules and stuff, but I think, I think the whole world would run smoother if we all reached out and validated each other or acknowledged each other or, I think it's important to teachers, I am telling you, it's so important, it's so important. Because when the teacher doesn't want to be here, the students feel it is, I mean it's, it's a chain, they know, they know. If I don't love to be here, they know that I don't love to be here and they feel that they don't want to be here either.

In summary, the institutional goal of the school was to develop students who would contribute to society economically, but not civically. The school had a diverse student population and a predominantly white middle-class teacher population. Administrators, teachers, and students used a variety of tools in support of the school's goal. The formal and informal structure of the school to support teaching and learning, as well as social interactions among teachers and students, resembled other schools, which provided this school with legitimacy (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Sadly, the inequitable implementation of discipline policies on Latino students also resembled patterns in other schools (Losen et al., 2015). The organizational culture of the school for students was defined as diverse; yet, no one mentioned that it was equitable. The organizational culture as it pertains to teachers was fragmented, and teachers said that they lacked validation from administrators.

In the context of this high school, in the Leadership and Sociology classes described in this chapter, students engaged in authentic pedagogy, where they constructed knowledge, rather than reproduced it, in activities that resembled real life (Newman, Marks, & Gamoran, 1996). The case narratives that follow describe these two elective classes as participation learning spaces. I rely on sociocultural theory as articulated by Engeström (1999) to describe the cases using the following categories: subjects, goals, rules, roles, the community, and Latino youth civic engagement. Embedded in the narrative is the description of artifacts and their role in mediating learning or civic engagement. A summary of key findings concludes each case and highlight patterns of relationships between student peers and teachers and how these mediated civic engagement. Table 6 below summarizes the findings of these two cases.

Table 6. Leadership and Sociology Classes

Concept	Leadership	Sociology
Subjects	Male teacher. 100 students .	Male teacher 80 students
Goal	Promote school spirit by organizing rallies and dances	Learn ethnic studies using the lens of sociology
Rules	Formal: Attend all events organized by the class. Complete tasks in Leadership handbook Informal: OK to study in class	Formal: complete assignments Informal: Students negotiated due date of assignments
Community	Teacher or student president led. Open class climate for some, unwelcoming for others. Ethnocentric expectations for all students	Teacher led, facilitated. Open class climate.
Latino Youth Civic Engagement	Student-led for specific tasks. Emergent participation spaces	Dialogue, increased awareness. Student-led research projects

Case: Leadership Class

Subjects

The participants of the Leadership class were Mr. Jorgensen, the teacher, the

Associated Student Body (ASB) students, the class officers, and the students enrolled

in the class. The ASB consisted of four students who were elected by students to

serve as president, vice president, treasurer, and secretary. The Leadership class was

an elective class held during the zero period at 7:00 a.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays,

and Fridays; approximately 100 students were enrolled. On average, about 50 students arrived before 7:00 a.m. and waited for the teacher. Most students stood in the nearby hallway and talked with their friends; a dozen students sat on the floor while they ate their school breakfast. The classroom was arranged into five areas. At the "front" of the classroom was a set of primary artifacts such as a podium, table, and whiteboard. Mr. Jorgensen or Daniel, the ASB president, used the podium to address the class. Adjacent to the podium was a table where Sylvia, the ASB secretary, and Tom, ASB vice president, sat. The remaining four areas in this classroom were each arranged with four tables put together in the shape of a rectangle and thus forming a larger table with chairs lining the perimeter. Students who arrived a few minutes after 7:05 a.m. did not find empty chairs. In this classroom, it was first come, first served in terms of whether a student sat on a chair around the tables, or a chair near the tables, on the floor, or leaning against the east wall. Every day, approximately 12 students sat on the floor or leaned against a wall for the 50-minute class period. In this class, the floor was used as a primary artifact.

Most students sat around these tables, which were spatially arranged in the room according to their grade. Freshmen (9th graders) sat together at the front of the room. The rationale, as stated by Mr. Jorgensen, was that the freshmen sit closer to the front so that Daniel, the ASB president and a senior, could interact with them and give them advice as needed. The junior (11th graders) table also was at the front of the room, but on the right side of the freshman table. The sophomore table was

behind the freshman table, and the senior table was behind the junior table and next to the sophomore table.

In August 2012, the class started out with 110 students, of which 24 were freshman, 33 sophomores, 25 juniors, and 28 seniors. By the end of May 2013, 98 students remained in the class. Students in this class mirrored the racial/ethnic, gender, and socioeconomic composition of the high school. This class was open to all students who were interested in helping to organize events and dances that promote the "high school spirit" (Leadership Handbook, 2012). For a small group of students, including the two rally directors, the news anchorperson, the MC for events, and ASB officers and class officers, this class was a requirement. Most students signed up for it because they wanted to know what was going on, and wanted to be part of organizing school events. For some students, taking this class was an easy way to obtain five credits to help them to graduate; for others, it was something to put in their college application. For most students, this class offered something fun and productive to do with their friends.

This class followed a set of scripts to organize events, rallies, and dances. In general, on Mondays students voted to approve school fundraisers or other activities; on Wednesdays and Fridays, the class continued working on the task at hand. On occasion, when voting took place on Mondays, three Latina junior girls who sat on the floor, commented to each other that they had no idea what exactly they were voting for. They shared that the list of things to vote on offered limited information and they wondered what will happen if they vote "no". They decided they had better

continue voting "yes" because that was what everyone else was doing. The social scripts of this class constrained the participation of these Latina girls.

Goals

Mr. Jorgensen and the students agreed that the goal of this class was to promote school spirit as a way to increase students' pride in the school by organizing dances or rallies. Mr. Jorgensen described the purpose of this class:

> Our job is to deal with the school culture and school climate. And our job is to try and include as many students as possible into, feeling accepted here at Westfield, and then trying to reach out to everybody and … make everybody's high school experience a positive one."

Students enrolled in the class added that this class was a place to make new friends. No one mentioned that the development of leadership skills was the primary focus of this class. Mr. Bernard, the Sociology teacher, and 12 of his 4th period students, who had taken the Leadership class in the past, discussed the Leadership class one day during the Sociology class. These students said it was deceiving to call the class "Leadership" because students were not learning how to be leaders. These students shared that they had taken the class in the past hoping to learn leadership skills (defined by them to mean learning to speak in public, making decisions in a variety of ways, and advocating for changes in the school), but they got discouraged and dropped the class. Mr. Garcia, a social science teacher, reflected on the Leadership class and agreed that the school does not prepare students to be leaders. He stated:

,,,we claimed we want a lot of these things to be very student-driven. Like for a long time I wanted the students to sort of drive Link Crew, right? But the thing is that they don't have the leadership skills to do it sometimes, right? You know, even when I put things together like they'll be like;-'oh, man, I forgot to do that'- right, like that loose end or whatever it may be. So I think that one of the things that the school doesn't do a good enough job, and it should happen in Leadership, but I don't even know if Mr. Jorgensen, our Leadership teacher, can provide this for them. I don't think we've sat down and really talked about it. Maybe it's something that we should. But teaching them how to be leaders, I don't think the school does that…

Monica, a student in this class expressed a similar thought: "This class is not making me a better leader. I think we do the same routine every day. It's like, I think they should change it, I think, [make it] a little bit more interactive or something." Marco, also a student in this class, offered an alternative goal that resonates with Mr. Jorgensen's goal for this class:

I think it does two things. One thing like that I felt is that … it's something good for the students themselves participating in it, because, they see how things, how are arranged, and how we come up with things, and it's a productive thing to do…you can, you can pull something off, and it can be fun at the same time, and I think the other purpose is to … provide times or reasons for students to come together and, as a community, like dances…

According to Ms. West, the vice principal of curriculum, the purpose of this class is to "give students a voice on campus." She provided the example of how students wanted the spring dances to be scheduled to end after 9:00 p.m. so students could feel that they were out because it didn't get dark until 9:00 p.m. in the fall and spring. The ASB students, who served as the representatives from the Leadership class, asked the administrative team if they could have the dance later. Administrators responded negatively because that meant they had to work later. To accommodate what they perceived were students' interests of the setting being darker, the dance was moved to the gym, a place with limited windows. The administrators missed the point that students wanted it to be dark outside when they left the dance. Students did not ask to get rid of the windows.

Roles

The roles of the teacher and students were defined by Mr. Jorgensen, who self-identified as a white male of European American descent and in his mid40s. He had been a teacher at Westfield HS for 12 years and taught the Leadership class for the previous five years. Over the years, Mr. Jorgensen figured out how to teach this class by participating in the annual California Association of Directors of Activities (CADA) conferences, where he learned various activities to implement at the school. Mr. Jorgensen asserted he did not have a position description for this teaching assignment and he was never evaluated in this role by administration. In addition to this class, he taught Advanced Placement Environmental Science and a few years back he was also the lead teacher for the Gay Student Alliance club, but had to give

that up because it was too difficult to do all three activities at the same time. For the

Leadership class, Mr. Jorgensen described his role as more of a facilitator than a

teacher. He elaborated on what it meant to be a facilitator and shared:

> I really try and be more of the facilitator role where I really am trying to, I
>
> don't care what the Prom theme is. What do you guys want? Okay, let's
>
> figure out how to come up with one that everybody is okay with … Okay.
>
> You want to do what to your hallway? Okay. How are you gonna do it? What
>
> materials do you need, you know? Even if I'm not the one providing the
>
> material, I'm trying to provide them the thought on how to make it
>
> happen…and trying to make sure that, that everything is thought of, because
>
> it's not a teacher telling them what to do. It's a teacher [being] a facilitator
>
> helping make sure that it allows them to do what they want.

The roles of the Associated Student Body officers, who all were seniors

during the 2012–13 school year, were defined by Mr. Jorgensen:

> I set up the four ASB officers as each ASB officer is assigned to a particular
>
> class. The ASB president's always with the freshmen, vice-president is with
>
> the sophomores, secretary is juniors, and treasurer oversees the seniors. And
>
> so those four ASB officers are the ones that are kind of, they're not really
>
> doing the work but they're overseeing the work in case there's an issue or
>
> there's a concern…I trust the four current officers to come and talk to me in
>
> case there's an issue, if I need to be helping somebody, if they need
>
> something.

Daniel, the ASB president was a Latino of European American descent who was serving a second term as ASB president. In this role, he was responsible for co-leading this class with Mr. Jorgensen, and to support freshman students while they completed tasks. Tom, the vice-president, was of European American descent, and he was responsible for supporting the sophomore table and occasionally seniors. Sylvia, the secretary, described herself as someone of mixed ethnicities, Japanese and European American. Sylvia was responsible for taking notes on the whiteboard during class, and supporting juniors. Wendy, the treasurer, was of European American descent and she sat with her peers at the senior table. Three officers presided over this class and stood or sat next to Mr. Jorgensen in the "front" of the room. The ASB president met with Mr. Jorgensen every day to organize and plan the agenda for each class and to do school errands with the teacher.

In addition to the ASB officers, each spring students elected a class president and a secretary. The senior class president was Tomas, who was third-generation Vietnamese descent. He was in charge of gathering ideas from the rest of the seniors and articulating them to the teacher and the rest of the class. The senior class secretary, Sybella, an African American, was in charge of keeping track of attendance, as well as keeping track of students who expressed their ideas. Mr. Jorgensen gave her a form with students' names at the beginning of each class, a primary artifact, and she tallied student's participation and turned it in to the teacher. Most of the senior students were members or leaders of the following clubs: Senior Women (6), Link-Crew (6), Interact (5), Key Club (6), Hip-Hop club (2), and Dance

club (1). Approximately half of the seniors were members of two clubs. Three

seniors were not members of clubs and this was the first time they had enrolled in this

class. The seniors, who regularly stood by the east wall and did not sit down, were

enrolled in the Sociology class and were long-time friends. Two boys were native

Mexican immigrants, one was a Japanese American boy, one was Korean American

boy, one was a Black girl, and two girls were of European American descent.

The junior class president was Nancy, a girl of European American and

Korean descent. The role of secretary was shared among several girls. About a third

of the junior students were involved in similar school clubs as the seniors.

Approximately half of the juniors were engaged in sports teams, such as volleyball

and track and field. Five junior students regularly sat on the floor; three of them were

second-generation Mexican descent girls who said they preferred to sit on the floor

because that way they could finish their breakfast or study for a test without bothering

people. Next to them sat Eric, who recruited and collaborated with these three Latina

girls to organize choreographed dance performances at rallies. Juniors and seniors

echoed how Alvaro described his role in this class, to be "just a student."[16]

In addition to leading and mentoring students, ASB officers, by virtue of their

positions, asserted that they shared decision making with Mr. Jorgensen on how the

class was organized and described to me that all of the planning took place in the

summer. In the fall of 2012, I approached the ASB officers at the end of a Leadership

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[16] As stated in Chapter 4 Methodology, the focus of this study was on 11th and 12th
graders. Hence, a description of 9th and 10th grade class leaders and students is
absent from this case.

class to inquire about their roles and decision making during the school year. All four

stated that they had shared decision making with Mr. Jorgensen. When I asked for

examples, they stated that they decided together when to schedule events throughout

the year, how to organize each class, which grade to assign tasks to, or decide which

leadership quotes to include.

Some students in the Leadership class perceived Mr. Jorgensen as the one

who made most decisions, while others thought students were the ones making

decisions. Juniors and seniors expressed that their input was valued for

advertisement, themes, and decorations ideas, and that they were engaged in

collaborative organizing of events. A 12th grader, Marco described this class as one

in which the teacher controls the decision making. He stated: "Mr. Jorgensen

controls, okay, we can have this dance this date and that this, it's gonna be the Sadies

dance. You guys can decide the theme." Reflecting on his participation in school

clubs and comparing it to the Leadership class, he adds: "I think in my clubs I, I have

a lot of control on what we get to do or, or what's gonna get done and how it's gonna

happen. In leadership, um…it doesn't work like that." For Marco, the power in this

class rested with the teacher, the ASB students, and the class leaders, because of their

roles in this space. In contrast, one junior, Alvaro, said that he perceived Mr.

Jorgensen's role as someone who helped students, and that the decision making

power rested with students. He added:

> He helps us out if we're having problems. If we have a situation, he gives his
>
> advice on what, how we could improve it, how we cannot improve it, how to

do better, how to improve each time. He just helps out … he doesn't really have a vote. He gives his opinions."

The roles of the teacher, Associated Student Body officers, and class officers were scripted by the teacher. Mr. Jorgensen defined his role as a facilitator who defined the roles of student officers. These scripts served as secondary artifacts that presented and transmitted the division of labor in this participation space. These scripted roles allowed the officers greater participation in the activities that mattered to them and engaged in shared decision making with the teacher. The remaining 87 students were participants in this class, with limited opportunities for participation compared to the officers. This participation will be elaborated in the Scaffolding section below.

Rules: Formal and Informal

This class had both formal and informal rules. Formal "rules" were communicated regularly and in writing to students, whereas informal rules were communicated verbally to students as they came up. The formal rules consisted of the school rules that were posted on the wall near the entrance and the class rules that were listed in the Leadership Class Handbook written by the ASB of Westfield High School. This notebook was a half- inch thick spiral booklet titled "Leadership" and served as a primary artifact. The first five pages contained a description of the class, requirements for students and expectations for each of the officers, student directors, Leadership students, and Leadership teacher. The rest of the handbook included three articles on leadership that portrayed leadership from a mainstream perspective and

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focused on individual leadership. It also included a monthly calendar and several pages to write the daily leadership quotes that the teacher posted on a whiteboard and underneath a space to write reflections on these quotes. This handbook served as the primary artifact for the teacher and students. Students were evaluated monthly by the teacher on their completion of tasks.

The requirements were mandatory attendance to all classes, bringing the handbook to the class, plus "All leadership students are also required to have a positive attitude." The expectations included in the notebook centered on attendance and participation for students. The ASB president was expected to "lead the class every day, to keep all officers and students on task, to be dignified, to delegate, to make sure school events run smoothly, and to always be fair." The teacher had a long list of expectations such as: "to teach the leadership students how to be a leader, to make sure the ASB president is doing (his/her) job, to make sure all the classes set reasonable goals and objectives, and that they achieve those goals, and to always be fair" (Leadership Handbook, 2012). Students were expected to draw posters to announce information related to activities, to purchase tickets to all dances, and to participate in all events organized by the Leadership class. All students were expected to sign the Leadership Code of Conduct, which restated the requirements and expectations, and included school rules.

Mr. Jorgensen defined student participation as expressing an opinion, attending weekly "class" meetings (e.g., all seniors met during lunch on Tuesdays), copying the quote of the day, and completing a monthly participation log to record

attendance at leadership events. Participation, as defined by students, meant expressing one's ideas to shape and plan the dance or the rally. Alvaro described what participation looked like in the class, which is representative of other youths' perspectives:

> Well, when someone presents one idea we go around everyone and try to see if anyone opposes it or anyone has a better idea or if they just wanna be quiet, well, some are pretty quiet. They just stay quiet. Yeah. Sometimes I try to talk to them but they're just agreeing with everything and don't seem to be involved as others.

In this excerpt, Alvaro illustrated that not all students expressed their thoughts, so for some students, participation translated into observing and going along with the ideas offered by others. Another form of participation was completion of a quarterly student leadership self-assessment that was included in the handbook. This assessment had gray letters across the document stating that reproduction was prohibited. It seems that as part of this class, Mr. Jorgensen taught students that it was okay to violate copyright law.

Informal rules included: it is okay to eat during class and to study on occasion. In addition, students could not get reimbursed for purchasing supplies; only their parents could. This informal rule was not communicated to students at the get-go, and several students discovered this "rule" after they presented the receipt to Mr. Jorgensen. Lastly, all activities of this class "trump clubs." Halfway through the

year, Mr. Jorgensen reminded students that if they had to choose between an activity for a club and the Leadership class, they always had to choose the Leadership class.

The ASB officers also followed informal rules. The president was expected to meet with Mr. Jorgensen the day before each class to plan the agenda and was responsible for helping Mr. Jorgensen with a myriad of tasks. For example, on several occasions, Mr. Jorgensen was asked by administration to set up the speakers in the lunch room for a presentation. Mr. Jorgensen pulled Daniel out of class and told him to help carry the speakers and set up the sound system. Daniel shared with me that he had intentionally taken few elective courses this year because he knew that one of the informal roles for this position was to be an assistant to Mr. Jorgensen. Daniel was the ASB president the previous year and thus found out about these unwritten and unexpressed expectations of his role.

Another set of informal rules governed who attended special leadership or civic participation opportunities for high school students. The teacher mentored a select group of 12 students, who were the ASB officers, class representatives, and past class representatives. None of these students were eligible for free or reduced lunch, including two Latino boys. This select group received invitations to attend local high school leadership conferences and CADA high school student conferences, to serve on the city's or county's Youth Commission, and to participate in local leadership events. These students also were invited by Mr. Jorgensen to visit him in his classroom during his prep periods to engage in conversation or share their opinions about what was happening at the school each week. The availability of

these opportunities was not communicated to the rest of the class. Thus, the majority of the student population, which consisted of Latino students from low-income families, was not selected to participate in extracurricular civic engagement opportunities.

According to Mr. Bernard and Mr. Garcia, two social science teachers, the selection of these students for participation as student or class officers is a de facto award for popularity and good behavior. Students who were encouraged to run for an elected position by teachers were young people who conformed to school rules and norms. According to Mr. Jorgensen, students elected to officer positions generally won based on how well their video ad was received and how well they were known by the rest of the school.

The Community

The community refers to the Leadership class members' perspectives and voice and how their interaction facilitated or constrained Latino youth civic engagement. This community was characterized by scaffolding between the teacher and ASB and class officers, and between officers and students. Scaffolding is an instructional technique that highlights the participant structures and social interactions between a teacher or expert and students or novices, and among students in a participation learning spaces. Scaffolding helps students learn and solve problems. Scaffolding of students took place in various contexts within and outside of the class. Under the guidance of the teachers and class officers, Latino students and other diverse students in the leadership class were scaffolded to learn how to organize

events and dances. The two episodes in this section illustrate how the ASB Officers, and in particular the President scaffolded the rest of the students in the class by leading class discussions and providing instructions to students to accomplish specific tasks.

Episode 1, Field note excerpt: Student participation

[The class starts and Daniel is leading the group.]

Daniel: The quote for today is: "past events influence cultural practices in dramatic fashion" who wants to elaborate on the quote? who wants to say why we chose this quote?

Wendy: We are learning from our mistakes.

Daniel: She says we are learning from our mistakes. Since we had a good homecoming, students were most likely to participate in our events. It is time to vote today, and since the list of things to vote on is long, I will read all of the items and then everyone will vote.

[The following items exemplify the things students voted on: Winter ball cheer, Interact wishes to conduct a tapioca sales fundraiser, Key club would like to sell Tupperware as a fundraiser, Soccer would like to do a car wash as a fundraiser.]

Daniel: All in favor?

[All students raised their hand.]

Daniel: Opposed?

[There is silence in the room, and no one raised their hand.]

Daniel: We are doing more events this year. The instructions for today are

that in your class you need to come up with a sub-theme for the winter

ball.

[At the Senior table, youth approach the table and start to offer ideas. Some

approach the table and listen, while a few students do not approach the table

and continue to talk to their friends. After approximately eight minutes,

Daniel asks each class to share their ideas and he starts with the freshman

class. The ASB secretary writes these ideas on the dry eraser board on the

wall. While this activity continues, ten senior students are studying for a math

test. The final list contains 25 ideas.]

Daniel: Mr. Jorgensen will remove some items from the list and we will come

back to this list on Friday. We are now done for the day.

[Five students got up from their teachers and walked toward the door.]

Mr. Jorgensen: You need to do a much better job of listening and doing what I

want...you guys I have not released you.

[These students started to walk toward their chairs, and then a couple of

minutes later…]

 Mr. Jorgensen: You now may leave the classroom. You are released.

In this segment, Daniel, as ASB president, led the class to review the daily

leadership quotes and provided direction to students to work on tasks. Daniel and Mr.

Jorgensen scaffolded students by simplifying the task (Wood et al., 1976), inasmuch

as the organization of events was broken down into several continuous tasks. Daniel

told the class that before Wednesday's class, Mr. Jorgensen will remove some items from the list, thus eliminating the voices of participants. A few students responded by saying "What?" or "Why?" but the teacher did not answer and Daniel did not respond, either. Mr. Jorgensen exerted his authority of control over students by erasing their ideas and admonished students for leaving the class without his permission, in spite of the fact that Daniel had given students permission to leave.

Episode 2, Field note excerpt: Constraints on student participation

In this episode, students evaluated the cancellation of the winter dance. To evaluate events, students followed a scripted process using three categories: the good, the bad, and the ugly. When evaluating an event, students offered responses under "the good" for things that went well before, during, and after the dance. In the category of "the bad," students described the things that did not go well, that they could possibly change in the future. Under the category of "the ugly," students provided ideas that were worse than the ideas under "the bad". During this process, the teacher scaffolded students by simplifying the task.

> Mr. Jorgensen: I am disappointed that most Leadership students did not buy a ticket.
>
>]Three Latina girls who were eligible for free or reduced lunch expressed to each other that it was unrealistic for them to go to every dance due to the cost of $10 per ticket.]
>
> Eduardo: I saved money for the winter holidays and could not afford to purchase a ticket.

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Mr. Jorgensen: I am very disappointed that not enough tickets were sold, you

guys I want to remind you that you all agreed to participate in all

dances. So now, we are going to evaluate the reasons for cancelling

the dance. What is the good?

[Various students responded: We organized the dance on time.]

Mr. Jorgensen: What is the bad?

[Several students responded: the dance was cancelled.]

Mr. Jorgensen: What is the ugly? [pause]. The students who were putting on

the dance did not want to participate in the dance. Please be honest

and write in your notebooks why you did not buy a ticket. And you

cannot tell me that you don't have any money.

[Soon after the teacher made this statement, the three Mexican descent junior

girls sitting on the floor expressed that they did not have any money

because they chose to spend that money on gifts for their families for

Christmas. I asked them if they will write that down, and they

responded they will not because Mr. Jorgensen will not accept that

reason, instead they will write that they had a family activity to attend.

Thus, these three girls wrote the same answer in their Leadership

Handbooks. This shared language and understanding among these

girls of what to do or not do, is a secondary artifact.]

In this episode, Mr. Jorgensen asked students a question, and then he not only answered it and did not allow students to express their voices, but he also told them what did not count as a legitimate answer. During the "the good, the bad and the ugly" evaluation process, no one evaluated why Latino youth were predominantly absent from these dances and the teacher did not want to hear students' reasons for why that might be. In this role, Mr. Jorgensen constrained the Latino youth voice in this class. These Latina girls were influenced by the pedagogy of containment used by the teacher and the scripts of what is or is not allowed as truth in this class. The teacher disrupted and silenced the voice of these girls. These Latina girls learned to adapt to the controlling pedagogy in this class and chose to follow the "informal rules" that the teacher demanded be followed. These girls developed a conceptual tool as a secondary artifact that helped them navigate their silenced voices. In both of these episodes, the teacher who viewed himself as more of a facilitator than a teacher demonstrated that his perceived role of facilitator included behaviors in which he exerted his authority over students on what they could or could not do or think. The difference between these episodes is that in the first one Daniel scaffolds students, and in the second episode his voice is absent. In both episodes, the participant structure is controlled by and dependent on the teacher or Daniel to guide conversations and activities.

After this class, I asked Mr. Jorgensen if all students, regardless of family income level, were expected to attend all dances. He said that he believed that if students really wanted to attend the dance, they could. He stated he did not see

money as a barrier to participation and added that if that was indeed the case, students should know to ask him for a price reduction. I asked a few senior students what got in the way of asking Mr. Jorgensen for a reduced price to participate in the dance, and one girl responded: "I am afraid of him." While Mr. Jorgensen perceived that his role was to help students, his display of a pedagogy of control inspired fear in this student. In addition, the absence of formal or informal rules informing students about reduced price tickers was absent from the Leadership Handbook and class discussions. Unfortunately, most juniors and seniors were not aware that they could ask for reduced ticket prices and most students described Mr. Jorgensen as unapproachable. In a school where approximately 60% of the student population was eligible for free or reduced lunch, Mr. Jorgensen's perception that money was not a barrier to participation reflected a misunderstanding of the socioeconomic reality of the majority of the students in the school. Upholding all students to the same participation standards illustrated how the teacher utilized an ethnocentric and socioeconomic class-blind pedagogy.

While I walked along the hallways of this school between classes, I asked Latino students I recognized from social science classes whether they had attended rallies or dances during their time in this school. Almost all students, including the three boys who were enrolled in the Leadership class, said they had not attended any dances. For some, cost was an issue; others stated that they had to work or take care

of siblings, and all stated that they did not like the music[17]. None of them felt

comfortable expressing these views to Mr. Jorgensen or to ASB officers. Of the

students I interviewed in the hallway, three economically advantaged students

expressed that they had the tendency to buy tickets because they believed this was a

requirement for the class, but chose not to attend these dances because "something

else came up" or "I didn't really feel like going after all."

One Latina girl did attend dances, but only during her senior year, as a

representative of the Interact club and to do fundraising during dances. This is an

example of an instance where a Latina girl had a role in a school club that provided

her with the opportunity to participate in school dances. The absence of additional

roles for Latino students within this class or in school clubs may have limited their

participation. Nevertheless, Latino students expressed that they enjoyed organizing

these events, even if they did not attend. Susana, a former Leadership student shared:

"I actually enjoyed it, you know … and like I enjoyed the whole, I did this, you

know. I was a part of this. And, you see that decoration? I made that decoration."

During informal conversations outside of this class, I asked seven Latino

students and Eric, who assisted the school's secretary at the front desk, what

happened in the Leadership classes that I missed. I learned that Mr. Jorgensen would

occasionally yell at the students because they did not complete a task on time, or did

not sell enough tickets, or did not participate in the extra hours of Leadership class

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[17] According to Mr. Jorgensen, the music was "controlled" by the DJ. He stated that if
students didn't like the music, all they had to do was ask the DJ to play different
songs. The students I spoke to in the hallway were under the impression that the
music selection was controlled by Mr. Jorgensen.

(which was optional) during the spring break. While I observed this class, I did not witness any expressive outbursts of emotion by Mr. Jorgensen.

The perpetuation of the same standards for all students was a recurrent pattern in this class. The teacher organized the class in such a way that he was in constant communication and developed relationships with all ASB and class officers, who were from middle-class families, but he had limited to no contact with Latino students from low-income families. From an ethnocentric orientation (Bennett & Bennett, 2004) the teacher upheld white middle-class norms for all students in the class, which also included the expectation that if a student had a problem or issue, he/she would communicate with ASB officers or the teacher directly. Mr. Jorgensen's lens of ethnocentrism on Latino and diverse students is consistent with Nasir and Hand's (2006) articulation of race and racism as a secondary artifact. The opportunity for Latino students to communicate their concerns regarding cost of tickets or choice of music using alternative communication styles was absent.

It seems that some teachers and administrators believed that the only barrier to learning and participation was students' mindsets. Mr. Jorgensen seemed unaware of the economic hardship experienced by most Latino students and their families, or the fact that the majority of Latino students I interviewed acted as "parents" to their younger siblings and picked them up from school, took them home using public transportation, made dinner, helped them with their homework, and then, after all that was done, began their own homework around 10:00 p.m. According to the principal, what got in the way of students participating or learning was the "students' mindset."

He shared: "I don't think there's anything getting in the way of them learning, other than their own mindset on what their own ability is …" The deficit-oriented perspective of the principal that blames the student for not succeeding amidst harsh circumstances was similar to Mr. Jorgensen's perspective that all students should behave and participate equally, regardless of whether students can afford to participate because of limited time and money.

Latino Youth Civic Engagement

In the Leadership class, Latino students participated in invited and emergent spaces (Cornwall, 2002). Invited spaces were characterized by the "invitation" of the teacher or ASB students to contribute ideas regarding the organization of scheduled events. Students did not have a voice on what event to organize or when. Instead they expressed their voice and participated in collective decision making to identify the theme of an event, and how to decorate the gym and school or advertise for the event. Most students' participation was controlled by the teacher and ASB students. This was evident in the occasions when the teacher eliminated themes that were generated by students without explanation, and without student participation.

Under the direction of Mr. Jorgensen and Daniel, the Leadership class organized three rallies, one homecoming event, three dances, and two school events: Spirit Week and the Spring Fling. All of these activities, except for the Spring Fling, were events that were part of the high school's tradition. The steps and decision making processes used to organize all of these activities were identical: youth generated a list of ideas, then selected an idea that is used to represent a theme, and

finally proceeded to advertise the event or decorate the setting. Because of their roles, ASB and class officers, as well as the teacher, shaped and constrained the practices of this space. These young people influenced what the class would discuss, when, and how. In these roles, officers had influence on decision making and in providing leadership to the organization of events. The remaining 88 students, the majority of whom were students of color, participated in facilitated conversations by adhering to the informal and formal rules of this space.

During the school year, there was one example where youth exhibited agency and created an emergent participation learning space by organizing the Senior dance. In this emergent space, the roles of students changed from passive participants to active participants and leaders. In response to the cancellation of the winter dance, the senior class president suggested to his peers that they organize their own dance and charge $7 a ticket. These students were apprehensive about bringing this dance to a vote at the Leadership class and decided that only seniors could vote. However, Mr. Jorgensen informed students that the established process was that the entire class voted on all activities taking place at the high school. When the senior dance came up for a vote, as usual everyone voted "aye."

The Senior dance was organized outside of the Leadership class and without Mr. Jorgensen's input. The senior class president assumed the leadership for this space and the organization of this dance took place in January 2013 during lunch periods over three weeks. Students followed the same processes they had learned in the Leadership class to organize the dance: they selected a theme, made decorations,

and advertised the dance using posters, flyers, and the weekly Wednesday TV announcements. Students attempted to recruit teachers to serve as chaperones, but were told by the assistant vice principal of curriculum that teachers take turns serving as chaperones and that the administration would take care of this. Almost 190 students attended this dance, compared to the 35 tickets that were sold for the Winter Ball. The music selection for the dance was left up to the DJ. The number of students who attended this dance was comparable to other school dances. Most senior and Latino youth who had not attended school dances before attended this dance. Marco, a senior who had not participated in a school dance before, reflected on the organization of this dance:

> For our senior dance, people had a lot of doubts about if one, one class like not leadership as a whole could pull it off, and if we even could make money or anything off it and ended up, and it ended up going very good. We made a lot of money for our class, and everyone enjoyed the dance. So, I mean, after, after it's finished you can look back and be proud of something that you did.

In this emergent participation learning space, students exhibited agency and organized a dance. This was the first time at this school that a class had organized a dance. In a space that was not constrained by Mr. Jorgensen or the ASB Officers, this effort was student-led with occasional coaching from administrators. Mr. Jorgensen did not have a role in the organization of the event, nor did he attend the dance. The learned practice of organizing past dances served as demonstration scaffolding (Wood

et al., 1976) for these students. Students interacted and supported each other to complete the various tasks.

Returning to the Leadership class as a participation learning space, sociocultural theorists assert that scaffolding the learner throughout a task or activity is done with the intent that at one point the learner can accomplish the task on his/her own (Brown et al., 1989; Wood et al., 1976). The teacher and ASB officers did not encourage students to accomplish the organization of events on their own. At every step of the way, a similar style of scaffolding took place and the organizational process was identical for all events. Reflecting on Hart (1992) ladder of youth participation, a majority of students in the Leadership class (n=88) had voice on matters that affected them, and it was a voice that could be changed or eliminated by the teacher at any time. Hart described this mode of participation as tokenism, whereby youth are manipulated into thinking they are participating. Most of the time, Latino youths' voice, influence, and shared decision making took place at the invitation of the teacher and school president, which corresponds with Hart's "assigned and informed" participation whereby youth serve as consultants to projects that are organized and run by adults. Monica, a Mexican descent girl, attended dances because of her role as vice president of the Interact club, which conducted fundraising activities at dances. She stated that her role in this class was "to vote and help with decorations". In the absence of additional significant roles for Latino youth, music that was preferred by these youth, or tickets that Latino youth from low-income families could afford, Latino youth were predominantly absent from the

activities organized by this class. Considering that one of Mr. Jorgensen's goals for this class was to organize events to make the high school a better experience for everyone, it seems Latino youth were not considered to be part of "everyone" because their absence at these events was not noted by the teacher or the ASB officers during this class.

In contrast to these limiting participation levels, in a student emergent participation learning space, Latino and diverse youth engaged in active participation in youth-led activities with limited adult interaction (Hart, 1992). This space emerged in response to the tensions of constraining cultural practices of the Leadership class and school.

Summary of Key Findings

This participation learning space is characterized by shared goals among students and teacher, multiple levels of invited participation for selected students, and one emergent participation space for a group of senior and junior students. Some of the students who withdrew from this class and two social science teachers stated that this class did not develop youth leadership skills. Instead, students learned to organize events that followed a scripted recipe and practice as directed by the teacher and student officers.

This class privileged students who conformed to cultural and regulatory practices of the school. The few students who were elected as class or student body officers were the ones who regularly followed school rules and norms. These students were invited by the teacher to further develop their leadership skills. None

of these students were eligible for free or reduced lunch. The majority of students in this select group were of European American descent. The remaining students, including Latino youth who were eligible for free or reduced lunch, were not considered for these opportunities. By inviting the "leaders" of the school to participate in leadership opportunities outside of the school, the teacher was privileging these students and perpetuating inequities among students.

The roles afforded to student and class officers and the teacher defined and shaped the practices in this space. For instance, the role assumed by Mr. Jorgensen, who could make decisions without conferring with students, had a profound effect, on the involvement and lack of involvement of various Latino students in the class. The written and unwritten rules of this class constrained some Latino youths' participation. The teacher expected students to approach him with questions and concerns without inviting them to do so. Under an authoritative teacher and the scripted tasks of this class, Latino students did not feel comfortable questioning decisions or expressing their opinions.

Artifacts are the material or conceptual tools that facilitate learning. The mediating artifacts in this space consisted of primary artifacts such as tables, whiteboard, poster paper and poster making supplies, and the Leadership Handbook, as well as secondary artifacts such as the scripted processes to organize events. The secondary artifacts such as the historicity of the space, which employed scripted procedures and roles to engage in practices such as selecting a dance theme, for historically legitimate types of events, shaped and constrained the practices in this

space. Scaffolding of tasks ranged from simplifying the task by breaking it down into smaller steps to demonstration or coaching by collectively organizing events. The teacher or student body president did not engage in "fading," the process of turning over the organization of events and dances to students in the class (Brown et al., 1989).

Nevertheless, a group of students exhibited agency and created an emergent participation space where Latino youth had active roles in organizing a dance. Through their active participation, civic learning opportunities emerged from their actions and peer scaffolding. In this emergent space, Latino youth engaged in peer collaboration and these students were their own creators of civic engagement with limited to no adult guidance.

Case: Sociology Class

Subjects

The subjects in this class were the teacher and students. Mr. Bernard started working at Westfield HS as a track and field coach nine years ago and as a social sciences teacher eight years ago. He taught World History in addition to Sociology, and continued to serve as the track coach to 80 students. In addition, for the past four years, he organized a hip-hop festival during the summer that took place in the school atrium at the beginning of the school year. For this festival he invited hip-hop performers, African musicians, graffiti artists, arts and crafts businesses, and local youth-serving organizations to participate. Students assisted Mr. Bernard by collecting tickets at the entrance.

Eighty students were enrolled in this class, which was offered in the second, fourth and fifth periods. I observed the 4th period class, which had 24 students, mostly 11th graders and a few 12th graders. Fourteen students were Latino, four were of European American descent, two were of East Indian descent, two were African American, one was Mexican and Hawaiian, and one student was from Taiwan. One of the students in this class, Marco, was also in the Leadership class.

The classroom was arranged with four rows of desks facing the center of the room, where there was an open space of approximately 10 by 12 ft. On the other side, an additional four rows of desks faced the center of the room. Thus, the students who sat on each side of the room faced each other. In the center of the room was open space, which served as the "teaching space" or "announcement space" for students. Graffiti art and bookshelves lined the north wall that was across the whiteboard. Five country flags lined the west wall, representing the countries Mr. Bernard had visited.

The fall of 2013 was the first time the Sociology class was offered as an elective. Mr. Bernard developed a study plan in the spring of 2013 and obtained approval by school administrators. Once the class was approved, Mr. Bernard learned that the son of a teacher at the high school had taken Sociology at another school and reached out to that teacher, who gave him materials, a sample curriculum and ideas. Mr. Bernard developed the curriculum during the summer of 2013. He organized the class to teach sociology concepts using a textbook, documentaries, and one book to illustrate these concepts. Mr. Bernard explained:

The way that this was organized was, providing exposure and, a basic

understanding of what Sociology is. But using that understanding and that

knowledge to investigate and to look at the different components of the other

part, the other half, if you will, of the class which is looking at the different

ethnic studies components, right, the social movements, the economic and

socioeconomic conditions of certain cities in some of the films that we, that

we looked at and we, we researched, even some of the literature, right, *Savage*

Inequalities … because we were using those as case studies or examples to

look through that window of Sociology.

In this quote, Mr. Bernard states that the book *Savage Inequalities*[18] and various

documentary films were used to accomplish the class's objectives, which are

described below.

Goal

Mr. Bernard and the students had shared meaning for the goal of this class, as

revealed in separate interviews. Mr. Bernard stated the goal of this class was to give

students an opportunity to learn key concepts of sociology and then use these to

examine ethnic issues, social movements and the socioeconomic contexts of certain

cities via film or books. At the beginning of the school year, Mr. Bernard expressed

his intention to expose students to sociology to make them aware of the differences

along ethnic and cultural groups that exist around them. He added:

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[18] *Savage Inequalities* by Jonathan Kozol (1991).

… without them knowing what is around them (not just who they are at their

goal and their activities in their context). I was hoping to deepen their

questioning of society, their lies, and question the factors that went into

various historical pieces such as the 68 Olympics. Can you see what was

going on at the time? Can you see that there's something else going on?

For students, the goal of this class was to find out more about the world

around them from multiple perspectives. A Black girl stated: "[to] expand the world

around us and have students see their environment for more than face value." A

Latino boy added: "to find out more about the world around us through different

perspectives." Similarly, a Latina girl stated: "to become aware of different cultures,

different issues, different points of view." And Esteban, a junior from Chile, added:

"to analyze different methods of how society is organized and to expose me to

different issues such as youth and women. Since people have different experiences

that I do." These statements are representative of the students in the class and, using

their words, they articulated a similar goal to the one Mr. Bernard had for the class.

From an administrator's perspective, the purpose of this class as described by

Ms. West, the assistant vice principal of curriculum, supported the shared goal of

students and the teacher. She stated:

The purpose of the class was to educate students around, the social, how do I

word it? … Like I know =Bernard= uses the five core aspects of sociology

and he uses that so that students can study all the social aspects around other

ethnic groups as well as looking at like their own community, like what goes

on here at Westfield. So in a nutshell I guess that's what I think it's about, too.

It was a passion of =Mr. Bernard's= to offer that course and his focus was

more around culture, and because he liked it, I liked it. You know, it's like

great, if this is what you want to do and you're passionate about it, let's roll

with it.

This excerpt also describes Ms. West's support for Mr. Bernard to teach this class due

to his interest in and passion for the subject.

Rules: Formal and Informal

The "rules" for this class comprised the school rules posted on the wall near

the entrance and the teacher's verbal expectations for students. Mr. Bernard stated

that students were expected to complete homework assignments, to complete their

group year-long project, and to contact the teacher over the weekend or evening by

email if they had a question or needed assistance. The teacher expected students to

participate in class discussions and stated: "in the Sociology class I'm always trying

to encourage kids, speak up, speak up, speak up, you know. If you have an opinion, if

you have something to say, don't be afraid to voice that opinion." Mr. Bernard

reminded students to contact him whenever they needed help and suggested that they

visit him during lunch or after school if they needed help. The teacher checked in

with students to see where they were in terms of assignments and their long research

project regularly.

On occasion, Mr. Bernard asked students if they were ready to discuss a

reading assignment and students responded they were not, and asked to discuss it

another day. The flexibility offered by Mr. Bernard allowed students to perceive that they had influence on how the class was structured. Marco, a Mexican 12th grader, stated that Mr. Bernard several times asked students whether they wanted to discuss the book that day or later on in the week. Generally, students chose the end of the week to allow them to complete the reading.

Roles

The class was orchestrated by Mr. Bernard with limited input from students. Mr. Bernard described himself as a teacher and a facilitator. As a teacher, his role was to impart knowledge on the key terms, and to ask critical questions before, during and after a film or book. Mr. Bernard described his role:

> … with my classroom, with the numerous, documentaries that I show, one of
> the things that irritates my kids is the fact that I stop the film so many times to
> either provide clarification or expand on the information or even ask questions
> of the class, not necessarily for comprehension but for feedback, you know,
> what is, what are your thoughts about this, what are your opinions about this,
> what do you think about this?

As a facilitator, Mr. Bernard stated that his role was to guide the conversations and ask more questions.

Students said they were comfortable stating their opinion in this class and described their relationship with the teacher as one of mutual learning. Esteban stated:

> I think it's just like the subject of Sociology like that's what you do. Like, I
> don't know. You don't really discuss math, for example. Like you just like

learn math, and then you do problems and stuff. Then Sociology like you're

studying society. So you kinda have to like express yourself.

 The relationship between Mr. Bernard and students was characterized as one

of mutual respect and learning. Fernando shared:

Like in Sociology we usually just give up our opinion, and our teacher doesn't

say like, oh, well, the book says this stuff and also all that stuff. He just kind

of takes it in. He's like, oh, that's interesting. And he kind of thinks of it, and

he's like, oh, that's a good, an interesting idea. And then when he say

something we're like, oh, that's interesting, too. And we just kind of take it

in. And we practically just learn from each other.

The Community

In the Sociology class, Mr. Bernard supported students' learning through the

use of mediating primary artifacts such as the Sociology textbook, the book *Savage*

Inequalities and documentary films. He facilitated the social construction of

awareness and knowledge among students through class discussions. Mr. Bernard

started each class with a personal story about himself or about one or more previous

students who were working or in college before focusing on the topic. Next, he

invited all students to come talk to him during his free period, or during lunch period

or after school if they had questions. Most of the class time consisted of watching

and discussing documentaries.

Mr. Bernard scaffolded students by simplifying the task. He paused movies to

ask questions, to check for understanding, to elicit students' opinions on what they

were watching, and to discuss various perspectives on the issue. Students took notes while they watched a segment of a film as a way to reflect on what they were watching and to take note of concepts they did not understand. These notes served as primary artifacts for students and the teacher. At the end of each movie, the teacher collected students' notes. He reviewed these and returned them to students with more questions to consider. I present one episode where Mr. Bernard facilitated increased student awareness of questions to consider before watching a film.

Episode 1, Excerpt from field notes: Guided conversations

The discussion of each documentary took place in the span of two weeks. The following excerpt is revealing of ways in which Mr. Bernard set up the class before watching a film as a way to scaffold students' understanding of the issues:

Mr. Bernard: Today we are watching a documentary film called Casitas. These are the questions to ask yourself while you are watching this movie. If your ethnic group is not being cared for by the police, and you don't get other services, what do you do? Just wait and wait and wait? Do you ask and ask and ask? Do you demand, demand and demand? Or do you do? At what point does doing become criminal? Ask yourself, why is it that in the U.S. and around the world, why do we see these groups pop up? And why are they led by college educated young men and women and not the unemployed marginalized little uneducated person?

Mark: If you don't know you are oppressed, you're not going to fight against it. College students are taught by professors, parents, ancestors, so they will fight against it.

Mr. Bernard: What else? What is it about 18 to 24-year-olds? [long pause] You don't have family you don't have a career, you don't have to worry that you are missing work or family.

Fernando: In college people are learning who they should be and how to go about it.

Mr. Bernard: You know in Arizona ethnic studies is illegal. Are you aware of that?

[Most students did not know. Three Latina girls raised their hands saying they knew about this.]

Mr. Bernard: In this movie, you saw there was a cooperative intelligence program. This was a partnership between the CIA, the FBI, and local police. It was a response to the Black Panthers, Brown Berets, and the Young Lords to influence and infiltrate these groups and stop them. What is the concept you are getting from this movie?

[After Mr. Bernard asked the last question, he stated it was now time to watch the film.]

In this segment, this exchange characterizes the nature of the conversations that took place between teacher and students before, during, or after the class watched a documentary. This excerpt provides insight into the kind of learning opportunities

the Sociology class supported and that emerged in students' sense making. Mr. Bernard scaffolded students by using recruitment and direction maintenance to interest youth in the film and motivate them to complete the task (Wood et al., 1976). He did this by asking critical questions before, during, and after the film to guide students in their reflection of what they were watching. Students addressed these questions in their notes, which they wrote while they watched the film. The questions raised by Mr. Bernard suggested that students in the class socially constructed the answers in conversation. Fernando, a Mexican boy, reflected on his participation in class discussions and stated: "As I participated, I began to truly analyze the information at a deeper level. When I participate I become more involved and when I get more involved I learn more." This student alluded to how his participation in class discussions increased in response to the teacher's scaffolding.

Latino Youth Civic Engagement

The civic participation of Latino students in this class centered on awareness of sociopolitical issues, deliberation and the expression of voice, influence and shared decision making while they conducted their long-term assignment or research project. During the first half of the year, Mr. Bernard provided interviewing and participant observation assignments for students as a way to scaffold them by simplifying the task and prepare them for their own research project (Wood et al., 1976). For example, students received a four-page handout with instructions to complete the participant observation assignment, which included reading a chapter in the textbook that described a step-by-step process for conducting observations. For the first task,

students were asked to individually conduct participant observations by first observing one student in the class and taking note of the behavior and interactions that this student engaged in, as well as identifying who the "alpha" within the class setting was.

Next, students were instructed to observe a group of no more than 10 students for a week during the lunch period without interacting with them, and also to identify the "alpha" in the group. In a similar fashion, Mr. Bernard taught students to develop interview questions and to conduct interviews. Students worked in groups of two or three; they first practiced in the classroom and then in the school setting. During the class time, students learned how to interact and work in groups through a variety of small assignments.

The long-term project was students' opportunity to engage in co-constructing knowledge and to examine matters that affected them. In November 2012, Mr. Bernard discussed with students that he hoped they would incorporate their understanding of sociology constructs such as functionalist or conflict perspectives, race, class, sexuality and power—recurrent themes in the films and class discussion— into their research assignments. For their projects, students were allowed to select their teams from any of the Sociology class periods. To select a research topic, Mr. Bernard gave students handouts with instructions on the group size (four or five students), due date of the project, and a list of dates that hovered around the third week of each month, at which time students were expected to submit progress reports on their project. The handout included a list of 13 possible research topics, such as:

the effect of pop culture on youth, influence of hip-hop on youth, youths' motivation to attend college, influence of drugs and alcohol on youth, student involvement in the school, different expectations based on gender in society, and inquiry into neighborhoods and education. Each suggested topic included two or three research questions to consider. Students met in their groups during class over two weeks to identify group members and then their research topic. Once the research topic was approved by the teacher, student teams were given class time that ranged from 20 minutes to a full period to work on the project.

Students worked on these projects from November 2012 until May 2013. Among all three Sociology periods, 16 teams addressed a variety of issues that mirrored the topics suggested by the teacher. One student team selected a topic on its own that was not included in the handout, which was to explore the influence of media on teens' decision making. These groups conducted research to understand the factors that influence teens' consumption of alcohol and drugs (two teams); the influence of hip-hop on society (seven teams); influence of fashion trends on confidence (two teams), influence of pop culture on youth (three teams); school participation in activities (two teams); gender roles in society (one team) and influence of the media on teens' decision making (one team). By scaffolding students using demonstration, defined as modeling an idealized version of the task to be performed, the teacher constrained students' identification and selections of research topics. Students in this school, and often in this class, were trained to elicit the right

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response to the question. When given a list of topics as ideas to consider, students picked one of these topics for their projects.

To conduct these long-term research assignments students collectively followed a sequence of steps given by the teacher, such as: define a topic to study, articulate a research question, identify data collection methods, gather data and analyze them, and then write the paper. Mr. Bernard instructed students that if they were considering using surveys or interviews, they had to collect information from at least 50 people for the data to be valid. He also stated that students had to conduct at least 50 hours of participant observations. At each step, students were scaffolded by the teacher and by members of their team. Students conducted interviews and participant observations within the school setting, at a local mall, or in their community. In the process of negotiating group norms, and completing this task, this project served as a secondary mediating artifact that supported students' learning. Student researchers engaged in ongoing conversations, deliberation, and reflection on their project. These young people sought to investigate the issues that affect them or their peers and, as such, they were the stakeholders of this endeavor.

The small groups that worked together on these projects constituted invited participation spaces (Cornwall, 2002), because these spaces were created by the teacher with specific directions for students on how and when to complete the task. Students received verbal instructions during class time, and were reminded by the teacher to refer back to the step-by-step instructions in the textbook if needed and to handouts from prior assignments. Students were instructed to work on these projects

on their own time and during class. On average, two or three class periods per week were allocated for students to work on their projects. On these days, Apple laptops, a primary artifact, were available to students. During check-in dates, students submitted handwritten progress reports, a primary artifact, and received written feedback from Mr. Bernard. These ongoing verbal and written directions from Mr. Bernard reflected the "informal rules" of the community because check-in dates were negotiable between students and the teacher.

Students formed their own groups and decided collectively what topic to research and how to conduct the inquiry, how to work together and how often, and the decision method to use in their conversations, as well as how to present results. I observed two groups of students in this class. One group was composed of five Latina girls whose topic was to understand how pop culture influences youth. The second group included two Latino boys and two Latina girls, and they had the same topic. I observed these groups as they interacted and made decisions. I asked them how they chose the topic and how they would collect data. Members of these two groups said that made decisions when everyone was in agreement. At the next class, I learned that the remaining three groups also made decisions when everyone agreed on something. In these long-team research groups, students learned to find their voices and use them in their final project presentation and paper. Students learned to work collaboratively and increased their awareness and knowledge of the topic they investigated.

In the process of socially constructing the answers to their research questions and using consensus, these two groups engaged in mutual scaffolding by coaching each other to arrive at the findings (Brown et al., 1989). For example, in the group of Latina girls, one student knew how to use Excel to enter data and tabulate the data, while the rest of the team had never used this program. This girl taught the rest of the group how to do so. Esteban, a student in another group, reflected on his experience participating in the long-term research project and shared:

> …by working in small groups by working on an issue, I thought I knew the answers and then someone else said it and I knew that what I thought was the answer was not the right answer. I learned to understand what could have been the root causes of issues…

Students participated in these research projects, which gave them an opportunity to work collaboratively and scaffold each other.

As part of their final grade, students presented their research to teachers and administrators in an auditorium-style classroom in May 2013. The teacher gave students instructions in the form of a handout, a primary artifact, to include in their presentations and papers a reflection on their experiences conducting this project. During these presentations, a Mexican male student stated: "It showed me that all problems are multidimensional. My peers provided good counter arguments to any assertions I made about a problem." Reflecting on what they had learned, a group composed of three Mexican descent girls, one East Indian girl and a Taiwanese boy wrote:

It's been agreed by all of us that taking a step by step process to reach a

desired conclusion has made us feel different about the world around us. Now

when things are seen or observed, assumptions are not just jumped into…As a

group, a lot was gained out of it such as learning to work in a team, have

responsibility and just being able to take part in a great project.

The sentiments regarding gaining an understanding of the root causes of

issues, approaching problems from multiple perspectives, learning from each other,

learning to work in a team, developing responsibility and work ethic, were echoed by

most students in the class. One team struggled to work together because it was

difficult to schedule a time to work on the project outside of class, and everyone was

quick to agree on suggestions. One team member, a Latina girl wrote in her final

paper:

What happen was that this group didn't know how to prepare and organize.

We said things were going to get done, but never did until later. It was

irresponsible. Also wen thing were plan everyone agree, no one made

suggestion to challenge the idea to make it better … Many great thing got

accomplish and even if our flaws kept us from giving a better result, am happy

we did this we all learn things that will go with us forever. Questioning

everything, eager to know more.

This quote illustrates how this group learned the challenges of working together and

making decisions when everyone agrees, as well as learning about their topic of

inquiry.

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While students gained greater understanding of their topic, of each other, and how to work collaboratively in these invited participation spaces, the 17 final papers and presentations offered limited discussion of the terms that had been discussed in class, such as functionalist or conflict perspectives, race, ethnicity, or class. Two groups examined gender differences in survey responses. Mr. Bernard had verbally warned students of the dangers of collecting too many data and included this guidance in the written feedback. On average, students collected surveys from 50–150 people. In addition, most groups did surveys, interviews, and participant observations. Students spent several months making sense of the data, and several groups missed the deadline to turn in drafts of the final paper. It is possible that the magnitude of the task diverted students from incorporating the terms learned in class. However, all student projects elicited responses from multiple perspectives to answer their research question. In all projects, as evidenced by their presentations, students sought out diverse ethnic, gender, age, and socioeconomic class perspectives in their sample of interviewees or in participant observations; yet, their analyses lumped all "teens" and/or "adults" as one homogenous group regardless of age, background, or socioeconomic status. The week after students completed their presentations, I asked Mr. Bernard if he could explain why students did not integrate issues raised during class discussions into their final presentations or papers. He came to the conclusion that the monthly check-in process needed to be strengthened, and that next year he needed to be more involved with students during all steps of the research process. He realized that the feedback he gave students on their progress reports may not have

offered sufficient guidance to some students, and he added: "I have learned not to take it personal that we did not accomplish the things that I hoped we would accomplish. Things did not happen and I need to be okay with that. Next year, I will be more realistic."

Young people in this participation learning space had the opportunity to increase their sociopolitical awareness by discussing issues raised by documentaries, books, and their research project. At the end of the school year, I asked all students in the 4th period what they had gotten out of this class. Four Latino students responded that this class had "enlightened" them about society and stated they would now consider different points of view for every issue. During the previous year, these four students were enrolled in the advanced placement U.S. History class and had learned about social movements from a historical perspective; yet, after watching documentaries about social movements, students stated that these films made it seem real. Students were scaffolded by the teacher during these films to help them understand how oppression is manifested in sports, neighborhoods, and schools. However, in this limited space of a classroom for one school year, it is difficult to discern whether the Sociology class managed to challenge students' internalization of oppression or society's tendency to blame the victim.

Authentic youth engagement in a long-term research project contributed to students' sociopolitical awareness and created a space where youth had voice, influence, and shared decision making on matters that affect them. By participating in these research projects, students expressed that they learned to examine "what is

going on" and they learned to work collaboratively. During the 2012–13 school year,

the Sociology class was the only space in which students were assigned to work on a

team project that received one grade for all team members. In a school whose

mission was to prepare students to be contributing members of society, it was

surprising that team projects and collaborative problem solving were not the norm.

Summary of Key Findings

Westfield HS administrators supported the development of the Sociology

class by allowing Mr. Bernard to teach it. It was up to him to figure out how and

what knowledge to impart students. This class served as a participation learning

space for approximately 80 students among three class periods where youth

participated in open class discussions that were facilitated by the teacher. This

teacher created a classroom climate where students deliberated on controversial topics

and all perspectives where valued. Students and the teacher had a shared

understanding of the goal of this class, and students had the opportunity to work in

invited participation learning spaces in their research projects.

The shared goal was to analyze how society is organized and to understand

various issues affecting youth, women, and ethnic groups from different perspectives.

This goal was accomplished, as described by Latino students in their presentations

and end-of-the-class statements. Scaffolding of tasks included recruitment and

maintenance by engaging students in films through critical reflective questions;

simplifying the task by breaking the research project into steps before coaching

students to conduct their project; and demonstration of possible topics to consider for

their research project. Students learned material that was not covered in any other class under the tutelage of a teacher who challenged them to think critically about society and their role in it. The social rules of the Sociology class allowed for an open classroom where the teacher shared personal stories, considered multiple student perspectives, and facilitated flexible student participation in terms of assignments and readings.

The primary artifacts that mediated participation were the films, textbook, and book and teacher handouts with instructions for activities or the research project. Secondary artifacts consisted of the critical dialogue that took place in class while watching a film, as well as the conceptual tools that students developed while conducting and writing up their research projects. In his role as a teacher, his influence on students' selection of topics was consistent with the school norm of students providing the answer the teacher is looking for. The teacher inadvertently limited the topic selection of students by providing an extensive list of topics and suggesting that students select one of these or come up with their own. The written and verbal instructions and expectations given to students for their research project may not have clearly articulated the key sociology topics discussed in class to incorporate in students papers. Nevertheless, the artifacts in this class, as used by the teacher and Latino students, shifted the role of students from consumers to producers of information.

In most groups, peer social interaction and collaboration during team projects facilitated learning of the topic and learning to work in a team. Teens scaffolded each

other to complete the task and to learn how to use new tools. In the process of working collaboratively, youths selected to make decisions by consensus. This decision making method worked well for most groups and hindered one group. In addition to exploring a topic in depth, most students coached each other as they negotiated working in a team, a first-time experience for most students in the class.

Mr. Bernard taught the Sociology class for the first time during the 2012–13 school year. This class was an elective for him and for students. His passion and interest in critically examining society motivated Mr. Bernard share his passion with Latino and diverse youth. In this participation learning space, the critical examination of society did not lead to action, because that was not the goal of this class. The goal was for students to learn about ethnic studies through the lens of sociology. The articulation of this goal was influenced by Mr. Bernard's knowledge and experience of what is possible for a Sociology class. In sum, Latino youth engaged in sustained autonomous deliberation in groups while they engaged with members of their community through surveys and participant observation. In the process of shifting from consumers to producers of information, Latino and diverse youth learned to questions their own assumptions about society.

Chapter Six

Human Rights and Interact Cases

This chapter includes a description of two student clubs and seeks to answer this study's second research questions regarding how social interactions between teachers and students or among students in participation learning spaces facilitate or impede Latino youth's civic engagement. Following chapter five, I draw on sociocultural theory as articulated by Engeström (1999), to describe the cases using the following categories: subjects, goals, rules, roles, the community, and Latino youth civic engagement. Embedded in the narrative is a description of artifacts and their role in mediating learning or civic engagement. A summary of key findings concludes each case and highlights patterns of relationships between student peers and teachers and how these were organized to mediate civic engagement.

School clubs, as described by Ms. West were student initiated; however, on further examination eleven of the thirteen clubs in the school were started by teachers. Administrators asserted that the teachers' role was meant to be in an advisory capacity, but teachers did not receive guidance from administrators on this expectation. When a new club started, teachers received a template to develop by-laws from Mr. Jorgensen, the Leadership class teacher. Mr. Romero described how clubs were organized:

> I mean they [teachers] are there to be advisors and just make sure that the kids are running their meetings. But it should be student-ran. They should have minimal input, cuz, you know, I mean we want the students to learn, I mean

they have to develop a constitution, by-laws, they have to have that in order to

have a club. So we want the students to do that. We give them a general

outline of what they can do and they follow that. They have to vote. They

have to have their minutes.

In this excerpt Mr. Romero describes what clubs should look like and assumed that

teachers will follow the general guidelines. Neither he nor Ms. West attended club

meetings in the three years they served as administrators in this school, since club

activities did not fall under their purview.

School clubs met once a week during the 35 minute lunch period. I observed

students walking towards their locker or the cafeteria at the sound of the bell at the

end of the 4th period after the Sociology class. The hallways at this time of day were

impenetrable, since over 1,000 students filled 2.5 hallways of approximately 8 ft. by

150 ft. long at the same time. Therefore, club meetings generally started 10 or 15

minutes after the bell rang and lasted for approximately 20 minutes.

In the Human Rights and Interact clubs described in this chapter, Latino

students increased their socio-political awareness and due to the participant structures

of these clubs, students had limited opportunities to engage in authentic civic

engagement activities where they had voice, influence or shared decision making in

matters that affected them. A summary of these two cases is illustrated in Table 7

below. The case narratives that follow describe these two elective school clubs as

participation learning spaces.

Table 7. Human Rights Club and Interact Club

Concept	Human Rights Club	Interact Club
Subjects	Teacher started the club in 2012. Four club officers 10–60 students.	English teacher. Five club officers. 10–80 students .
Goal	Raise awareness of human rights	Organize local community service activities and raise funds to support an international cause
Rules	Informal: Youth participate when they want to	Formal: Election process and five hours of community service per year. Informal: Youth participate when they want to
Community	Open club climate. Teacher led. Invited youth participation space Use Facebook to stay connected	Open club climate. Rotary International. Youth-led. Invited youth participation space Use Facebook to get all relevant club information
Latino Youth Civic Engagement	Two club officers. Engaged in dialogue Limited participation in club activities	Two club officers. Limited participation in community service activities

Case: Human Rights Club

Subjects

The Human Rights club was started by Mr. Madsen, an earth science teacher

and chair of the Sciences department, during the spring of 2012. He had been

interested in human rights since college and wanted to bring that awareness to students. Mr. Madsen described how he started the club:

> So, for the past two or three years, I wanted to start a club, like an Amnesty International Club or Human Rights Club because we don't have one at Westfield, and I've just been really so occupied because I have a 5-year old and a 3-year old so they finally got old enough, somewhat old enough that I could perhaps try to add something else in there even though it's hard. So back at the end of last school year, around April or May of 2012, is when I was like, you know what, let's just try it out. And I made some announcements on the TV announcements and loudspeaker and threw around some signs and some flyers. I said, hey, I'm starting a Human Rights Club. I'm going to be the advisor. If you're interested, come to my room one day at lunch, and we'll see if anybody comes, if anybody shows up and a bunch of people came.

Mr. Madsen expressed surprise that 62 students showed up at the first meeting, at which he discussed the goals of the club. At this meeting, students expressed interest in a club T-shirt and a Facebook page to stay connected. Mr. Madsen encouraged students to submit T-shirt designs to him; he distributed sign-in sheets and invited these students to participate in the club the following school year.

During club day at Westfield High School in September 2012, members of the club hosted an informational table[19]. Reflecting on club day, Cristina, a Mexican descent student and president of the club, shared: "…we filled out both of our roster sign-up sheets and many more students were interested." Mr. Madsen added that 120 students signed up for the club; at their first meeting in October, 44 students participated.

The participants of this club consisted of Mr. Madsen, a European American male in his mid-30s, club members, and students who spent their lunch period with Mr. Madsen. The composition of the student population in this club resembled the school's population. The officers of the club were elected in September 2012: Cristina, president, 12th grade student of Mexican descent; Donald, vice president, a 12th grader from Taiwan; Susan, treasurer, 11th grader from European American descent; and Sara, treasurer, 11th grade, European American descent and Latina. Donald was also in the Sociology class and he served as vice president of the Gay Student Alliance club. Donald shared that he stepped into the role of vice president because Mr. Madsen asked students to let him know if they were interested in an officer role. All four students who expressed an interest ran unopposed and became officers. To develop the by-laws, Mr. Madsen used the template that was given to him by Mr. Jorgensen and discussed it with the officers. They all agreed to add the name "Human Rights Club" in the blank spaces.

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[19] I observed "club day" in September 2012 before my research project started. The assistant vice principal of instruction invited me to attend to learn about the clubs that were offered that year.

The class was arranged in three rows with six tables per row. Two or three students sat at each table. Mr. Madsen sat at his desk, which was at the front of the room facing students. Behind him was a dry eraser board, which was covered by a movie screen. Students generally obtained their lunch from their locker or cafeteria and then brought it into the classroom to eat while the meeting took place. Students sat in the front or in the back of the room. Latecomers sat in the middle of the classroom. I either observed from the back of the room; if those spots were taken by students, I sat at one of the middle tables. Occasionally, Ms. Smith, an English teacher and Ms. Miller, a career counselor, participated in club meetings to support the organization of an event or to watch films.

Most students in the class stated that they were members of this club because they liked Mr. Madsen and what he was saying. Other youth added they were members of this club because their friends were members. I asked Luis, a Mexican descent boy who attended meetings regularly, if he was a member of the club, and he replied: "Sort of. I am here every day. I like to help. I like to be with Mr. M … I like to hang-out … I'm here and there … I'm not into big things. I just like to help." The three boys sitting next to him nodded. Other club members stated they were members of this club because their friends came to the club, and they believed in defending human rights.

A group of students who hang out with Mr. Madsen during lunch everyday transitioned from considering themselves nonmembers to members of the club by the end of the school year. These students stated that Mr. Madsen organized their

chemistry class into a circle and they all talked about human rights. I asked Mr.

Madsen to describe this to me and he replied it was not about human rights, but that

he could see how students thought it was. He shared:

> For example, back in December we sat in a circle on the chairs, moved the
>
> tables … It's like 20 statements... For example, one statement says, you know,
>
> oh, you should always say you're sorry … And what we did was I had the
>
> students, we looked at em, each one by one and we got people's opinions. Do
>
> you agree? Do you not agree with these? Why? Why not? … We were
>
> discussing how you live your life on a daily basis now and outside of high
>
> school in the future. How are you gonna be a good person? How are you
>
> gonna be a self-sufficient person that can balance a job and balance your core
>
> family, extended family? Those type of things. How do you go about life?

Mr. Madsen said he thought he was the only teacher who engaged students in

"life skills conversations" during class time. He presented the idea of having these

conversations with students to school administrators first and then at a department

chair meeting. He added that several teachers seemed receptive to the idea, but that

no one had followed up. Administration was in favor of this idea. Mr. Madsen spent

approximately 5–15 minutes of class time to facilitate conversations with students.

He stated:

> Like when I did that back in December so many students the next day said,
>
> Mr. Madsen, that was like the best thing we ever did. We don't do that in
>
> other classes. We don't just sit down and talk about, talk about our emotions

and our feelings and talk about how people treat me or treat us and the things

that I like or don't like about how people interact with me. And it was

amazing the feedback, and I was so excited.

The ethnic/racial and socioeconomic diversity of the students in this class

were representative of the school's student population. According to the teacher, the

diversity of the student population had a positive influence on the Human Rights club.

Mr. Madsen stated:

> I think … the different backgrounds of the students at Westfield … and I think
>
> those diversities have really leant a hand to being able to support Human
>
> Rights Club here at Westfield and be able to, you know, excite students
>
> because they say, hey, you know what? I've experienced this or I've heard
>
> about this and, you know, I mean the rest is in learning more and, and being
>
> involved in supporting human rights.[20]

Of all the participation learning spaces I observed, this space was the most

openly diverse one. Three Mexican boys who were enrolled in special education

were members of the club. These boys shared this was the only club that they were

affiliated with because they liked Mr. Madsen. Two students who openly self-

identified as transgender were members of this club and of the Gay Student Alliance

club.

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[20] An expanded version of this quote is included in Chapter 5. In the absence of a
similar quote from other teachers, it seemed appropriate to cite Mr. Madsen in the
description of school culture. I diverge from the accepted norm in qualitative research
to avoid repeating illustrative quotes, because Mr. Madsen's statement describes how
the diversity of students influenced the welcoming environment of the club.

Mr. Madsen created a welcoming and open classroom environment in his science classes and Human Rights club. To some students, the "life skills" conversations in class were about human rights, and these conversations and the ones that took place at the Human Rights club were part of the same space.

Goal

Mr. Madsen and club members had shared understanding of the goals of the club. Mr. Madsen presented the goals to students in the spring and fall of 2012, and students did not participate in the co-construction of goals. Mr. Madsen stated that the goals were:

> … to raise awareness about different issues so that way we could teach ourselves, the students, we could share the information with the staff and the community … try to, you know, raise any kind of money and try to, maybe I should make some kind of impact somewhere where we can contribute to help people that are less fortunate when it comes to their rights being abused.

Cristina described the goals as:

> A club that is interested in discussing and advocating for human rights. Basic rights. For instance, you ask students about human trafficking and they will tell you that it happens in the Philippines, but in reality it happens downtown for example … There are four main clubs on campus, Key Club, Interact, Gay Student Alliance and Model United Nations. We want to do more than just fundraise to go to LEGOLAND or do community service. We want to raise

awareness on campus that we have rights, and to prepare ourselves before we become adults.

Members of the club agreed with the goal of raising awareness in the school and that all students had rights. Oscar stated: "I believe everyone should have equal rights, equal everything." Students and the teacher participated in this club because they were interested in human rights and wanted to share that awareness with the rest of the school.

Roles

Mr. Madsen defined and assumed multiple roles to support the club. I observed him as he recruited students on an ongoing basis by developing flyers and asking officers to display these along the hallways. He created a Facebook page in the spring of 2012 and posted updates on the club activities, upcoming events, and links to video clips, nonprofit organizations, and key articles from *The New York Times*, all primary artifacts. Students posted pictures of events to the Facebook page and communicated with Mr. Madsen online. The teacher provided information to the weekly school announcements on TV to increase students' awareness of the club and human rights. He developed the agenda for the club meetings and obtained the information or films to share with student. The teacher invited students to participate in community events that pertained to human rights, such as film festivals, parades, or school events to promote the club. At club meetings, he welcomed students and conversed with them informally about how their day or week was going. Mr. Madsen acknowledged that he had too many roles in the club and hoped that things would be

different next year. He stated: "… right now it's kind of a lot driven by me and I'm hoping that like we'll get a couple leaders next year that really will be the driving force, and really kind of like lead the club." An example of how activities were driven by the teacher is illustrated in the organization of Women's Rights Day.

At a club meeting in early March, Mr. Madsen announced that March 8 was Women's Rights Day. That afternoon, he made a couple of flyers and asked a couple of the club officers to help him post the flyers on the walls. Mr. Madsen shared: "… the Women's Rights Day actually was kind of a last-minute thing and I kinda just did it by myself." One flyer included the following information: "Do you treat your girlfriend right? Today is Women's Rights Day, treat her right." The two students who helped Mr. Madsen had token participation roles (Hart, 1992).

The roles of club officers were informally defined by Mr. Madsen. None of the officers had a copy of the club by-laws or quick access to them. Cristina, the president, made announcements during meetings and recruited students to participate in activities. Cristina and the rest of the officers sat in the front of the room facing Mr. Madsen, and they had a limited role during meetings. The secretary did not take minutes, and because the club had no funds, the treasurer did not have a role. Club officers served as assistants to Mr. Madsen whenever he asked for help to promote the club or organize an event within the school. Participation of officers and students during club meetings was optional. From January until the end of the school year, Cristina stopped coming to the club meetings. Per Mr. Madsen, Cristina had personal issues to deal with and decided to focus more time on her coursework. In the absence

of the president, Donald, the vice president remained in that position and continued to sit at the front tables.

Members participated in club meetings and activities on an on-and-off basis. On days when Mr. Madsen showed a film, every table was full with more than 36 students. On days when the club meeting consisted of announcements and information sharing, an average of 10–20 students participated. In the second semester, student participation dropped to 5–12 students. Mr. Madsen offered an explanation:

> So we're still fresh and we're still getting, just getting interest and, you know, it's definitely faded a little bit in the second semester, more so March through now, which I know is common in all the clubs, (laugh) not just ours and, you know, people are getting, it's getting warm out or whatever else.

During informal interviews, club officers shared that they stopped coming to the club before and during advanced placement test week in late April and early May.

From a sociocultural perspective, the roles that the teacher and officers played in this club was influenced by their position, both formal title and spatial position. Mr. Madsen followed the script of a teacher by organizing all events for the club without seeking input from youth. Both the teacher and club officers claimed the front of the room, where announcements were made. The roles exhibited by the teacher and the vice president were influenced by past experiences. Mr. Madsen's college experience influenced his interest in human rights and provided him with the tools to explore Amnesty International as a resource. Donald's experience as vice

president of another club informed his role as vice president of the Human Rights club, which for him translated into sitting at the front of the room and participating in all activities.

Rules: Formal and Informal

This club had formal rules that were outlined in the by-laws; yet, none of the officers or teacher knew where this document was. Mr. Madsen knew he could ask Mr. Jorgensen for a copy if he needed one. The school rules were posted on the wall at the entrance to the class. Informal rules were not verbally expressed by the teacher or students. According to Oscar, Miguel, and Fernando, three 10th graders of Mexican descent who participated in meetings regularly, student participation in this club was voluntary, including making posters and attending club events. Jeremy, an 11th grader of European American descent, stated that another informal rule was that students had to come to the front of the room to make announcements. Club officer roles were flexible and informal. If a student missed a meeting, Donald and the three Mexican descent boys stated that it was no big deal and students could find out what was happening in the club by asking Mr. Madsen or through Facebook.

In the spring, Mr. Madsen suggested to students they should consider running for officer positions for the next year. He communicated to students that he hoped the next group of officers would lead the club. In the section below, I include a segment of a conversation with Mr. Madsen (P) about his informal expectations for officers and his vision of the skills a student needed to lead the club:

P: Like I'll just be like the advisor and not so much like pushing what the

        students are doing. So that's kind of my hope and goals and I was

        expressing that to the students lately and hopefully next year we'll get

        some, some leaders that are really kind of, you know, they'll come in

        and say, hey, Mr. Madsen, let's do this. Let's do that. That hasn't

        really been the case this year. So maybe cuz it's new, maybe cuz we

        don't have the right leaders yet, you know.

 I: What kind of knowledge or skills or experience do you think young

        people need to step up to these leadership roles?

P: I think they need to be outgoing. They need to be really passionate

        and excited about human rights and the cause and, and what it stands

        for. I think they need to be, not afraid to say that they support

        everybody. Doesn't matter if they're gay or straight. No matter if

        they're poor or rich. No matter, no matter what the situation might be.

        So that can be hard for a teenager. Even for an adult that can be hard.

        So I think those are some of the few things that are required of a really,

        you know, high quality leader, student, student leader for a club like

        Human Rights at a high school level.

I: So how would you support young people to get there?

P: I would, you know, let them know about any kind of experience I've

        had you know, and kind of like give them real life experiences that

        people have gone through and, try to motivate them in that way.

It seems that Mr. Madsen did not realize that by organizing club meetings, activities, and the Facebook page, he left no space for young people to step up to these roles. In this club, Mr. Madsen followed the script of the teacher who organizes the learning environment, and youth followed the script of students who followed what the teacher instructed them to do. In regard to future club leaders, Mr. Madsen hoped that students would be outgoing and open and supportive of all students. It seems that he assumed that students would bring these leadership qualities with them into the club. The idea of fostering leadership skills in youth as part of an officer development effort was not mentioned by the teacher.

The Community

The community refers to the group members' perspectives and voices and how they interacted to facilitate or constrain Latino youth civic engagement. Mr. Madsen used his laptop to play music while students ate; when he was ready to start the meeting, he used the laptop to project the PowerPoint presentation or movie onto a movie screen, all primary artifacts. Mr. Madsen scaffolded students by introducing them to the cultural tools of human rights activists. He first introduced vocabulary and concepts, followed by video clips or films that illustrated human rights violations to increase students' awareness and engage in dialogue about human rights issues. To illustrate how club meetings were conducted I present three temporally successive episodes from my field notes that describe how the teacher imparted knowledge by presenting announcements in the first episode, and used film to spark dialogue and appropriation of human rights cultural tools in the second one. The third episode

describes the first student-led meeting, in which the president of the club mirrored the script the teacher presented to the club the previous year.

Episode 1, Field note excerpt: Learning vocabulary and concepts

[The agenda of a meeting in November 2012 was projected on the screen. Mr. Madsen signaled to Cristina to turn off the lights and he turned off the music to start the meeting. All students looked at the screen while they continued eating their lunches. The agenda on the screen read as follows:]

Proposition 35: Increases the penalty for human trafficking and sex slavery.

Gay marriage: Washington, Maryland and Maine. How do we compare to the rest of the world?

- Netherlands 2001

- Belgium 2003

- Spain 2005

- Canada 2005

- Norway and Sweden 2009

- Portugal and Iceland 2010

- Denmark 2012

December 10: Human Rights Day

[Mr. Madsen referred to the screen and proceeded to start the meeting:]

Mr. Madsen: Hello everyone, we are starting the meeting. As you can see from the agenda today I will share with you the human rights propositions that passed. In California, Proposition 35 will impose big fines on people that

participate in sex trafficking. In other states, gay marriage passed but it is not legal in the United States. Check out the list of countries where gay marriage is legal. In a few weeks it will be Human Rights day, and Cristina will tell you more about that.

Cristina: Right now we are just a club meeting every Thursday. To be more than that I need volunteers to do a window like the one the Gay Student Alliance club has, I want us to decorate a window to raise awareness of Human Rights day. I am asking for volunteers that some kind of artistic ability to help me do that.

Mr. Madsen: Good job Cristina. I want to contact the local newspaper to see if I can get "air time" on December 10. Okay everyone that is all for today. [After this last sentence, the screen shifted to show the weather and the music came back on. Students took the cue of listening to music to mean the meeting was over. Students near me started a conversation about clothes they were wearing. A Latina girl walked into the classroom and said: "Are we going to start?" Mr. Madsen replies: We already started today and we discussed the propositions that passed. He brings back the agenda on the screen of his laptop and presents the information to her.]

In this episode, Mr. Madsen provided information to students in support of the goal to increase their knowledge and awareness. When Cristina asked for volunteers, no one responded. According to Mr. Madsen, the short time allotted to club meetings did not allow for much conversation. I asked Cristina how she recruited other

students to help. She replied that first she made an announcement like the one she made that day, then picked a day and time and invited everyone to come. She added that about five students generally showed up and it was mostly the officers and their friends.

Episode 2 occurred later in the school year, in early January 2013. This episode exhibits how the teacher mentored students through the use of film to facilitate dialogue and awareness of human rights. On days when students watched a film, Mr. Madsen did not use an agenda.

Episode 2, Field notes excerpt: Film and dialogue

[I walked into the classroom a few minutes after the bell rang and the lights were out and the classroom was full of students. Every table had at least three students, and some students were sitting on the tables. As I walked in, Mr. Madsen said "hello, we are watching Children Underground[21], a documentary of Romania's street children." I walked to the back of the room and sat on a cabinet. Two guests were sitting near the front of the room, Ms. Smith and Ms. Miller. All students' attention was on the film while they ate their lunch. The segment of the film described a homeless boy who was walking the streets with a girl as they fought about where to get food from that day. After 20 minutes or so, the teacher paused the film and in the dark asked students.

"What did you find most interesting about this movie?"

Ann: The children are very young and tough at the same time.

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[21] This film is a documentary and follows a group of five adolescent street children in Budapest who have been abused and live in the subway system.

[Students: yeah …]

Donald: Do these kids ever go back home?

Mr. Madsen: We will find that out later in the film.

Oscar: Do we have homeless kids here?

Mr. Madsen: Yes we do. We can explore and learn about this later.

Sara: Do they know they have rights?

Mr. Madsen: Well, what do you all think?

[Silence…]

Sara: Hmm. Not sure…probably not

Mr. Madsen: Okay everyone, we can continue watching this tomorrow. The bell is about to ring, have a great day.

In this episode, students engaged in the beginnings of dialogue to discern how the film resonated with them. While these conversations were short in duration because of time constraints, students continued this dialogue until they finished watching the film. When youth have conversations on issues that matters to them, they can articulate their voice, and this is one of the precursors of civic engagement (Kahne, Crow, & Lee, 2013; McCoy & Scully, 2002).

During the weeks in which the club watched documentaries, several students came by Mr. Madsen's class to see the film. Some students were involved in other clubs and could not come every day, so Mr. Madsen continued playing the film from where it left off at the next club meeting. The conversation at the conclusion of these films generally started with the same first question: What did you find most

interesting about this movie? Students responded and gave their first impressions or asked more questions. In these two episodes, the agenda, the film, and the conversations that ensued served as a mediating artifact, and learners were able to engage in the social construction of meaning and understanding. The difference between these two segments is that the first one is consistent with the scripted role of a teacher who provides unidirectional information to students, whereas in the second one, the teacher takes on a mentoring/facilitator role during the conversation with students.

During an informal conversation, I asked Mr. Madsen how he organized teaching and learning of human rights in the club. He responded that he spent the first couple of months presenting information on the definition of various human rights and provided examples of violations as a way to increase students' awareness. Next, he embedded informational video clips into the agenda to convey human rights messages in different ways and engaged in conversations with students after watching a clip. He stated he recently started showing documentaries. Mr. Madsen added he was going with the flow and checking in with students to see what bounced with them. He said that he gathered information from *PBS, The New York Times*, Amnesty International and the web to get information for the club.

In the fall of 2013, I observed the club during officer elections. The week after club day Mr. Madsen placed a table outside the classroom with a table top sign inviting students to sign-up on the forms to run for officers of the club. As students approached the table, Mr. Madsen shared with students that to be elected they had to

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attend the next meeting. On Election Day, Mr. Madsen invited candidates to introduce themselves and tell what office they were running for. One by one, the prospective officers did so. One candidate did not show up, so that name was crossed from the ballot box. Next, students voted. Mr. Madsen collected the ballots and stated that election results would be announced later that day and the following week. The club elected Jeremy as the new president and Lindsay as vice president; she's a senior of European American descent who self-identified as transgender. Lindsay also was the president of the Gay Student Alliance. The club elected Sara, a senior of Mexican descent, as secretary, and did not elect a treasurer because the students who signed up to run were not present. After club elections, I approached Sara and asked her why she decided to run for secretary. She said she was the treasurer last year for another club, and this year she wanted to do something different. When I asked if she had considered running for president, she smiled and stated that she thought that position was too much work and was happy with the position she had. She added that she likes to help.

In the third episode, a shift from teacher-led to student-led meetings takes place. The prior school year, Mr. Madsen modeled for students how to run meetings and did not coach students to assume leadership roles. He articulated a vision of the kind of student leader that was needed for the club, and expressed that the best way to inculcate leadership in students was by serving as a role model.

Episode 3, Field note excerpt: Student-led meeting

[The week after Jeremy was elected, Jeremy started the meeting by first looking at Mr. Madsen who said "go ahead and start", and then Jeremy cleared his throat and said: "Hi everyone, I am starting the meeting…" Most students continued talking to each other, and Jeremy then said in a louder voice: "Hi, everyone I am now starting the meeting." Students started to quiet down and looked in Jeremy's direction. Jeremy wrote the agenda on the whiteboard and it read:]

- Welcome!

- Club t-shirts

- Human Rights Day-make t-shirts

Jeremy: If you want a club t-shirt, we have some here. They are $10 for students and $15 for teachers. …And we need to plan for Human Rights Day… I think we should all bring t-shirts, white t-shirts that do not have anything on them and we can draw designs on them and wear them, instead of using posters for Human Rights Day.

[After this announcement there is silence in the room.]

Jeremy: Everyone needs to bring t-shirts for the next meeting; I will bring a few extras in case you need them. Okay? The meeting is adjourned.

[Mr. Madsen approached his desk and turned the music on. After the meeting concluded I asked Jeremy how he decided to develop the agenda. He replied he developed it on his own. I asked if he had a conversation with Mr. Madsen

about it and Jeremy replied that he didn't. Mr. Madsen was listening to this

conversation and added that he had not talked to Jeremy about it, since as the

president it was up to him to develop the agenda. After Jeremy left the front

of the room to go talk to his friends, Mr. Madsen added that he figured Jeremy

would ask him for help if he needed it.]

For the next four club meetings, Jeremy stopped using an agenda and

continued to provide announcements of information to students. It seems that Mr.

Madsen inadvertently served as a role model for organizing meetings in this club, and

Jeremy followed suit. The organization of the announcement meetings limited Latino

and diverse youths' civic participation.

Latino Youth Civic Engagement

The Human Rights club was an invited and welcoming participation space

orchestrated by Mr. Madsen to raise awareness of human rights with and for students

and the school. This club started as an adult-led space with token participation from

youth during the 2012–13 year, and became a youth-led participation learning space

with token participation from youth during the first half of the 2013–14 school year

(Hart, 1992).

The participant structures of this club shifted as students and Mr. Madsen

collaborated to organize two human rights awareness events: Human Rights Day and

Spring Fling. In each of these activities, the teacher invited Latino and diverse youth

to participate, and a few Latino students responded when their schedules allowed

them to. To prepare for Human Rights Day, Mr. Madsen announced the date several

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weeks ahead in the agenda, and a couple of weeks before the day he asked students to come to his classroom after school to make posters. Mr. Madsen shared: "For the Human Rights Day, we did have students come for two days after school and they were making the posters. So that was really successful when it comes to the students' involvement." Jeremy, Donald, and a friend participated in making the posters. Oscar, Miguel, and Fernando could not stay after school because they had to go home.

During one of the in-class announcements, Mr. Madsen suggested that students could wear a yellow top or T-shirt on December 10 as a symbol of their support for human rights. To prepare for this day, Mr. Madsen instructed students to arrive at the school at 7:15 a.m. to hold their posters and display them as other students were dropped off by their parents, or as students drove to the school or other students arrived by bus. Mr. Madsen described the participation of students leading up to and on this day:

I had put up a bunch of flyers on the lockers on Sunday night, with different things about human rights, a variety of different things, and then about seven students and myself stood out front of Westfield from 7 to 7:30 …today is Human Rights Day and so it was nice cuz the parents would drop people off and they would look and they were reading it. So I'm sure a lot of them didn't, you know, it's not a very well-known day of the year, Human Rights Day, so it was nice to be able to raise awareness that way. People were honking a lot and showing support and the students that were holding the

signs were excited. They were cheering, and then students that were walking up, they were interested in it.

On this day, I observed several students and two teachers wearing a yellow T-shirt or shirt. I approached a group of Latina students and asked them why they were all wearing yellow, and one of them said they wanted to bring awareness of Human Rights Day. When I asked how they knew about this, one girl stated that Mr. Madsen was her earth science teacher and that he had encouraged students to wear yellow that day to show their support.

The second opportunity to develop artifacts was in response to students' interest in having a club T-shirt. Mr. Madsen responded to this expressed interest by encouraging students to develop a T-shirt design at a club meeting and posted the announcement on Facebook. According to Mr. Madsen, Jeremy presented a design to the club in September 2012 and club members liked it. Mr. Madsen contacted the T-shirt company and bought 50 T-shirts with his own money; he sold all of them in less than three days. Latino and diverse students participated by approving the design and then purchasing T-shirts.

Latino and diverse students in this club had opportunities to construct mediating artifacts by engaging in dialogue after watching films, making posters, wearing yellow T-shirts, or approving the design of a T-shirt. Two Latina students participated in authentic civic activities by making posters, which served as the mediating artifacts of the club's human rights awareness campaign and in other

school events in which the club participated. These two young women, one Latino boy, and four other diverse youth attended the Human Rights Awareness Day.

The organization of the club to meet once a week and to conduct activities before or after school limited Latino youths' participation. By offering poster making sessions after school, the teacher limited the participation of students who had family or work obligations after school. Two of the three opportunities presented to youth involved drawing or painting, and that may not have been of interest to all youth. The invitation to participate in the Human Rights awareness campaign was taken up by seven students who could be at the school at 7:15 a.m. It could be that not all Latino and diverse students who were interested in this activity could arrive at the school earlier than usual because of transportation or family factors. Hence, some but not all of the Latino youth could experience the appropriation of the Human Rights club's cultural tools, such as poster making, participation in demonstrations, and dialogue.

Summary of Key Findings

The Human Rights club met for the first time during the 2012–13 school year and was organized by Mr. Madsen, who invited students to join the club. The club's goal was to increase awareness of human rights by students and for the school. This goal was accomplished through a division of labor whereby Mr. Madsen claimed the organization and management of the club and invited youth to participate in select activities. As such, this was an invited participation space where the power rested with the teacher. The informal rules of the club allowed for flexible student participation, and students packed the classroom on days that human rights

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documentaries were shown. The majority of Latino and diverse students in this club

engaged in civic activities by participating in open dialogue after watching

documentaries. Three Latino club members participated in club activities to raise

human rights awareness in the school, so opportunities for the majority of Latino

youth in this club were limited due to the teacher's role and the schedule of activities.

In this club, the hierarchy between the teacher and students was clearly

demarcated, yet the teacher expected students to disrupt this hierarchy without his

support to provide leadership to the club. In the absence of guidance from the

teacher, and after Cristina left the club, students did not assume leadership of the club

during the first year. The teacher modeled announcement meetings, and the president

of the club, during the second year, learned to organize meetings the same way. The

teacher had great intentions to develop human rights awareness of students and the

school; yet, his approach to organize the club constrained Latino and diverse youth's

participation.

Case: Interact Club

Subjects

The Interact club at this school is part of the Interact program of Rotary

International, and as such it is a Rotary Club-sponsored organization (Rotary

International, 2007). This club was one of nine Interact clubs in the area, and fell

under the direction of a district office that provided oversight and support to 93 high

schools. At each organizational level beyond the school club, youth applied to

become officers and were selected by a committee of youth and adults. These youth were mentored by Rotary Club members. According to the Interact district office:

The name "Interact" was created by combining the words "international" and "action." Interact clubs are sponsored by Rotary clubs and Interact clubs organize at least two service projects a year: one that benefits their community and one that encourages international understanding. While Interact clubs receive guidance from individual Rotary clubs, they govern and support themselves and are included in Rotary International's "Youth Services" Avenue of Service (Interact District webpage).

The club was composed of students, student officers, and Ms. Smith, an English teacher who sponsored the club. This club was influenced by the Interact district office and, according to two club officers, Dave and Adhira, the district office was staffed by student volunteers and received support from Rotarians. The Westfield High School club's officers and the district office were in constant communication with one adult, Lourdes, a Rotarian, who was in charge of the Interact clubs in the area. The officers and members of this club called themselves "Interactors," a name used by Rotarians to describe youth who are members of Interact clubs (Rotary International, 2007).

Club meetings were held on Mondays during lunch in Ms. Smith's classroom, and when a holiday landed on a Monday, the meetings were held on Thursdays. Club officers met with Ms. Smith on Fridays either after school or during lunch to coordinate community service activities and fundraising events, and plan the agenda

for the next meeting. Similar to the Human Rights club, the meeting started 10–15 minutes after the bell rang and students went to Ms. Smith's room to eat their lunches.

In the fall of 2012, more than 80 students attended the first meeting in a classroom that had 30 desks organized in six rows. Students sat on the floor or leaned against the walls or edge of the door. As students arrived with their lunches, they sat near their friends. The club officers sat or stood in the front of the room around a table with a projector. Ms. Smith's desk was next to this table and in a corner. Sometimes, she sat at the desk and did not participate; other times, she was right outside the classroom talking to other teachers and did not participate in the meeting, and other times she sat at her desk and asked clarifying questions of the officers.

Five students served as club officers: Dave, president, a junior of Japanese American descent; Monica, vice president, a senior of Mexican descent; Adhira, treasurer, a junior of East Indian descent; Lucia, publicist, a junior of Philippine American descent, and Enrique, community service coordinator, a junior of Mexican descent. Most of the members of the club were of Asian American or Latino descent and participated in this club because they liked to help and were friends with the officers. Alvaro, a junior of Mexican descent, shared: "I got into the meeting or into, involved with Interact because of =Dave= since he's the president and I'm really great friends with him. I've just been going to the meetings and find it more interesting to go."

By the spring of 2013, the membership dwindled to 10 members, including

the officers. As the membership started to drop, I skipped a few meetings to locate

and informally interview a group of Latina students. One day, I found two girls, Lupe

and Yolanda, having lunch by the track field outside. I inquired why they did not

participate in the club anymore. Lupe stated that she obtained the information on

events from Facebook and that if she wanted to go to any event, the sign-up sheet was

there [on Facebook] in a Google doc. Yolanda added that she participated in some of

the community service activities and she was almost done with the required hours for

the year. Laughing, they both shared they liked having lunch outside with their

friends. I asked these girls how many members check out the Facebook page; Lupe

checked Facebook on her smartphone and replied that 151 students viewed each

message. Yolanda and Lupe added that they found waiver forms on Facebook for

events, information on dances, conferences and community service activities. Hence,

the community of this club extended from the physical meeting on Mondays during

lunch time to the virtual space of the Internet.[22]

Goal

The goal of this club, as stated by Dave was: "We will provide a helping hand

through a strong network of dedicated and motivated members in an effort to make

our local and international community a better place." I asked him how the group

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[22] In the middle of data collection, I inquired of the Office of Research Compliance
Administration at UCSC about the possibility of obtaining IRB approval to gain
access to the data on Facebook. I learned that it was very difficult to do this because
of the extended networks of people in this social media site, and per UCSC I needed
all of those other people's consent. Instead, I relied on youths' accounts of the
information on Facebook.

came up with this goal. He replied that he got it from the district office and added that this is the mission of the club and it was posted on the club's Facebook page. According to Monica, the vice president, the purpose of this club was:

> I think it's to raise money for awareness and stuff. Like right, this year it's for Bangladesh. Like we're trying to build a school over there…so we can raise money to build a school and to help open up one library and to help someone publish a book for that library. That's what I like about it; you get to help people from all over the world and here, too.

Each year, the Interact network of high school clubs identified an international service project. During the 2012–13 year, an additional goal of this club was to raise funds to support the international project in Bangladesh; "Interact and Room to Read chose Bangladesh as the site to raise $100,000 for a school, a library, [and] books published in Bangladesh's native language" (Interact Area web page). For Ms. Smith, the goals of the club were to conduct service locally and internationally. She added: "I have no expertise with this. I am not a Rotarian; I started with 10 students and now we have 75. How could you not support this effort such as the library in Bangladesh?"

For most members of the club, the goal was illustrated in Eduardo's comments: "…we do community service, every year Interact raises funds to support an international project and I like to help out and be involved." The teacher, club officers, and members of the club had a shared meaning of the goal. The nuanced variations between Dave's and Monica's goals may be attributed to their roles, which

will be discussed further in the next section. Dave was the president of the club and

was quick to articulate a ready-made goal. He served as a club officer in prior years.

For Monica, this was her first time serving as an officer in this or any other club in

the school. Fundraising activities was a key element of her duties in the club. These

students were positioned within the club to conduct specific roles, and that may

account for the emphasis placed by Monica on fundraising activities to support

community service.

Roles

The roles and division of labor of this club were influenced by Rotary

International's Interact Handbook and Statement of Policy, which specified that

Interact clubs be student organized and led. In addition, Rotary provided a club

constitution for all clubs to use and said that the club's by-laws cannot be "…

inconsistent with the "Standard Interact Club Constitution" and with policy

established by Rotary International. Such by-laws shall be subject to the approval of

the sponsoring Rotary club" (Rotary International, 2007). To develop the club by-

laws, this club also needed approval from Mr. Jorgensen. According to Dave, the

club's by-laws were developed before he joined the club as a freshman.

Student officers received occasional coaching from Ms. Smith, the Interact

area office, and Lourdes, the Rotarian. At Westfield, the roles of this club were

defined both formally and informally. The formal officer roles were described in the

club's by-laws that were posted on Facebook and included the following information:

President – plan and oversee all service events, fundraisers, social events,

festivals, etc.; delegate tasks amongst officers; approve all events; maintain

contact with area, district, and sponsoring Rotary Club; responsible for

attending Area meetings and planning area events.

Vice-President – assists the president with tasks and delegating them;

maintain in constant communication with ASB; assists in approving tasks;

assist all other officers.

Secretary – Responsible for keeping record of members and their community

service hours; taking notes during general meetings and officer meetings;

responsible for club minutes.

Treasurer – Responsible for keeping record of club funds in the school bank

account; planning fundraisers; maintaining financial balance.

Events-Coordinator – Responsible for finding service events and setting up

said events; maintain in constant contact with different non-profit

organizations.

 Publicist – Responsible for advertising club within and outside the school;

make club events more known amongst members; responsible for maintaining

club's online presence.

Outreach Coordinator – Responsible for finding and recruiting more

members; planning and setting up social and bonding events. (Interact Club

Bylaws, 2012)

Dave, the club president described his role: "I manage the officer meetings on Friday afternoons and lead the Monday club meetings. I invite kids to join our Facebook page and post updates … I work with organizations to schedule community service and … help organize fundraisers." Dave introduced me to his board: "… this is my treasurer, Adhira, these are my agency correspondents Enrique and Lucia." Enrique said that his responsibilities include contacting nonprofit agencies to inquire about doing community service and then scheduling these activities once the board agreed. Lucia stated she was elected as an outreach coordinator but that she helps Enrique to contact agencies because it's a lot of work. Dave added the club organized an average of nine community service activities per month and it was too much for one person. Monica seemed uncertain of her role as vice president: "I don't really know my job... I [am] basically helping out with everyone, kinda like help =Dave= kinda like an assistant or something. They, I look for my own events, too. Like, I did the multicultural festival, and, I'm starting to do the book fundraising right now." As a new officer to the club, Monica learned about her role and responsibilities as she engaged in the cultural activities of the club. She added: "Interact right now is my life … I spend so much time planning and like organizing stuff."

The officers met every Friday afternoon to plan for the next week's meeting. Adhira described how they created a division of labor among them to organize service and social events for the club. She shared: "On Fridays we review the list of agencies we got from the district office and contacted and we decide on activities we will do for the month." While each officer had a task to complete, the decisions of

what activities students would undertake were decided among them. In the Community section, I illustrate how these youth officers interacted on a typical Friday meeting.

Members of the club shared that all decisions of the club were made by the officers. Eduardo offers a statement that is representative of other members of the club:

> Decisions? It's usually the four officers. They get together, they occasionally have meetings during the months or weeks and, well, they decide what future events they're gonna be planning to go to, they're planning to host or as anything other fundraiser they're planning to do.

Members of the club decided individually or with their friends what activities they would go to, as Thi, a junior, shared: "we volunteer if we want to."

Ms. Smith served as the teacher advisor for the club for the past five years. Monica described Ms. Smith's role:

> She's like our supporter and help us make things up…and sometimes we don't think something's gonna work out, and we always ask for her opinion. And it just like [she] reassures us better. Yeah, so she's like our, kinda like our mother or something like that."

For Monica, the relationship with Ms. Smith was like a familial relationship. While other students did not express this, the club officers agreed that Ms. Smith was their supporter. Similarly, Ms. Smith stated that the Interact club was organized and led by "the kids." She described her mentoring role:

Students came to me and asked me. And because they wanted it to happen I

let them know, I'll be your figurehead, I'll be your signer, I'll be your

supporter, I'll be your cheerleader, I will not do the event for you though.

And the kids were great. The kids came through. They really jumped in and

they were here hours and hours after school.

In summary, the roles and division of labor among students and teacher was

orchestrated by Rotary International through handbooks, policies, and the mentorship

of a Rotarian. The informal officer roles were shaped by the president of the club,

and Monica learned her role by participating in the cultural practice of this club. Ms.

Smith's role was that of a mentor to youth and served as their "supporter." The

majority of members participated in meetings at the beginning of the year, and then

their participation declined during the second semester. Nevertheless, members had

sustained involvement in online conversations using Facebook. Members of this club

perceived their role to be participants of community service activities when they

wanted to.

Rules: Formal and Informal

This club had both formal and informal rules. The formal rules were included

in the constitution and the by-laws. Members of the club were aware of one rule, the

requirement to participate in five hours of community service. Eva stated: "Well,

you're required to do five hours. So, I guess in doing that I just came, became more

involved in doing this." Except for Dave and Adhira, the rest of the officers and

several members were unaware that the club was guided by a constitution and by-

laws. From students' perspectives, the rules of the club consisted of participating in club events when they wanted to. Club officers said that their formal rules consisted of meeting once a month, which was a Rotary rule. Dave explained that this is why the club met on a Thursday when Mondays landed on a holiday.

The election of club officers took place in the spring of each year and followed an established process as described in the by-laws. Students who wished to serve as an officer had to complete an application, which was posted on Facebook. The applications were reviewed by the officers of the club, and candidates were invited for an interview. Officers interviewed all candidates and then decided whether a student applicant would be considered for election or not. Dave shared that in his experience with this club for the past three years, everyone who applied was considered for one of the positions. He said that the interviewing process was added to ensure that candidates understood the mission of the club and the commitment needed to serve as an officer. On occasion, officers recommended another position to a student if they felt it was a better fit. Once interviews were concluded, candidates received a notification by Dave via email stating whether they were approved for inclusion on the ballot. On the day of election, the membership voted by paper ballot.

The Community

The division of labor among officers and students did not allow for active participation of members in the practice of organizing community service events and fundraisers. Club meetings were led primarily by Dave and occasionally an officer would add information. As the first episode will illustrate, these meetings consisted

of announcements of activities and did not seek to include the input or ideas of members. Club members expressed their "voice" by participating or not in club meetings and in these events. During these community events, members were introduced to the cultural tools of community service and the culture of the organization they provided service to. The second episode illustrates the social interaction among officers during their Friday meeting. These two episodes demonstrate how Rotary International influenced one student who shaped and limited the participation structure of Latino and other diverse officers and members.

Episode 1, Field notes excerpt: Announcement meeting

> [It is a day in November 2012, and the classroom is full of students. Mexican descent students sit together and for the most part students of Asian American descent sit together to have lunch. Students engaged in conversation while they ate their lunches. Dave stood in front of the desk holding a wind chime and hit it. Students continued to talk to each other. Dave hit the wind chime again.]

> Dave: Welcome everyone back from their weekends. This is our agenda for today.

> [He points to a power point presentation on the screen.]

> Dave: Trees and Westfield will be working together this weekend. Ms. Miller is organizing this and does anyone want to participate? It will happen rain or shine. On Thursday we are setting up for the multicultural festival which will be on Friday and our job is to decorate the multipurpose room.

And, we are collaborating with Sacred Heart to help prepare food. We will do
this during winter break and I will keep you updated on the date once we have
a list of people interested in volunteering.

Adhira: We are running a toy drive so that children will be getting things on
Christmas.

Dave: You need to bring a canned food item for the food barrels. Interact
clubs from various towns nearby… we will all have an Interact dance at San
Tomas high school. We will be selling tapioca express at the next Brown-bag
Friday. Every server that participates will get one hour of service.

Adhira: On Tuesday we will be selling croissants and Starbucks coffee and
hot chocolate.

[When she finished this statement, she looked at Dave.]

Dave: This is all for our international project… all of the sales… We are just
raising funds. With that I would like to adjourn the meeting.

This episode illustrates how Dave's role as president placed him in a
leadership space throughout the meeting. Adhira presented information to members
by virtue of her position, yet the rest of the officers were silent throughout the
meeting. The instructions in the Interact Handbook specify that the President leads
meetings, and in this episode which is representative of the club's meetings during the
year, Dave followed these instructions. In doing so, he inadvertently limited the
participation of Latino and diverse students. After a couple of months, two Latina

students learned they did not need to attend meetings and could get all of the information they needed to participate in community service events from Facebook.

The second episode occurred in February 2013 and illustrates the social interaction among officers and Ms. Smith as students planned activities for March. This meeting took place on a Friday during lunch in Ms. Smith's classroom.

Episode 2, Field notes excerpt: Friday planning meeting

[The student officers are standing in the front of Ms. Smith classroom. They are the only students there, and it seems that the cultural practice of standing in front of the room during club meetings continues when they meet amongst themselves. Ms. Smith is sitting at her desk, and I observe from one of the student desks.]

Dave: Okay. Let's start. For the Food Bank we will do this on Wednesday. If anyone can't go you need to get a replacement. I am going to trust you with this Enrique. You are the spokesperson for this club. Make sure you develop a good relationship.

Enrique: Okay

Dave: For the fundraising event on Wednesday and Thursday we reimbursed ourselves and we did not make a profit. We need to increase their [student] participation.

Monica: Do you want to do $.25 for each person for taking a picture?

Dave: Wouldn't that be more expensive than what we are charging? Two dollars per print.

Enrique: I like the $0.25 idea

Monica: Ms. Smith, if Dave dresses up in a grizzly costume, people will want to take a picture?

Ms. Smith: Yes I would.

Dave: What is the next event coming up?

Monica: Saint Patty's. People in Ireland used to wear purple but when it came to America people started wearing green.

Dave: I need you [he points at Enrique] to come up with other activities for us to do. From CDK [a restaurant] we finally got a check from them and we made $50 and it looks like we're making $50 for each restaurant event.

Enrique: Okay

Dave: We need to come up with a car wash date and a location

Enrique: When it is not raining

Dave: Thinking of March, can we do the car wash at the same location as the Key club's?

Monica: We need to follow certain tips on how to organize the car wash. We need to say it is free and then ask for a donation. How about if we do it near Safeway?

Dave: Do they take our earnings?

Veronica: No

Dave: Do we need to reserve it? Tell Lucia what I told you about when we have events coming up in March. I already talked to Justin and Adhira of

what they need to do. Okay that's it for today I will post the announcement on Facebook.

After this meeting, I asked Monica how decisions were made among officers. She stated:

> We usually already have our research on, cuz everybody has to research something to do, and then we all tell each other that, and then we all agree or not. We mostly think about our members to see if they would do this or they would not, and like transportation and stuff like that, and if it would sell or not. That's basically what we're thinking.

This episode illustrates the hierarchical relationship between Dave and his peers. Dave is the student that initiates these conversations and provides directives to students, and for the most part, students respond. When Dave is presented with an idea that he is not in total agreement with, such as the cost of the pictures, he moved on to the next topic, and thus silenced the two Latino youth who supported this idea. Ms. Smith entered the conversation when she was invited by Monica; otherwise she was silent the entire time. In this segment, most of Dave's instructions include the collective "we" thus he includes himself in the core group that is responsible for organizing events for March. The participation structure in this segment illustrates how Dave guided the conversation and directed his fellow officers on tasks to accomplish.

The similarities of these two episodes demonstrate how Dave in his role as President shaped the activity and participation of officers and members of the club.

Dave's role and how he chose to carry his role was influenced by Rotary International which placed the President as leader and coordinator of the club. In the second segment, students who served as officers had the opportunity to learn the cultural practice of organizing and leading community service activities and fundraisers. These opportunities were not available to the rest of the membership.

Latino Youth Civic Engagement

Two Latino youth from families with low incomes learned the cultural tools of civic engagement as officers of the club. Monica stated that by participating in this club she learned leadership and increased her awareness of other parts of the world by participating in the international service project. She stated:

> Interact builds leadership. I think that's like the most important thing. As a leader you're the one who gets to make things happen, gets to, get people to participate. You're telling them, oh, you can do this, and you can find about these and stuff like that. And it helps you, understand your community, understand different parts of the world.

Enrique shared that he now knew most of the organizations in the city and the work they do. He added that before serving as an officer he had no idea there were so many organizations to help people. For these two students, their participation in the club had increased their awareness and leadership skills.

Latino youth and diverse students participated in community service activities to complete their club and school requirement and because they liked to help. According to club officers, on average eight students participated in each community

service activity, of which two students were generally officers. Activities in which only a couple of officers attended because no one else showed up consisted of helping fill bags of food at local food banks or helping at events organized by Rotarians. Activities that drew more than 10 students included planting trees at the school, helping out at film festivals and gaining free access to all films, and helping out at outdoor events such as running and walking fundraising competitions.

Four Latino youth participated in the planting of trees at the school on a Saturday. Ms. Miller organized this activity and contacted Trees,[23] a local nonprofit that provided trees to schools and organizations to increase the reforestation efforts of the city and foster environmental education. On this day, five trees were donated to the school. Staff from Trees provided instruction to students on digging, planting, watering, and caring for the trees. Members of the Interact club volunteered to adopt a tree and take care of it during the remainder of the school year. Alvaro described his experience that day:

> It was a pretty great experience. I got to see what our Trees… I never knew who they were. I never knew exactly they were a group that plants trees and more trees and knows more, a little bit more about trees than I would ever know. I never knew that they can tell how old the trees just by the roots or just by looking at it. And, well, just to meet other people is a great experience.

When I asked Latino youth about their participation in the tree planting

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[23] The name of the organization was changed to a pseudonym.

activity or other community service activities, most stated that "it was great" or "it was fun" or "it was a lot of work." Alvaro was the only young person who provided an elaborate description. This participation learning space offered two Latino youth the opportunity to have voice, influence, and shared decision making on matters that affect them, and offered Latino members community service opportunities.

Summary of Key Findings

This participation learning space was a program of Rotary International, which influenced the organization of this club and student officer roles. This space was characterized as youth-led, where the teacher acted as supporter of student ideas and events. The influence of Rotary International on the program supported and constrained the participant structure of this club by defining the goal of the club and the goal mediated the activity that members of this club participated in. The institutional support from Rotary ensured this club was a youth-led space. However, students' civic engagement was limited to providing service to organizations at the local and international level that were authorized by Rotary. It doing so, it seems that Rotary trained youth on how to comply with civic rules, as opposed to active civic engagement. The emphasis on compliance is consistent with Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) "personally responsible citizen," where this club encouraged youth to follow rules and volunteer when asked to participate.

The president interpreted his role as one who communicates information and makes announcements to the membership. This interpretation constrained Latino and diverse youth participation during club meetings. By limiting the number of student

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officer roles, Rotary limited the number of youth who could engage in authentic civic activities such as the organization of events, which may have decreased the burden of the current officers. Club members found alternative forms of participation by using Facebook to obtain the information they needed.

Ms. Smith defined her role as supporter or cheerleader. Absent from her role was the opportunity to provide guidance to youth on strategies to increase Latino and diverse youth participation in service activities or at club meetings.

Chapter Seven

Cross Case Analysis of Participation Learning Spaces

In the absence of school-wide programs aimed at increasing Latino and diverse youths' civic engagement, few Latino youth from low-income families engaged in civic activities in the school or community. For instance, approximately 40 Latino students were enrolled in the Leadership class of 100 students. Approximately, 35 Latino youth were enrolled in all Sociology classes[24] among a total of 80 students. In the Human Rights club, five Latino youth were regular participants, and 15 more diverse youth also were regulars. In the Interact club, two Latino youth had active roles as officers, and approximately 25 Latino youth participated in community service activities, from a total of 75 diverse youth.[25] In a school with 1,128 students, of which 58% were Latino and 73% of them were eligible for free or reduced lunch, 107 Latino youth, or 9 percent of Latino students from low-income families, engaged in civic activities in four participation learning spaces. This is not surprising because administrators indicated that the goals of the school were to support students to become citizens who contribute economically to society, not civically. In the absence of administration leadership, it was up to individual teachers or students to create spaces where Latino youth participated in civic activities.

In this chapter, I draw on organizational theory to answer my first and third research questions, which sought to examine the school's organizational programs,

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[24] Estimates were provided by Mr. Jorgensen and Mr. Bernard during informal conversations.
[25] Estimates were provided by Ms. Smith, who signed community service hour completion form.

policies and practices that facilitate or impede participation learning spaces where

Latino students have opportunities for civic engagement. First, I review the elements

of organizations. Next, I summarize the findings for each case and highlight the

policies or practices that influence Latino civic engagement. Third, I discuss the

similarities and differences that support or hinder Latino youth civic engagement in

participation learning spaces, and conclude with an overall summary of how

Westfield High School's institutional factors fostered or constrained Latino youth

civic engagement.

Organizational Theory: An Overview

Participation learning spaces are influenced by the school as an organization,

and the school is influenced by institutional forces such as the Valley Unified School

District, other high schools, the California Department of Education, professional

associations, the school's history, and the socioeconomic and political context. These

institutional forces constitute the organizational field. While this study did not

examine the organizational field, institutional forces influenced Westfield High

School's goals, programs, and practices. To analyze the influence of the school on

participation learning spaces, I used an integrated theoretical framework of cultural

historical activity theory and institutional theory to guide the research design and data

analysis.

In this section, I offer a brief review of organizational elements, which I

employed to describe the school in chapter five: goals, participants, tools or

technology, and formal and informal structures. I apply these concepts in this chapter

to identify similarities and differences across participation learning spaces. As an organization, a school has a set of goals that are expected to govern decisions of individuals as participants (Scott & Davis, 2007). The goals of this school were to develop students into contributing members of society—defined as an economic contribution. Participants are the subjects who are motivated to act upon the goal(s) by using technology to conduct work in the organization. Technology refers to the "physical combined with the intellectual or knowledge processes by which materials in some form are transformed into outputs" (Sproull & Goodman as cited in Scott & Davis, 2007: 125). The technology of this school involves instructional activities and resources employed to foster students' academic achievement. The formal structure of the school includes its rules and governance systems (Scott, 2008), its organization around subjects, and roles, which were described in chapter five.

In addition, I examined the influence of normative and regulatory pillars on Latino youth civic engagement. Under the normative pillar, a school's shared values and norms may be formal or informal. These norms are viewed as "imposing constraints on social behavior" while at the same time "they empower and enable social action" (Ibid, p. 55). Under the regulatory pillar, school or school district policies describe the monitoring activities that constrain and regularize behavior. The following discussion integrates these concepts into the findings.

Institutional Influence on Participation Learning Spaces

Four normative institutional factors influenced Latino youth civic engagement in the four participation learning spaces examined in this study. These normative

factors emerged from the cultural practice of the school and included; a) administrator leadership, b) teacher training or experience, c) student–teacher relationships, and d) community service. In this chapter, I compare the influence of these institutional factors on the Leadership class, Sociology class, Human Rights Club, and Interact Club. Administrator leadership refers to the goals of administrators (or absence of goals) regarding civic engagement and absence of formal oversight on elective classes and clubs. Teacher training or experience refers to the influence of teachers' professional development and past experiences that shaped their role in participation learning spaces. Student–teacher relationships include the climate of the classroom or space that promoted or hindered youth civic engagement. Community service describes how teachers interpreted the implementation of school district guidelines.

Case: Leadership Class

Administrator leadership

School administrators provided mixed support to Mr. Jorgensen and the Leadership class. To support the Leadership class, the school covered the cost of attending an annual professional society meeting, an opportunity that was not available to other teachers, and provided students with paper and markers to make posters. Administrators did not provide oversight to the Leadership class, which meant that the teacher had maximum flexibility to design the content and pedagogy in this space. This high school was not organized for student evaluations, formal or informal; only administrators conducted teacher evaluations. For instance, Mr.

Jorgensen was evaluated as an earth science teacher, but not as a Leadership teacher.

He added:

> The class itself is actually called Leadership Training, and that's about the
> extent of it. But there's nothing in writing any place that says what I'm
> supposed to do. I am evaluated as a science teacher…I have had no
> administrator ever come in and evaluate me based upon my Leadership class.
> However what I will say is that in some ways I get evaluated by how well the
> dances go. I get evaluated by how well the rallies go. I get evaluated by, is
> the ASB bank clerk doing her duties? Is the Snack Shack making money?
> Those are the types of ways that I kind of get evaluated, but there is nothing
> formal.

Teacher Training or Experience

Mr. Jorgensen's personal and professional experience influenced why he
chose to be a Leadership teacher and how he organized the class. As a teenager, Mr.
Jorgensen had a negative experience in high school and he hoped that the Leadership
class would help students want to be in school. He stated: "My high school
experience was actually very negative so that's one of the reasons why I like doing
it." He added:

> So the reason why, how I got to be the Leadership teacher is, my son actually
> came to Westfield and he started in 2005 here at Westfield. He was part of
> the class of 2009. So what I decided to do for that graduating class of 2009
> was I became their, what we call, their class advisor. So I work with their

class officers and help out with Homecoming and fundraising and, and that kind of thing. And so I was their class advisor for, for three years between their freshmen year and their junior year. At the end of their junior year our previous Leadership teacher, was leaving and going into administration, and so the Leadership position came available. Because I'd already had three years of experience with the Leadership class on this one level, it was a fairly obvious, easy transition for me to go into being the Leadership teacher. So I was the Leadership teacher for that class's final, 2009 final year, and I've done the Leadership class ever since.

Mr. Jorgensen relied on the annual conference of the California Association of Directors of Activities to obtain information on how to organize the class. The mission of CADA is "to promote and support leadership development through student activities" (CADA website, 2015). By participating in this conference, Mr. Jorgensen ensured that the Leadership class at Westfield HS was similar to the ones taught at other high schools, thus ensuring legitimacy (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Legitimacy stems from the need to imitate what similar organizations are doing to ensure the availability of resources and, thus, survival. However, imitation does not always translate into effectiveness or goal attainment. By imitating how other activity directors' organized leadership classes, Mr. Jorgensen gained legitimacy within the professional association, yet teachers and students stated this class did not develop leadership skills. In addition, events were evaluated to figure out how well

they were organized; they were not evaluated to ascertain if these events were achieving the goal of promoting school spirit.

In addition to the influence of a professional association, and his teenage years in school, Mr. Jorgensen attributed his interest in the Leadership class to his parents, who organized many parties while he was growing up. He stated:

You know, I've grown up with my parents having parties all the time, and so I've always done, you know, parties and party planning and, and thinking all those things through. And I think it carries over into doing the dances and the rallies and, and trying to make sure that, that everything is thought of.

The concept of organizing parties carried through into what he hoped his students had learned in the class. He shared:

You know, my seniors now, I had them when they were freshmen. They've grown, they've gotten better. They're, they're thinking things through a little bit more and that's, that's one of my goals with them is that I want them to be able to take this idea and, and be able to do it when they're out on their own and have a party themselves or they're throwing something together. It's like, hey, you have to think about everything.

While the goal of the class was to develop student leadership and promote school spirit, Mr. Jorgensen's goal for his students stemmed from his personal background, and he hoped his students would learn to organize events.

Mr. Jorgensen attributed his success in organizing the Leadership class to his experience as a science teacher. He stated:

One of the reasons why I think I'm actually fairly good at it is because I'm a science teacher and we do, like when we're doing labs, each group is at a slightly different spot and you have to constantly walk around and help out each group that the lab says to, okay, this is what you need to be doing next. So I need to know exactly what's going on at any of the lab stations at any point in time. So I think that has helped me a little bit. As weird as that sounds, not on the same grand scale as the Leadership class.

Teacher-Student Relationship

The perception of whether this class was a welcoming or unwelcoming environment varied among youth. Students who were elected to serve in officer positions had, by nature of their positions, the opportunity to express their ideas openly to Mr. Jorgensen. These students met with the teacher the summer before school started and engaged in open discussions on what to include or not include in the Leadership Handbook. They also collaborated with Mr. Jorgensen to select youth to leadership positions, such as rally director.

In contrast, and as discussed in chapter five, most Latino youth from low-income families indicated that their opinions were constrained by Mr. Jorgensen and his unwelcoming classroom climate. The varying perceptions among students on the classroom climate can be explained by Mr. Jorgensen's decision to have different expectations for students in his class. He stated:

What I try and do … my expectations are different for each class. I have the highest expectations of the senior class and the lowest expectations of the

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freshmen class. I hold the class officers to a higher expectation than the non-class officers. I hold my ASB officers to the even higher level of expectation, and I hold my ASB president to the highest level of expectation. The ASB president is the one who is really leading, should be leading the Leadership class.

Community Service

The interpretation of what counts as community service was defined by each teacher, independently of what the school district guidelines stated. As mentioned in chapter five, student participation was required at all Leadership events and could not be counted toward community service. The organization of the first Spring Fling in 2013 was a new event for this class, and it did not fall under the same rules that were defined by Mr. Jorgensen. For the organization of Spring Fling, the teacher granted community service hours to Latino and diverse students who helped prepare for and run the weekend event, whether their efforts took place during school hours or not.

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Case: Sociology Class

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Administrator Leadership

The Sociology class was supported by administrators, who approved this elective class in the Spring of 2012. Ms. West, the assistant vice principal of curriculum, facilitated the approval of this class with the school district and obtained the textbook and additional books that Mr. Bernard selected. However, Mr. Bernard stated he would have liked to receive more support from administrators:

… it would be nice to know that, more is offered from your administration to

enhance your teaching or even enhance, your knowledge of the subject that

you are teaching, you know. And I kind of feel like with this class … I want

to say there's a lot of pressure because of the fact that I'm the one that wanted

to have the class, I'm the one that is teaching it and, the only way that it can

be better is if I'm better, you know, and, whatever the kids take out of it or

take away from this class, … whether we talk about skills or knowledge or

understanding or exposure, whatever they walk away from this class with…

In the absence of educational standards for Sociology, and the fact that he was

a teacher with a certification to teach history, Mr. Bernard wished administrators

would have supported his professional development. He was not evaluated by

administrators for teaching this class; thus, the opportunity to provide feedback to the

teacher was absent. Mr. Bernard was only evaluated as a world history teacher. The

organization of this class was entirely up to him. With maximum flexibility on what

to teach and how to teach this class, the teacher chose to teach ethnic studies through

the lens of sociology.

Teacher training or experience

Mr. Bernard sought advice from a Sociology teacher in another high school to

"loosely plan" the class. He described his undergraduate education as being a place

where he became enlightened. He shared:

I think it goes back to when I was in college, you know, obviously with my

degree in Social Science and taking the different Social Science classes with

an emphasis more on Sociology and Political Science and History, and having

the conversations with, not just my advisors, or advisor, but also within the

classroom setting, asking those questions, finding out new information,

becoming enlightened in college, and then coming to public education…

His teaching style, of asking critical questions to students and engaging in

dialogue about the content, was the same style he used in his World History class. As

stated in Chapter five, the goal of this class was to increase youths' critical

perspectives, he shared: "I was hoping to deepen their questioning of society, their

lies, and question the factors that went into various historical pieces …" His desire to

teach students to question society stemmed from his own critical stance toward the

world which he learned during college. He shared:

I really appreciate the experience that I had at San Jose State … cuz I walked

in there as a junior … the experience that I had with my professors and the

classes that I took really, really just changed my life. I mean I walked into

San Jose State with a very narrow, global view… with a very narrow

perspective of society, even myself, and the more I was there with each

semester and with each class that I was taking, I just became so much more

open, you know. I was opened up with the people I met, the classes that I

took, the professors that I had, the information I had access to and things that I

learned that I had no knowledge of before, I could honestly say that it changed

who I was, you know, and it really did develop who I became, you know.

Based on his own personal experience, Mr. Bernard believed that young people needed to learn about their community as a first step toward civic participation. He stated:

> I think the first part of it is them being aware of their own community, Okay. And that could, that could start with simply just their neighborhood. Okay. You have kids that don't know their neighbors. You have families that don't know their neighbors. And so I think the first step is for, for these kids that are gonna be citizens, the first thing they need to do is be aware of what's, who's in your neighborhood. Just look around, right?

Mr. Bernard's experience in college and his belief that young people needed to understand one's community as a first step to participation may have influenced his choice of documentaries to show in the class.

Teacher–student relationships

This classroom was a welcoming environment where students engaged in critical dialogue with the teacher and with each other while reading select books or watching documentaries. As reported in chapter five, Miguel perceived that in these conversations mutual learning took place between teachers and students. Mr. Bernard orchestrated this class to create a culture for students to openly share ideas. Esteban stated in chapter five that in this class he had to express himself to discuss society.

In addition, Mr. Bernard fostered an open climate and encouraged students to contact him with any questions or concerns and reminded students regularly to send him an email. His email address was posted permanently on the whiteboard.

Community service

Mr. Bernard organized an annual hip-hop festival at the school that took place in September. The planning and organization of this event took place during summer of 2013, and Mr. Bernard was the sole organizer. He contacted various performance artists, graffiti artists, arts and crafts artists, and youth serving organizations to attend. The event took place at the beginning of the school year, and two weeks before the event, he recruited students from the Sociology class to help with set-up, clean-up, and selling or collecting tickets. The event lasted approximately six hours on a Saturday, and Mr. Bernard offered students 12 hours of community service. Within a couple of days, his list of helpers was full. This interpretation of the community service requirement allowed Latino youth who normally had to either take care of siblings or work after school the opportunity to complete a year's worth of required service in one day.

<p align="center">**Case: Human Rights Club**</p>

Administrator leadership

As mentioned in Chapters five and six, administrators did not provide oversight to school clubs, and they stated these clubs were organized in response to student interest, and were student led. Yet this club was organized and led by Mr. Madsen during its first year. Mr. Madsen was the Science Department chair and met regularly with administrators, however club activities were not discussed at these meetings. As spaces that were not accountable to anyone in this school, the content and organization of the club had the potential for maximum flexibility.

Teacher Training or Experience

Mr. Madsen's interest in human rights stemmed from reading the newspaper and his involvement in Amnesty International in college. He shared:

I've always, just my whole, not my whole life, but, you know, since freshman year in college, end of, end of high school time frame I really got into human rights, I got into actually, interested in reading *The New York Times* all the time. My dad read *The New York Times*. I read that in high school and college, and it's just amazing all the things that go on around the world, and I was like, wow, I want to, I really want to get like involved and know more and, and try to help out if I can in a little way. And I joined Amnesty International in college…

Based on his personal experience and interest, he started the Human Rights club, and youth responded favorably to the formation of this club. Mr. Madsen asserted he provided information to students on human rights from a variety of sources, including Amnesty International and *The New York Times*. The script of a teacher, as someone that imparts knowledge to students, influenced how he organized the club.

Teacher-student relationship

Mr. Madsen and students in this club created a welcoming environment for all students and members. During lunch time, on days that the club did not meet, several students hang out with Mr. Madsen to listen to music and talk to him. As noted in chapter six, students expressed they liked what he had to say. As a club focused on

human rights awareness, the environment of the club was to respect everyone. The

welcoming classroom climate was the only safe club space for three Mexican descent

boys who were enrolled in special education classes.

Mr. Madsen planned, organized and implemented all activities of the club.

With the exception of Cristina, who was the club's president from October to

December 2012, the remaining officers followed Mr. Madsen's direction. By

claiming the leadership of this class, Mr. Madsen created an unwelcoming

environment for participation for all youth, even though as he expressed in Chapter

six, he wished youth would participate more. By modeling announcement type

meetings for students', the new president, Jeremy, imitated the same style of running

a club meeting the following year, which also limited the participation of all youth,

including Latino youth.

Community Service

Mr. Madsen did not offer students the opportunity for community service

hours in this club. The few activities that students participated in where considered

club activities.

<center>**Case: Interact Club**</center>

Administrator leadership

Similar to the Human Rights club, administrators did not provide oversight to

this club. Rotary International provided close oversight by creating a template for the

club's constitution and an approval process for the club's by-laws. In addition, one

Rotarian met with and supported club officers during the school year. The club, as

part of the Interact program of Rotary, participated with other Interact clubs from the greater Bay Area at leadership conferences and dances. The Interact and Rotary International network provided several opportunities for all club members to engage in civic activities.

Teacher Training or Experience

Ms. Smith attributed her love of teaching from being in the 4-H program. She described her participation as a teenager:

> I was often teaching projects to younger members, cuz the 4-H is a program where the kids are teaching the kids, with parents and adults as advisors. So it was very much hands-on and I was involved in all different levels so there was a natural love for working with people…. My grandmother was a teacher; my great-grandmother was a teacher so there's some that would say that it just was not an expectation. But it definitely was an honored profession in our family and I think all the role models in my family were very nurturing, very mentor, teacher, coach-like…

Ms. Smith attributed the role of caring adults in her upbringing from family members and from 4-H as a significant influence on her role as a mentor to students at Westfield.

Teacher–student relationships

Student officers and Ms. Smith created a welcoming environment for Latino and diverse youth, as well as an open club climate. Club officers organized these meetings to provide information to students in the form of announcements which did not allow for an exchange of ideas among youth. On occasion students asked clarifying questions such as "what time." Consequently, while the club offered a welcoming environment, Latino and diverse youth did not participate in these meetings.

Community Service

This club was one of four clubs in the school that offered ongoing community service activities with and for students.[26] A group of young people, with assistance from two caring adults, Lourdes the Rotarian and Ms. Smith, offered students a steady stream of community service activities that the school as an organization did not. The accountability of community service hours awarded to students adhered with district policies. This club supported Latino youth civic engagement and facilitated the completion of their high school graduation requirement.

<div align="center">

Cross-Case Analysis

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In the examination of institutional factors I found norms that supported participation learning spaces and norms that challenged or undermined Latino youth civic engagement. In this section, I discuss the similarities and differences among cases using the four concepts described above: administrator leadership, teacher

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[26] The other clubs were: Key Club, Senior Women, and Senior Men (students served as mentors to freshmen).

training or experience, teacher-student relationships, and community service. Table 8

summarizes the practices that facilitated or constrained Latino youth civic

engagement in participation learning spaces. The phrases in italics serve as the

categories I used to organize the case summaries.

Table 8. Institutional factors that shed light on participation learning spaces

Institutional factors	Influence on civic engagement	Leadership Class	Sociology Class	Human Rights Club	Interact Club
Administrator Leadership	Facilitate and constrain	Civic engagement is not part of school's mission. Administrators supported spaces, but did not provide oversight. Teachers had autonomy to design content and pedagogy.			
Teacher Training	Facilitate and constrain	Professional association, and parents	Teachers and college.	College, New York Times	Parents and 4-H
Teacher–student relationship	Facilitate and constrain	Welcoming & unwelcoming	Welcoming	Welcoming & unwelcoming	Welcoming
		Officers were mentored to develop agency.	Teacher-led.	Teacher-led first year, student led second.	Student- led with adult coaching
		Token decision making for Latino youth	Students had shared decision in projects	Limited decision making	Peers as leaders and mentors
Community Service	Facilitate	After school and on weekends	After school and on weekends	No hours	After school and on weekends

Administrator Leadership

In all cases, the absence of school administrator leadership to articulate a goal

that included the promotion of civic engagement in school influenced these spaces.

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The perceived limited support for teachers of elective classes, the lack of support for teachers who advised clubs, and the lack of accountability for these spaces left the organization of teaching and learning participation entirely up to the teacher.

In three cases, the absence of school administrator leadership did not constrain Latino youth civic engagement, since these three participation learning spaces had civic goals: the Leadership class, Interact club and the Human Rights club. In these spaces, Latino youth from low-income families had opportunities, albeit limited ones, to express their voice, influence or shared decision making on matters that affect them. The Sociology class fostered the development of students' voice and shared decision making.

In the Leadership class, Latino youth's voice or input was a token voice that could be discarded at any given point in time. Hart (1992) asserts that when youth's voice is not taken seriously, it is not a legitimate form of participation. However, Latino youth valued their participation in this class because they could look back and say "I did this."

Teacher Training or Experience

Teachers' training or experience fostered Latino youth's participation levels in the Interact Club, Sociology class, and Human Rights Club. In the Interact Club, Ms. Smith's experienced relationships with caring adults who served in mentoring roles during her adolescence influenced her passion for teaching and her role as a mentor to students. This mentoring role fostered a student initiated and directed participation learning space. In both the Sociology class and Human Rights Club, teachers'

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experiences centered more on the content than on how to work in partnership with youth, or to support youth to initiate and direct activities. In these two spaces, the teacher created the participation learning space and invited students to participate according to rules or instructions provided by the teacher. The Sociology teacher perceived his role to be that of a teacher who imparts knowledge and a facilitator to foster dialogue among students. The Human Rights club teacher's oscillated between claiming the leadership space to facilitating dialogue among students after watching films.

In the Leadership class, Mr. Jorgensen's professional and personal experience constrained how he organized the class. He perceived his role to be that of a facilitator to guide students in the organization of events, and frequently assumed the role of a teacher who told students what to do or think. He intentionally had higher expectations for youth according to the grade they were in, with lower expectations for 9th graders and higher expectations for 12th graders. In addition, he had high expectations for officers and lower expectations for regular students. The teacher's multiple expectations for students most likely influenced his relationship with students. When teachers establish high expectations for all youth, and provide students with the support needed to live up to these expectations, then students will respond and have high rates of academic success (Bernard, 1993; Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007). Conversely, when a teacher has low expectations for students, as in the case of Mr. Jorgensen for the diverse students in the class, then students respond to these low expectations.

Teacher–student relationships

Two of the four cases created a welcoming and open classroom or club environment for youth, where Latino students from low-income families engaged in a variety of civic activities. In the Interact club, Latino students described this space as familial and inclusive and expressed feeling supported by their teacher. In this space, Facebook served as a tool to increase the supportive communication. In the Sociology class, students asserted they were engaged in a mutual learning space and had access to the teacher using email.

The two remaining cases created a welcoming and unwelcoming environment for Latino and diverse youth. In the Human Rights club, the teacher created a welcoming environment for youth, yet he created an unwelcoming environment for participation for Latino youth by organizing all activities of the club. In the Leadership class, some Latino students were afraid of Mr. Jorgensen, and other students described him as unapproachable. Select students had access to the teacher outside of the classroom. These student–teacher relationship constrained Latino youths' voices.

Community Service

Teachers interpreted the community service guidelines provided by the school district in different ways. In three cases, Interact Club, Leadership class, and Sociology class, teachers offered community service hours. In both Sociology and Leadership classes, teachers offered students extra hours than hours worked, or provided students with hours during the school day. This interpretation allowed

Latino student who had familial or work obligations after school or during the weekend to participate in civic activities and complete this requirement.

In summary, Westfield High School's institutional factors influenced Latino youth civic engagement, as illustrated in the four participation learning cases selected for this study. These cases offered maximum variability on the type of civic engagement activities and participation levels Latino and diverse youth engaged in. As different as these cases are, all four shared broader school norms and practices that either promoted or constrained Latino youth's civic engagement. The norms that had a positive influence on Latino youth civic engagement were teacher training, which influenced classroom or club climate, and teacher–student relationships. In cases where the classroom or club provided a welcoming environment, teachers' goals and background influenced the ways in which they scaffold and mentored Latino youth. In these spaces, youth were more likely to experience meaningful participation.

The norm that constrained participation was the lack of institutional commitment toward youth civic engagement. Specifically, administrators did not provided leadership or training for teachers. In addition, civic engagement was not a topic discussed at staff meetings or department chair meetings. In spaces where teachers had low expectations of students, students perceived an unwelcoming participation learning space.

These cases illustrate that in the absence of administrator leadership on civic engagement, teachers don't necessarily see it as part of their goal, either. Teachers had autonomy to develop the content of each space and to choose whether and how to

scaffold youth. This autonomy served as a double-edged sword, in the sense that teachers' autonomy served to facilitate and constrain Latino and diverse youth participation. The variations among what teachers offer youth is influenced by teachers' professional or personal experiences and priorities. Teachers viewed the need for students to engage in community service as a way to contribute to the community, the school, and to help students graduate.

The absence of institutional commitment to civic engagement can be explained by the lack of coercive pressures from the institutional environment—such as the Valley School District, the California Department of Education, or the U.S. Department of Education—to foster Latino or diverse youth civic engagement. There is no state or national mandate to foster Latino or diverse youth civic engagement. Instead, this school responded to the coercive pressures to increase graduation rates and to enforce discipline.

The variation among cases in terms of how these participant structures were organized by teachers or students can be explained by the autonomy of teachers in each classroom or club, and the relative absence of formal authority to hold these teachers accountable. These factors illustrate how this school is a loosely coupled organization for Latino youth civic engagement (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). In loosely coupled school organizations, what happens in one classroom or club may not necessarily take place in another.

Chapter Eight

Conclusion and Recommendations

The United States Department of Education has found that "civic learning and democratic engagement are add-ons rather than essential parts of the core academic mission in too many schools and on too many college campuses today" (U.S. Department of Education, 2012, p. 1). The findings from this case study are consistent with this characterization of civic engagement in schools. In Westfield High School, civic engagement was not part of the school's mission or school administrators' or teachers' goals. In the absence of institutional commitment in support of civic engagement, it is difficult for this school to close the civic empowerment gap as described by Levinson (2010). In spite of this generally inhospitable institutional environment, however, a group of dedicated teachers offered Latino and diverse youth opportunities to engage in participation learning spaces, and four were available during the 2012–2013 academic year. In these spaces, Latino youth had varying opportunities for participation and they expressed their voice and influence or had shared decision making in matters that affect them.

This study consisted of an examination of a high school's programs, policies, and practices to understand how institutional factors influenced Latino youth civic engagement. I documented the experiences, perspectives, and interactions of the teachers and students who elected to be participants in these four spaces. The findings of this study indicate that institutional pressures such as increased graduation rates

and a focus on discipline contributed to an absence of administrator leadership for civic engagement. Teachers who supported participation learning spaces had autonomy for the instruction and content of these spaces, and they exhibited organizational citizenship by giving their limited free time to support students' civic engagement. Teachers' style and choices, which were shaped by their training and personal experiences, influenced classroom or club climate, peer interactions, and pedagogy. The nature and degree of students' civic learning and participation varied significantly across these four spaces, which were shaped by teachers' approaches and initiatives.

This study provides additional insights into the school institutional factors that facilitated and constrained Latino youth civic engagement. In this chapter, I conclude by highlighting the key findings of this study: administrator leadership and teachers' styles and choices.

Administrator Leadership

Administrator leadership is an area that has been less emphasized in the civic engagement literature, but it is well examined in the educational literature (Leithwood, Seashore-Lewis, Anderson, & Wahlstrom, 2004). In response to low high school graduation rates and a student attrition rate of almost 50%, administrators focused their efforts on promoting Advanced Placement classes for everyone, as a way to increase their legitimacy within the school district and society. As described by Ms. West, it didn't matter that many students dropped out within a month or longer, or that only 30% passed the test. What mattered for legitimacy was that, each

year, more students enrolled in these classes (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). A second priority was discipline. In response to a violent incident that took place near the school a decade ago, and as a way to address the possibility of students who were members of gangs in the school, administrators invested in the implementation of disciplinary measures that seemed to target Latino youth. Administrators' priorities centered on addressing these institutional forces; hence, elective classes and school clubs were marginalized within the school and were not considered important elements to support the school's mission. In the absence of an institutional and administrative commitment toward youth civic engagement, it was up to teachers, the career counselor, and/or students to provide civic opportunities for youth.

The absence of administrator leadership in this school resulted in limited support and validation for teachers who volunteered to guide these participation learning spaces. Teachers expressed disappointment and frustration that their work was not validated. In addition, the Sociology teacher expressed the need for additional professional development. Administrators did not provide oversight of the content and pedagogy imparted by teachers. In a review of the literature, Leithwood et al. (2004) found that schools improve student achievement under talented administrator leadership and asserted that "of all the factors that contribute to what students learn at school, present evidence led us to the conclusion that leadership is second in strength only to classroom instruction" (p. 70). Similarly, the findings of this dissertation suggest that administrator leadership is needed to facilitate Latino and diverse youth civic engagement.

Teachers' Style and Choices: Organizational Citizenship

Teachers chose to add complexity to their heavy schedules by teaching elective classes or supporting student clubs. Teachers' motivation and incentives to do this centered on their desire to go the extra mile to support students. The Sociology and Human Rights club teachers said that they supported students in these spaces to share their passion for the topic and to enhance students' ability to critically examine society. The Leadership teacher wanted to ensure that the high school experience was a positive one for students, because his experience in school had not been stellar. The Interact teacher had a trajectory of mentoring youth and, by supporting students, she continued on this path. The altruistic behavior of employees in organizations that consist of performing in a manner that goes above and beyond what is expected of them was coined by Bateman & Organ (1003) as "organizational citizenship." When teachers exhibit this highly coveted behavior, scholars have found that it tends to support the functioning of schools and organizations (DiPaola & Tschannen-Moran, 2001).

Teachers' Styles and Choices: A Double Edged Sword

This study confirmed that an open classroom or club climate facilitated Latino youth civic engagement—an opportunity made available by each teacher's style and choices, which were shaped by their training and personal experiences. A teacher's style of interacting with adolescents influenced whether a participation learning space was welcoming to students or not. In this study, "welcoming" translated into a space where Latino youth had a positive relationship with the teacher, and youth expressed

their voice and it was respected or they had influence and shared decision making with adults or youth on matters that affected them. This finding is consistent with the study conducted by Flanagan, Cumsille, Gill, and Gallay (2007), which found that adolescents, regardless of racial or ethnic backgrounds expressed comfort in spaces where the relationship with the teacher was fair and caring, and students were respected.

Teachers' styles influenced whether or not peer collaboration took place in participation learning spaces. Youth processes supported the production of events in the Leadership class, the development of new information in Sociology, awareness in Human Rights club, and community service opportunities in the Interact club, all of which facilitated Latino youth civic engagement. Peer collaboration ranged from students learning from expert students to students working together to achieve a goal. This finding is consistent with the situative learning theory, which views learning a social activity that occurs between students or among students and teachers, as opposed to an individual activity (Greeno, 2006). The importance of peer processes to support civic engagement and youth participation speaks to the dynamic that takes place as youth created communities of practice (Lave & Wenger 1991), where more experienced peers inspired and encouraged younger or more inexperienced youth (Subramanian & Moncloa, 2010).

Teachers' styles and the choices they made facilitated Latino youth civic engagement. In these spaces, teachers not only coached and scaffolded youth toward a goal-oriented activity but they also taught youth how to participate in these spaces.

These teachers served as caring adults and provided guidance and not just instruction (Larson, Walker, & Pearce, 2005). This type of guidance suggests that teachers pose questions rather than provide directives, and share historical experiences rather than discount young peoples' ideas to enhance ownership of projects (Mitra, 2005). Guidance included scaffolding students by providing intermediate steps to facilitate critical thinking or youth decision making (Wood et al., 1976). For example in the Sociology class, students learned to deliberate on issues and to conduct a collaborative research project by first learning how to critically examine documentaries of social movements and engaging in data collection methods in the school. Similarly, in the Interact club, students received light coaching from the teacher and were guided by a Rotarian.

The findings illustrate that a teacher's style and choices is a double-edged sword. As noted above, a teacher's style can facilitate Latino youth civic engagement but, as will be discussed in this section, it also can hinder youth participation. The embedded cultural script of teachers at Westfield High School, interpreted as someone who exerts authority over students in the Leadership class, or organizes all aspects of the club in the Human Rights club, constrained the civic participation of Latino and diverse youth. In these spaces, teachers had good civic intentions for students; however, good intentions are not enough. Teaching young people how to participate in these spaces, as exemplified by the Sociology and Interact teachers above, is grounded in a mutual relational process whereby multiple youth perspectives and voices are respected, and youth engage in the collaborative

production of activities or knowledge. Moreover, the organization of these spaces is a collaborative process whereby youth are supported and encouraged to make decisions on matters that affect them. In the absence of technical support on participatory pedagogy, the Leadership and Human Rights teachers did their best.

As noted by Westheimer and Kahne (2004), the type of citizen a school promotes—such as personally responsible, participatory, or justice-oriented—is mostly dependent on the political choices made by individual teachers or the school as an institution. The variations among teachers' styles and choices in these spaces promoted the "personally responsible citizen" in the Leadership and Human Rights spaces: students who followed the rules and volunteered when invited to do so. The choices made by the teacher in the Interact club fostered the "participatory citizen," illustrated by youth as active members of a group to conduct community service. The Sociology teacher's style fostered the "justice-oriented citizen," illustrated by students' sustained deliberation to analyze the interplay of social, economic, and political structures to understand the root causes of issues.

To understand the variations among participation learning spaces, I turned to Rowan (1982), who found that when the institutional environment was contentious or unfocused, adoption of innovative structures was slow and tentative. The school in this study did not experience pressures from the institutional environment for youth civic engagement. Instead, the school experienced and responded to the pressure to increase graduation rates and reduce student policy infractions. In the absence of pressure from the youth civic engagement environment, the school was a loosely

coupled organization for Latino youth civic engagement. In this high school, teachers' styles and choices influenced what happened in one classroom or club, whereby there were significant variations among spaces. In addition, Meyer & Rowan (1977) found that the relative absence of formal authority to hold the teachers accountable on civic engagement means that this school is a loosely coupled organization.

In conclusion, it is a complex issue why Latino youth are not well represented in the civic arena. This study provides additional insights on the school institutional factors that facilitated Latino youth civic engagement, such as teachers' styles and choices that fostered welcoming and participatory spaces where peer interaction and collaboration was encouraged. Institutional factors that constrained participation included teachers' styles that created spaces where youth voice was controlled by teachers, and limited administrator leadership. In addition, in the absence of pressures from the organizational field, this school was loosely coupled for Latino youth civic engagement. Further research is needed to move forward and identify institutional and educational strategies that will facilitate Latino youth civic engagement.

Recommendations

I offer recommendations for school administrators, teachers and for further research, based on the findings, analysis, and conclusion of this study.

For school administrators:

For more than a century, schools have served as sites to foster youth citizenship (Tyack, 1970). As noted by scholars, schools serve a key role in teaching youth how to participate in American democracy. To achieve this, administrator leadership is absolutely necessary for school innovation and reform. Therefore, administrators could consider revisiting the goals of the school and school district, to include youth civic engagement. As part of a renewed focus on youth civic engagement, administrators also could develop a strategic plan to achieve these goals.

Teachers need support and validation for their contributions to the school as "organizational citizenships." This behavior ensures that the school operates smoothly, and teachers who exemplify these characteristics need to be applauded for their efforts. Ongoing teacher education and training is needed to support students' learning (Darling-Hammond, 2006). Teachers who support school clubs or the Leadership class would benefit from technical support to enhance the way they interact with adolescents and to view them as resources and partners in the development of participation learning spaces. Teachers may benefit from gaining an understanding of how to shift their perspective from imparting knowledge in the classroom to a participatory pedagogy (Freire, 1986). Examples of topics to support this learning include youth-adult partnerships, peer processes, and collaborative decision making.

In addition, administrators should consider creating a space for teachers who support student clubs to come together, to not only learn from each other how to best

foster diverse youth agency but also to create opportunities for collaboration for demonstrations, protests, or service activities. Teachers know how to impart knowledge to youth; yet they may not know how to support the development of youth agency.

To support the school in the transitions from a loosely coupled to a tightly coupled organization, administrators could encourage teachers to develop and include accountability measures for authentic civic activities. These could be added to the in-house social science benchmarks, or a new set of measures could be developed for school clubs and the Leadership class.

For teachers:

The recommendations in this section are intended for teachers who are interested in supporting youth agency and wish to cultivate authentic civic engagement opportunities for Latino and diverse youth.

Focus on youth and their potential: Teachers need to get to know their students better. Granted, this may be difficult when each teacher sees an average of 100 students per day; yet, to better support Latino students from low-income families, teachers need to understand what challenges students face and how these students negotiate life on a daily basis. Knowing that the school has a majority of Latino students who come from low-income families is not enough. Teachers who orchestrate activities after school, or activities that involve helping out at food banks or altering clothing for the sake of promoting school spirit, should consider that while

these activities may be of interest to some youth, they may not serve the needs of all youth.

Teachers who created a welcoming environment for youth saw the potential in youth and had high expectations for all youth. These teachers also valued youths' contributions. Consider developing and expressing high expectations for all youth and support youth to meet these expectations by strengthening their leadership skills in authentic settings.

Collaborate with youth: Teachers who support youth student clubs may want to consider developing an annual plan with students that includes the goals and objectives for the year. By creating a space where collaboration between teacher and student and among students is present from the get-go; students will most likely be invested in the process. In addition, and as noted by examples in this study, include positive and supportive youth and teacher role expectations. Students, like teachers, need to know what is expected of them.

Foster positive and supportive relationships: Create and foster spaces where positive and supportive relationships among youth and between youth and adults are present. Provide opportunities for skill building for all youth and engage in authentic civic activities. Finally, develop ongoing opportunities for students to express their voice and evaluate what they like about the club or class and how they can improve it.

Develop youth leadership skills in authentic settings: Teachers and students stated the school did not develop students' leadership skills, yet teachers expected students to assume leadership roles. The Leadership class has the potential to teach

students a variety of leadership styles and decision-making methods. Each time students need to make decision, a different style that could be introduced. In this class, one of the final projects could be that each grade organizes an event. In this manner students can have the opportunity to apply what they have learned during the year.

In addition, students who are elected to serve as officers in school clubs would benefit from learning how to organize meetings to maximize student participation, how to develop agendas, and how to organize events.

Recommendations for Further Research

This study raises important questions for future research such as: when and under what conditions do public schools as organizations adopt youth civic engagement as an institutional practice? To answer this question, I suggest that scholars employ a comparative case study methodology (with more than one high school) to elicit the nuanced descriptions and variations among schools. In addition, I suggest that researchers use the same selection criteria to study schools that have demonstrated commitment to promoting civic engagement for Latino and diverse youth from low-income families. Results from this research should be compared and contrasted to the results of this study to focus on administrator leadership and teachers' styles and choices, which were shaped by their training and personal experiences.

A second research question is: what mediating artifacts can facilitate Latino youth civic engagement in a high school? To answer this question, sociocultural

learning scholars could develop an intervention and apply it in collaboration with a

school district. This intervention could consist of teacher training to foster youth–

adult partnerships (Mitra, 2007) and a pedagogy of participation, with the purpose to

increase active civics in clubs or elective classes. Another intervention to consider is

adding a youth participatory action research (Cammarota & Fine, 2008) component to

the Sociology class. Scholars could investigate the mediating artifacts that support or

hinder Latino youth civic engagement and identify the various manifestations of

Latino youth civic identity development as social justice-oriented citizens.

Appendix A: Interview Protocols

Youth Interview Guide

Introduction

Thank you for participating in this conversation with me. I am interested in finding out how high schools promote Latino teen's participation on matters that affect them in schools and communities. We will start the interview and stop when we run out of time. I anticipate that we will talk 3-4 times until we finish all the questions.

Getting to know you
1. What is your heritage? Can you tell me more about you? How many brothers and sisters do you have?
2. Are your parents employed? What do they do?
3. What language do you speak at home?
4. How do you identify yourself in terms of race, ethnicity, and gender?
5. Can you describe your community (the community where you currently live)? If it is not the same, can you describe the community where you have spent the most of your life so far?
6. How did you decide to attend this high school?
7. Why do you go to school? What are some of the things that you like most about this school? The things that you like the least?
8. In your opinion, what is the purpose of school?
9. Think about your time in this HS over the years. Are there places in this school that you feel like you are most welcome? Give me an example?
10. Are there classes or activities in which you do not feel welcome? Which ones? Give me an example.

Participation (skip this if youth does not participate in clubs or leadership or a PLS)
1. How did you decide to join or sign up for_____?
2. What is the main purpose of this club? Class?
3. What is your role?
4. What do you hope to get out of this participation?
5. Which voices are heard in this space? Who is helping these voices to be heard?
6. How are decisions made in this club or class?
7. How do you keep up with what is happening in between meetings or class?
8. What is the role of the teacher? Describe what he/she does?

9. Can you think of some experiences that played an important role in shaping how you participate or not in this club or class?

School Practices and Levels of Participation:

1. How would you describe this high school using 3-5 words to incoming freshmen?
    i.   Tell me about each of these words and provide examples.
2. What are the greatest challenges facing students in this school? What do you think should be done about it?
3. Tell me about school student rules that affect you.
4. Imagine that the school administrators would welcome your ideas on how to run the school. What would you suggest to them? How would your overall school experiences be different?
5. In which spaces (classes, clubs or sports) do you feel like you can express your voice? (check for influence or decision making)?
6. Have you had opportunities to discuss controversial issues in the classroom?
    a. If yes, did you learn about this issue from different perspectives?
    b. Do you discuss these issues at home?
7. Do you feel that your school is teaching you how to become interested in civic or political activities? How?
    a. If voting is not mentioned, ask:
    b. In your opinion, has the high school taught you how to register to vote? To make the decisions to vote?
    c. Are you 18? Are you registered to vote? If no, do you know how and where to register to vote? If yes, how do you know this?
8. Going back to your community or neighborhood that you live in. What are the good things about living in this community? The bad things? What can be done about it to improve things?
9. Have you participated in walkouts, protests or marches? If yes...how did you learn about them? Tell me about it.
    a. If no...what may influence students to participate in these activities?
10. Do you do any volunteer work? How did you learn to participate in these activities?
a. In your opinion, what may influence students to participate in these activities?

Summarize:
Is there something else you would like to comment on?

Teacher Interview Guide

Introduction
Thank you for participating in this conversation with me. I am interested in identifying factors or conditions in the high school that influence Latino students' participation on matters that affect them in schools and communities.

Getting to know you
1. Tell me about how you became a social science (or English) teacher?
    i. Probe about teacher's participation in the school or community
2. Describe this high school in a few words. Why is this important? Please provide examples.

Purpose of School

3. Tell me, how is the school organized for student's learning of civic engagement in language arts/social science classes?
4. How is the school organized for student participation in school clubs, or other activities? (Probe: systems, policies or processes that encourage or discourage young people's participation in school/community activities?)
5. What is your vision of what effective teaching of social science/English looks like? Please provide an example.
6. Are the expectations for effective teaching clearly defined in this school?
7. Turning our attention to students, what kind of knowledge, skills and experience do they need to participate as citizens in the community. How is the school supporting/not supporting this learning?

Participation learning spaces

8. How do you organize your classroom to teach social sciences/English? (are these practices, routines, or patterns that emerged over time?)
9. Tell me about the "collaboration meetings" with other teachers?
10. Turning our attention to the _____club/class, how do you engage with young people in this club/class?
11. Describe youth participation in this club/class?
12. What (e.g. social, cultural, economic) resources are used to support this club/class?

Levels of Participation

13. What do you think is the role of young people as citizens in the community?
14. What is the school as an organization doing to prepare young people to assume these roles? (probe: you as a teacher?)
15. How does the school teach students how to register to vote and vote?
16. What is your vision for youth participation in the high school, community or school district? What else can the school do to encourage this?

Closing

- Summarize. Go back to purpose of this interview and ask if they have anything to add.

Assistant Vice Principal of Curriculum Interview Guide

Script: Thank you for participating in this conversation with me on your last month at this high school! I hope I can continue to ask you questions, after your interview is transcribed? Just to verify that the information captured is OK or if you would like to add something else.

The purpose of my extended visit and research at this high school is because I am interested in finding out the high school conditions or factors that influence Latino students' participation on matters that affect them in schools and communities. We will talk until we run out of time, and we can continue the conversation another day. Is that OK?

Today is_____. And I'm here with "title"

Getting to know you
1. Tell me what positions did hold before this one? Which position/experience prepared you the most for being an assistant vice principal of curriculum and instruction at ....Probe: participation: school/community)
2. Describe everything that you do in your position.

Purpose of School

3. Describe this high school in a few words. Provide examples.
   a. Probe on organizational culture: way of doing things...practices and policies...that influence young people's participation in school/community activities?

  b. What are the school's core values that guide how staff and students act and interact?

Teaching and learning

I am going to name a class, club or activity at this school and ask you a few questions about each one.

(Sociology, Leadership, Human Rights, Interact, ASB, and others that come up in conversation)

4. From your perspective, can you describe the purpose of this space?
5. How do you organize curriculum and instruction in this space?
6. What socio-cultural or economic resources do you draw on to support (or not) this club/class?

Administration

7. Are the expectations for effective teaching clearly defined in this school? What are they?
8. Tell me about the "collaboration meetings" and other meetings among or with teachers. What is their main purpose? Any meetings to discuss students' participation?
9. What is the focus of professional development during the past year at the school?

Levels of Participation

10. What do you think is the role of high school students as citizens of the community? School? District?
11. What kind of knowledge, skills and experience do students need to participate in the community? How is the school supporting/not supporting this learning? What else can the schools do to encourage this?
12. What is the school as an organization doing to prepare students to assume these roles? (programs, curriculum, practices and policies: institutionalization)
13. What, when and how does the school teach students about how to register to vote and vote?

Closing: Summarize. Go back to purpose of this interview and ask if they have anything to add.

Principal Interview Guide

Script: Thank you for participating in this conversation with me. I hope I can continue to ask you questions, after your interview is transcribed? Just to verify that the information captured is OK or if you would like to add something else.

The purpose of my extended visit and research at this high school is because I am interested in finding out the high school conditions or factors that influence Latino

students' participation on matters that affect them in schools and communities. We will talk until we run out of time, and we can continue the conversation another day. Is that OK?

Today is >>>>
And I'm here with "title"

Getting to know you
1. Tell me about how your interests and experience led you to this position (Probe: participation: school/community)

Purpose of School

2. Describe the purpose of this high school in a few words. Provide examples. (why is this important?)

Teaching and learning
1. What do you think is the role of high school students as citizens in the community?
2. What is the school as an organization doing to prepare students to assume these roles
   a. What policies are in place that supports this learning? Are there any that may get in the way?
   b. What programs are in place that supports this learning? Are there any programs that may get in the way?
   c. What are the practices, routines, or patterns that support this learning? or not?
   d. what is your relationship to curriculum and instruction for social sciences and English (youth participation)? for clubs?
3. What resources (e.g. social, cultural, or economic) are used to support this club/class?
4. Are the expectations for effective teaching clearly defined in this school? What are they?

Levels of Participation
1. What is your vision for youth participation in the high school or school district? What else can the school do to encourage this?
2. What, when and how does the school teach students about how to register to vote and vote?

Closing: Summarize. Go back to purpose of this interview and ask if they have anything to add.

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