DEVELOPING THE CAPACITY FOR TOLERANCE THROUGH FOLKLIFE EDUCATION

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This qualitative study used ethnographic methods to gather naturalistic data within an urban high school classroom during a semester-long elective course "Cultural Anthropology and Digital Media." The course used the *Standards for Folklife Education* (Sidener, 1997) as the guiding framework to structure student study of cultural processes. Students engaged in experiential folklife education learning activities to develop ethnographic inquiry skills as they studied the culture of public space in a city center. The researcher of this dissertation was active in the classroom as a cultural anthropologist-in-residence.

The focus of the dissertation study was on how student learning about cultural processes via the *Standards for Folklife Education* developed students' capacity for social tolerance. The study investigated student learning from the students' perspective. Corpus of data for analysis was comprised of students' written and verbal descriptions of their learning extracted from the video record of class sessions and the multiple digital media students used in individual and small group class assignments. Analysis included applied thematic analysis, discourse analysis, and micro-analysis.

The study contributes a theoretical model of the students' experience in Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. The model illustrates how the study of cultural processes via this folklife

education approach helped students gain more complex understandings about the interlocked nature of cultural similarities and differences. As students developed Basic Level skills in ethnographic inquiry, these helped them develop a diversity of Advanced Level components including Awareness insights into cultural processes and Action insights into imagined future cultural actions.

This dissertation provides educators with pedagogical guidance on a productive sequence for folklife education curriculum development based on what students indicated were the most effective instructional practices for Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. Though many might find this study of interest, specific conclusions are made for the four target audiences of classroom folklife educators, facilitators of folklife education programs, educational administrators, and educational researchers.

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PREFACE

In this dissertation all names are pseudonyms, often picked by the student. I am so grateful to these two-dozen youth for letting me accompany them for a couple of months of their academic journey. What they showed and shared with me has helped me think much more deeply about so much. I also cannot express enough my gratitude to the two dedicated teachers who invested so much into their students. My time puzzling through some of the intricacies of teaching and learning with these hard-working educators was a valuable gift. I must also express my deep gratitude to the administration of this school whose vision and commitment to quality education set the stage for teachers to teach from the heart, students to grow and develop while in their care, and the openness to allow me to be there to observe and contribute the little that I could to their lifework with youngsters.

This dissertation has been an amazing journey that has provided me with the space to think deeply with others. My journey started decades ago and I have traveled with so many others. I wish I could tell each and every one of you thank you by name for the ways you each triggered and supported my thinking. All my graduate school cohort, my teams on other research projects, my students in the many courses I have taught, my interns and mentees, the teachers and their students that I worked with in the myriad of folklife education programs that I provided a degree of guidance, the teachers who chose to learn with me in professional development

workshops and courses, the artists from diverse cultural communities, all of you that I have walked beside in the education endeavor - please know that you have my enduring thanks.

I wish to express gratitude to my professional colleagues of the many fine folklife educators and folklorists working around the country to further the field and develop folklife education practice. I appreciate deeply the work of each and every colleague on the Local Learning Board and staff and in the American Folklore Society Folklore and Education Section. Your work has inspired me and your feedback on my work at conferences over the years has fed me in productive ways. I must single out for special thanks two professional colleagues, Jan Rosenberg and Paddy Bowman who have supported my work and thinking in complementary ways and nudged me forward in learning more. I also want to thank all those who sat on the mountaintop in the middle of Pennsylvania that summer decades ago and discussed 24/7 the particulars of what students should know about culture – it was a watershed moment in my thinking, set the course of my work for decades, and continues to flow through this dissertation.

I cannot express enough my deep gratitude to my mentor of more than 20 years, Diane Sidener. When I met her, I knew I had found a kindred spirit. She took me under her wing and introduced me to the field of folklife and mentored me into the seeing the power of folklife in the hands of children and youth through folklife education. I am grateful for the years of struggle with Diane in the public arena and in school districts and other educational settings as we worked through how to make folklife education broadly accessible to teachers and students. With her support, I began my work with Suzanne Nixdorf and the amazing teachers and students at Central Greene School District. Diane's coaching has helped me be my best in working with teachers and students from then till now in my work with the amazing teachers and students at Folk Arts – Cultural Treasures Charter School. I appreciate how Diane always pushes me to

1.0   INTRODUCTION

Late in the 1990's I was working with a group of elementary teachers in a small formerly-industrial town developing a new folklife education curriculum to connect their students with their parents' and grandparents' lived experiences. Since the mills had left this rust-belt town, the youngsters had grown up without ever experiencing the mill whistles structuring everyone's lives. These youngsters learned to interview their elders and the project was going well. One day, a disturbing story somehow made it into the local newspaper and the teachers were all abuzz. It seemed that a film was shown at their district's high school that contained historical footage. When images of the Ku Klux Klan appeared on the screen, a group of students cheered. The elementary school teachers and I talked about how folklife education might help the older students develop greater tolerance. They encouraged me to share this information with the school board.

I attended the next school board meeting, told them about the folklife education unit happening in their district, and offered to work with the high school teachers too to develop folklife education units to address the students' prejudicial thinking about others who were culturally different from themselves. The Board members listened and began to ask me questions about how this folklife education approach developed tolerance. They asked me to show them research studies as proof to support how it worked. I had nothing concrete beyond my own observations of how I noticed that students' thinking did change in the folklife education

classrooms I had observed. I could tell them how another school district I worked with had experienced Klansmen burning crosses in their rural district. They wanted to do what they could to prepare their students for success in the multi-cultural work force of the future, not raise the next generation of the Klan. They believed folklife education to be so useful for developing tolerance and respect for all cultures that they had integrated it throughout the curriculum in three grades district-wide (Nixdorf, 1997). But the school board in this rust-belt mill town district found none of this anecdotal evidence persuasive enough. I don't know if they ever decided to act on creating any educational interventions to help their high school students develop the capacity for tolerance. The elementary teachers probably would have informed me if any change in this direction took place in their district.

Intolerance, prejudice and hate are challenging to address. Instruction may not be the exclusive way to develop the capacity for tolerance, since socialization plays an important role, but educational approaches that include instruction and socialization in direct or indirect ways are important ways schools have available to them, and some have seen success (Brueck, 2017; Deafenbaugh, 2015; Legendre, Prevail, Larsen, Brueck, & Deafenbaugh, 2017; Nagda & Derr, 2004). Empirical research does show that more education is strongly correlated to more tolerance (Vogt, 1997). Neither rural or small-town, nor urban America for that matter, can count on large numbers of their youth continuing their education in colleges and university to increase the amount of tolerance in their communities if the indirect socialization that can occur between different groups in universities is effective in isolation, but researchers find that more is needed (Allport, 1979; Nagda & Derr, 2004). As Vogt (2004) states, "Education gives us our most important tools to deal with destructive and dangerous conflict among people" (p. 1). High school marks the end of formal education for many of the youth schools serve, thus, the window

for schools to intentionally aid their students in developing the capacity of tolerance is at younger ages, not to mention that with the staggering drop-out rate, it is essential to reach students before grade 9 if we are to have impact on lifelong attitudes. When educators have a goal to develop students' capacity for tolerance they want to equip their students to make choices that better ensure that their future intercultural interactions in a multicultural society and global world can be positive. What can guide educators in developing useful instructional programs that can develop their students' capacity for tolerance both now and for the future? What is the process involved in developing the capacity for tolerance? With better understanding of the processes involved, teachers can become more targeted in planning educational programs that aim to develop the capacity for tolerance.

Developing the capacity for tolerance is complex. This dissertation investigates how students developed the capacity for tolerance in one folklife education approach that focused on cultural process. I explore student learning from their perspective to trace how this folklife education approach supports students as it challenges their thinking about culturally different others and equips them with inquiry skills to investigate culture. The students' insights about their experience in the course revealed the components and process of developing the capacity for tolerance. The resulting Developing the Capacity for Tolerance model I create from my findings focuses on the essential core components that all students described at its Basic Level and depicts the components some students attained at its Advanced Level. This study outlines fruitful learning sequences, relationships of components, and processes within learning that can guide curriculum design intended to develop students' capacity for tolerance.

I wish I could say that the disturbing outburst in support of hate that happened in that high school auditorium so many years ago was isolated. I want to say our society has made so

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much progress toward valuing and embracing diversity that intolerance of cultural difference was a problem of that time and not of now. I cannot make such claims for the daily news provides too much evidence to the contrary. What I can do now, as I could do then, is support the caring educators who want to develop educational programs that help their students develop the capacity for tolerance. I seek to support educators with this dissertation by contributing to our deeper understanding of the process for how students develop the capacity for tolerance in a folklife education course. I cannot provide proof or assurances that folklife education will provide the same results in other settings, but through my exploration of the students' learning in this setting, I can provide additional insights into the process these students experienced and the practices that helped them grow the most.

In this chapter, I present a narrative of a typical, but problematic multicultural day lesson in a school that illustrates a frequent curriculum quandary encountered in teaching culture. I briefly introduce the cultural process approach of the *Standards for Folklife Education* (Sidener, 1997) that addresses this quandary and promotes positive intercultural interactions. I present and discuss my research question and my guiding analytic sub-questions. I introduce the progress the classroom of high school students made in understanding cultural processes and developing the skills of inquiry to explore new cultural situations by the end of the folklife education course I investigated. Through insights gained from these students' learning experiences, I created a model for Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. My brief introduction to the chapters of the dissertation, provides an overview of the development of the model and my discussions of all its complexities. I end this chapter with suggestions of four major audiences who will find my dissertation of interest.

1.1   TEACHING STUDENTS ABOUT CULTURAL DIFFERENCE

1.1.1   Multicultural day

In some school somewhere in the USA it is multicultural celebration day. Roasters of ethnic foods allow students to munch on unfamiliar cuisines while they look at displays of authentic cultural artifacts from different countries and attend assembly programs to hear music that does not play on any radio station they listen to. Smiling community members patiently answer students' questions of "what's that?" hundreds of times as clumps of youngsters file by their decorated tables. Some community members go into classrooms and show ceremonial costumes. The presenters scan the room and select two students who are about the right size to model the clothing. As they dress the students, the presenters talk about the occasions that cause them to wear these beautiful garments. The models try to stay composed when classmates giggle and teachers exclaim how beautiful or handsome they look as photos are taken to mark the occasion.

In the auditorium, a local band describes each of their ethnic instruments separately. They tell the instrument's name and play a solo on it. They want students to be able to distinguish its unique sound when combined with the rest to produce the full and complex sounds of each tune. After performing a few tunes sung in languages that definitely are not English, the band leader invites some students to join them on stage to drum, dance or sing along. The audience is encouraged to clap for they are told that such music is party music and their clapping helps create the right mood. Students know what party means to them, so they begin to figure out how to match their usual dance moves to the unfamiliar music. Students in the audience laugh at their classmates on stage while they throw down a few moves themselves. As

students file out of the auditorium, the energy level is high. The festive event has provided a welcome break from classes.

Educators designed the event with hopes that it would raise students' awareness of the diverse cultural groups in the world. Most likely these educators also hoped the day would teach students tolerance for these other cultures. Educators recognize their responsibilities for preparing students for a complexly interconnected world where intercultural interaction in the workplaces and communities is likely to be the norm. But what did students really learn about their own and others' culture from the day? Did the day foster students' growth in their capacity for tolerance?

The practice I have just described is commonly referred to as the foods and festivals approach to cultural education, or as Banks (2007) calls it, the "ethnic heroes/heroine and holidays" or "contributions approach" (p.252). Banks finds such instructional activities trivialize ethnic cultures, reinforce stereotypes and misconceptions about these groups, and focus on their strange and exotic characteristics or lifestyles. In typical multicultural celebration days, little attention is paid to processes of how these heroic individuals, artifacts, or celebrations fit within their cultures. Banks further notes that this approach does not provide students with a way to explore how these cultures are situated in their societies and how the ethnic groups cope with institutional structures such as racism and discrimination.

Multicultural celebration day stems from a belief that intercultural contact has beneficial consequences, but these events do not meet the criteria for contact situations that successfully improve intergroup relations such as frequency, consistency, cooperation and equal status (Allport, 1979; Vogt, 1997). Thus, students have little likelihood of becoming more tolerant of cultural diversity from attending their school's isolated multicultural celebration day event.

Students might instead end the day having formulated stereotypes based off their new perceptions into how strange different cultural groups can be (Allport, 1979; Stephan & Banks, 1999). *Knowing which educational approaches are ineffectual helps educators decide what to avoid or do differently. But discovering what works well to develop students' capacity for tolerance will hold even greater value for reshaping education practice in our interconnected global world.*

1.1.2   A curricular quandary

My dissertation investigates one educational approach that avoids a common curricular quandary without adding new curricular burdens. In education the process of developing the capacity for social tolerance is theorized to involve a mix of cognitive development, personality development, intergroup contact situations and some type of multicultural education content (Vogt, 1997). A significant problem Vogt identifies within the teaching for social tolerance in schools is a basic curricular strategy quandary. "Should the course of studies stress to students how we are all fundamentally alike and are gradually becoming more so, or is a more viable approach to accentuate differences in cultures, attitudes, and perspectives of different groups?"(Vogt, 1997, p. 212). He finds that most cultural educators solved this dilemma by emphasizing differences via multicultural education approaches, but in so doing, these educators undermine students' development of cognitive sophistication in social thought. Teaching about diverse others in ways that can lead to category-based thinking about social continua is as problematic as conducting multicultural day learning events that reinforce stereotyping. Neither approach helps students develop the capacity for tolerance.

Not all education about cultural diversity encounters such limitations. Educators who oppose decontextualized instruction about culture have developed education programs that allow for culture's messiness and complexity. These programs move away from considering culture as an *entity* people possess, to considering culture as a *process* where all members play active roles, with or without conscious awareness of their involvement. This shift in thinking, to culture as a process, is seen in many places throughout education, from preparing administrators to take cultural considerations into school leadership (Deal & Peterson, 2009), to equipping teachers for culturally responsive teaching (Ladson-Billings, 2007), and to including cultural process in curricular development (Erickson, 2007; Grant & Sleeter, 1998). One particularly worthwhile program educators use that promotes the cultural process approach is folklife education, which aids in helping students and teachers perceive what may be culture's most important characteristic, its pervasiveness.

1.1.3   Folklife education

Folklife education is situated in the field of folklore's post-structural approaches of feminist interpretations, reciprocal ethnography, and intersectionality (Sims & Stephens, 2005). Folklore is a field focused on both the informally-learned knowledge expressed in various traditions and the dynamic processes in the learning, creating and enacting of them. Folklife, a largely interchangeable term with folklore, is the 'what' and 'how' of culture that is expressed in people's everyday interactions. Sims and Stephens (2005) define folklore as:

> Informally learned, unofficial knowledge about the world, ourselves, our communities, our beliefs, our cultures and our traditions, that is expressed creatively through words, music, customs, actions, behaviors and materials. It is also the interactive, dynamic

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process of creating, communicating, and performing as we share that knowledge with

other people. (p. 8)

Folklife is visible and accessible since it is so central to all people's lives, even to the youngest

students in schools, which makes it invaluable for the educator.

The strength of folklife education curricula is manifest by engaging students in

understanding their own and others' cultures through investigations of cultural practices in the

classroom and in the community (Bowman, 2004, 2006). Folklife education helps students move

their thinking from "me" to "we" (Rosenberg, 2012) as they explore their own situated cultural

participation. Investigations take place by bringing community visitors in to work directly with

students or by sending students to do fieldwork in school and community settings (Deafenbaugh,

1996, 1997a, 2010, 2015, 2016; Deafenbaugh & Dimperio, 2002; Deafenbaugh et al., 2015a,

2015b; Deafenbaugh, Lim, & Samten, 2016). Sidener (1997) describes the emphasis in folklife

education programs as helping students "develop conceptual frameworks within which to

examine and reflect on both their differences and commonalities" (p.2) with diverse others.

These frameworks are rooted in cultural processes and do not impose or reduce any person's life

to simple, static stereotypes. These conceptual frameworks also equip students to grapple with

social complexities in a *both-and* rather than *either-or* manner. Hamer (2000) extends Sidener's

discussion about folklife education benefits by pointing out how these programs can also

empower students by positioning the youngsters as cultural authorities. Folklife education can

focus student attention on individual local leaders as role models and local social injustices as

illustrations of cultural processes (Kodish, 2013; Kodish & Wei, 2001).

Sidener (1997) asserts that folklife study following the *Standards for Folklife Education*

reduces stereotyping of others' cultures and promotes tolerance. Though my own experiences

with folklife education programs over the years, I have seen firsthand that students indeed made gains in these directions. These Standards have proved valuable for shaping educational practice, but could be even more so with purposeful research designed to explain how this approach develops students' capacity for tolerance.

Teachers need greater understanding about instructional practices that work given the many educational process variables and developmental levels of students that intersect in the development of tolerance that Vogt (1997) identifies. Folklife education programs frequently utilize cooperative learning techniques, which Vogt points to as a promising pedagogical strategy to develop students' capacity for tolerance. But then folklife education typically incorporates many more educational practices. Folklife education curricula are often project based, align with experiential education efforts, cross curricular areas, and help achieve educational goals concerning multi and intercultural understanding and community connectedness (Pryor & Bowman, 2016). Teachers have found the *Standards for Folklife Education* (Sidener, 1997) very useful when developing folklife education curricula. However, educators who intentionally seek to develop their students' capacity for tolerance would greatly benefit from additional guidance on effective pedagogical practices and optimal sequencing of learning activities for all learners. The *Standards for Folklife Education* were designed as a living document that should be regularly revised to better meet the needs of teachers preparing students for living and working in a complex cultural world (Sidener & Rosenberg, 2012). To be most fruitful, revisions need to stem from research that is grounded in practice.

Because of my experiences with folklife education, I am frequently asked by teachers for help with designing folklife education learning activities or connecting to community members knowledgeable in various cultural traditions. When a high school teacher approached me for

suggestions on resources for developing a new course in investigating cultural processes in the community, I directed her to the *Standards for Folklife Education* (Sidener, 1997). After she enthusiastically embraced the Standards (Appendix A) and my assistance in co-developing the course, I grabbed the opportunity to use this classroom as a field site for research grounded in practice.

This newly designed course was a great chance to bring an ethnographic lens to examine students' insights into cultural processes and the process they experienced in developing the capacity of tolerance. The teachers' aim was to develop a rich learning experience, comfortable enough for students to feel they could bring their whole cultured selves into the classroom. This elective course, *Cultural Anthropology and Digital Media*, was specifically designed for students' active exploration of culture's underlying structure and complex workings in personally relevant ways. This course was innovative and unique, even for this high school, but it contained elements that are not unusual. The course was fundamentally a folklife education course with tightly interwoven strands of experiential learning, media technology, cooperative learning, social studies, cultural anthropology and even a bit of science education to maximize the learning experiences for each student. The teachers and I, the collaborating researcher, brought these diverse elements together to capitalize upon the strengths inherent in each element and create an engaging learning experience for the students. We created a rigorous course that was as close to our "ideal" experiential learning experience as possible, ever mindful that from the students' perspective, "ideal" would need to include lots of personal relevance and a strong dose of fun.

As the course went from planning to enactment, I was surprised and excited by the depth of learning happening in this classroom. Many aspects of this course clicked and worked

effectively. I would consider much that occurred in this course as modeling a promising education practice (Arendale, 2016) in fostering student learning within courses studying cultural processes. Students discussed their course experiences and learning through the many reflection opportunities built into the course. Throughout my dissertation, I look deeply at the student perspective on impacts of the course. I examine insights students shared on learning about culture's workings through folklife education. Teasing apart the process students experienced of developing the capacity for tolerance is of greatest interest to me in this dissertation. Through analysis of their experiences, I have formulated a model for Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. I am excited to launch into the telling of my many discoveries in great detail. But first, let me introduce you to the class, and then, I will describe my research questions and the structure of this dissertation.

1.2   WELCOME TO THE CLASS

*I invite you to come with me to the **final** day of class on a spring day in 2011 and enter the Cultural Anthropology and Digital Media classroom that was the research site for this ethnographic study. I would like you to meet the high school students I had the privilege of working with that term. If you have questions, just jot them down, for the students are too busy to be interrupted today.*

Every day, for one and a half hours per day for eight consecutive weeks, this elective class has been incredibly intensive for all involved - the students, the teachers and the anthropologist-in-residence researcher. On this, the last day, the students are taking a final exam with its mix of synthesizing questions designed for them to show off their knowledge of

concepts and new research skills gained. Sprinkled in the exam are a few extra questions that allowed students to describe themselves as they wished to be known in my dissertation.

Students are, for the most part, intent on demonstrating and telling what they learned in as much detail as the limited time the final exam class period will allow. As twelfth graders getting ready to graduate in another week, they have a good command of expressing themselves through writing. In this class, they have been challenged to research their community and challenged to turn inward and describe what was happening to them as another important source of data. As cultural investigators, students learned to gather both external and internal data to use in identifying patterns and making meanings about cultural processes. Their reflective writing contains many thoughtful insights. Their descriptions from field observations of the city streets contain multiple details. The students embrace what they have learned about investigating culture in this course and are writing about its utility in their own lives.

In the exam, students draw maps of the public spaces they have studied and presented in their final projects. They gaze out the windows onto the city streets below while typing their objective and subjective observations of the milling lunchtime crowd. They describe photographs that capture rich cultural scenes and pose questions they would like to have answered about the traditions depicted. Using conceptual mind-mapping software, they analyze one of the groups they are a member of by breaking out its rules, roles and traditions. They type furiously to prepare questions for a hypothetical interview, interpret diagrams of cultural processes, and articulate unspoken cultural rules of, for example, bus stops. In between executing these authentic assessment tasks, the students answer questions that prompt them to reflect upon what the course has caused them to think more deeply about and what, if anything, they might take from this course into their lives beyond high school.

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A few students standing at the windows are confused over which type of observation goes in the objective column and which is subjective. The teachers and the researcher briefly answer their questions and the students proceed with the data gathering. All exam tasks are ones the students have done repeatedly in this course, though the cultural contexts for the tasks are different. In applying these now familiar research skills to these new cultural contexts, the students' mastery and comfort with doing research is evident.

The students had just given their final project presentations the day before. Those projects had required the students to grapple with piles of data gathered from multiple interviews and field research excursions into the public spaces of the city. Students sifted through the various perspectives and narratives they gathered to identify cultural processes operating within in the public and private spaces. The students had struggled with how to represent their research findings and present them using a complex media technology format that did not always cooperate with the commands they thought they had embedded within it. It was not the norm for students in this school to do schoolwork at home, but there was evidence that many of these students had worked at home on their presentations for this course to make them as good as they possibly could. Regardless of the final degree of polish their projects possessed, that assignment had engaged them deeply in applying research skills in meaningful ways to create new knowledge about visible and invisible aspects of culture's workings within the community. Students had grappled with new perspectives and noticed how ordinary cultural occurrences in the community could illuminate new insights into their world.

The demands of completing the research project had left no time for students to study for the final exam. But now that the exam has begun, the students have quickly discovered that what their teachers had told them, about not needing to study, was true. The final project, with its

requirements to incorporate the media technology, research skills and cultural concepts they had been engaging with throughout the course, had equipped them well to demonstrate their learning from this course in this concentrated final assessment exam activity. In the final project, students had grappled with complex data about culturally ordinary occurrences to tease out the deep cultural processes at work within their familiar surrounds. Now in the exam, they can diagram cultural participation, reflect upon cultural differences they had encountered and write about the future utility of the conceptual term folk groups. The words "intense" and "integrated" could be used to describe so much that students experienced in this course.

Opening their laptops to begin the exam, students apply themselves with focused purpose throughout the test's multiple activities. Only one student shows visible signs of stress, due more to the length of the test and the multiple technology manipulations required to complete all sections, rather than to the content of the tasks. Her individual needs for modifications within any testing context are addressed by the teachers who differentiate the tasks for her, so she too could complete the exam.

Reflecting upon their learning, as several exam questions direct them to do, is now a comfortable activity for the students. In this course, teachers had introduced reflection to the students and given them prompts to use in completing one to two reflective blogging assignments every week. The students are excited by what they have learned and use the exam's reflection questions to pinpoint some of the specifics about the impact this course has had upon their thinking about culture. For example, an exam question asks, "In what ways has this course on cultural anthropology caused you to think more or differently: About your own culture(s)? About other people's cultures?" to prompt students to consider and describe their growth in the course.

Students know that their written responses in this exam, like all other classroom activities, count for a grade. Reading through the exams, I became certain these students have dug deep to describe their learning with an articulate self-awareness they wouldn't have had prior to engaging in this course. Students also know that everything they do is part of a dissertation research project closely examining their learning. Their personal investment, into making this dissertation research as good as they possibly could, has grown throughout the course. As the researcher conducting this ethnographic study, I have documented the students' daily struggles and growth in this class for weeks.

I find the new insights about culture that students describe having gained by the end of the course very exciting. The students are telling the teachers and me that this course has had a lot of impact upon them. They describe having grown and developed in their ways of seeing and thinking about culture, and in their imagining of how they are going to approach future contexts that will contain encounters with cultural differences.

The final day of class ends with me shaking each student's hand as they filed out the door, thanking him or her for allowing me to be part of the class, and distributing the personalized recognition certificates that I have created. These paper tokens proclaim each student as now being an "apprentice anthropologist". Some students spontaneously exclaim their pleasure with getting a symbolic keepsake recognizing the growth and changes they have experienced as cultural investigators in this class. Then, they rush off to secure a place in the cafeteria lunch line.

You have now met the students. However, I realize you might have many questions about the class, the course, and the school. I will address such questions in Chapter 3 and provide more details on individual student's learning experiences as we go through the dissertation. But next, I

describe the focus of my dissertation and the questions I asked while examining the data gathered from these students.

1.3   RESEARCH QUESTION

I began my dissertation field work with a broad idea of the direction for my qualitative study. This dissertation was to be an ethnographic investigation to explore and document how the study of cultural processes via a course, that used the *Standards for Folklife Education* (Sidener, 1997) to provide a focal set of cultural concepts and a framework for instruction in investigating them, affects youths' understanding of their own and others' culture. I focused my study on examining the students' perspectives on their growth and development in understanding cultural processes within this course.

Gathering the anecdotal "aha" moments has always been one of the informal measures of effectiveness used with folklife education programs. Folklife educators looked for such indications to get a sense whether students in folklife education learning activities, or teachers in folklife education professional development, were grasping cultural concepts they were teaching them. The research goals of the national folklife education professional organization, Local Learning, acknowledge the need of the field for developing qualitative data collection and analysis tools to better assess and evaluate programs ("Local learning: Values and goals,"). In conducting this study, I developed a new tool for identifying impactful learning by closely examining how students wrote about their learning experiences in a folklife education course. I describe this tool in detail in my methods chapter to illustrate how it provides a major and

significant refinement in how to examine "aha" moments to better assess what students are learning.

The students were very reflective and provided me with insights into their changing awareness about culture's workings and their ideas anticipating how these changes would influence their actions in the world outside the classroom. Students essentially described that they were developing the capacity for tolerant thinking *and* for tolerant actions. Students were experiencing a capacity-building process for tolerance as a habit of mind. These insights helped me focus my research question into investigating and describing three key aspects of the students' experience: the components involved in developing their capacity for tolerance, the learning processes students experienced as most impactful for them in developing these components, and the useful instructional practices that promoted students' growth in developing their capacity for tolerance.

Though students develop in many ways from complex learning experiences, and this course was a very densely layered learning opportunity, my focused research question investigates one aspect of student growth. My specific research question for this dissertation is:

How does student learning about cultural processes, via the *Standards for Folklife Education*, develop their capacity for tolerance?

What I seek to better understand in this dissertation is the process by which students develop the capacities for a tolerance habit of mind. I developed four guiding analytic sub-questions to structure my exploration into identifying the components, the process, and most helpful instructional practices for developing the capacity for tolerance. My analysis questions are:

1. What contributes to students grasping the fundamental dynamic between cultural similarities and differences?

2. What do students indicate is essential to initiate growth in recognizing abstract, intangible cultural manifestations?

3. What effect does students' deepening awareness about cultural processes have on developing flexible tolerant thinking?

4. How do students envision acting on their advanced awareness of cultural processes?

These sub-questions help structure my dissertation's findings into a model of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. The students' insights into their learning reveal components, and these components cluster into sequential levels for Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. In the chapters that isolate the components, build the model, and describe in detail each level of the model, I delve into and describe key aspects of the students' experience and thereby highlight the components, the process, and the useful instruction practices.

I provide a more detailed overview of my dissertation's chapters shortly. But first I take a moment to discuss my focused overarching research question's significance and contributions. Whilst doing this, I illustrate how my research question is solid and legitimate.

1.3.1 Examining my research question

I utilize Foss and Waters (2007) six criteria for research questions to illustrate the significance and contributions of my dissertation to the field. The first criterion is to identify the theoretical construct. The theoretical construct my dissertation focuses on is the process of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. Intercultural contact is the daily reality within schools, communities and workplaces, even the most seemingly homogeneous. Fostering student capacities to be tolerant and respectful toward diverse cultural groups is essential for productive learning environments, peaceful communities, and effective workplaces. Living in a world where the forces of

globalization effect everyone provides many opportunities for intercultural interaction. Helping students develop their capacity for tolerance, or their "respectful mind" as Howard Gardener (2006) refers to it, is critical for youth who need get along with all types of different people, both now and in the future. Insights into the process of how to better Develop the Capacity for Tolerance is a major contribution my study will make.

The second criterion for research questions is that the theoretical construct is recognizable when coding in analysis. With the process of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance as my theoretical construct my analytic attention is directed to the process students were experiencing as they grew and developed in the course. I focus on student descriptions of their learning to investigate the processes they were experiencing while engaging in course learning activities. Students describe experiencing a great deal of impactful learning. Their descriptions are codable into sixteen different emic-generated coding nodes or applied themes (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2012). These insights reveal student learning about cultural processes and about changes to their own thinking. It is through these insights into impactful learning that students described the processes they experienced toward developing various components of the Developing the Capacity for Tolerance model and the contextual factors within instruction that helped them. It is by closely analyzing the teaching and learning context surrounding what students identified as impactful to their learning that I recognize useful pedagogical practices. This dissertation examines processes for learning that change students' thinking and prepares them for acting. Thus, I recognize the processes instrumental to Develop the Capacity for Tolerance in my data by analyzing student descriptions of the changes taking place in their thinking and purposefully arranging components into hierarchically organized themes or other conceptual relationship models (Bazeley, 2007; Saldaña, 2009).

The third criterion is transcendence of data. Instruction activities aimed at developing the capacity for social tolerance involve a mix of cultural content knowledge, intercultural contact, and thinking skill development (Vogt, 1997). Multiple educational programs seek to teach tolerance, but Vogt found those that emphasis cultural differences or cultural similarities fail to do so. Instructional approaches that focus on cultural processes avoid that quandary, but have not yet been extensively studied for their contributions to developing the capacity for social tolerance. There are many educational programs that include instructional activities for students to learn about cultural processes. With folklife education being part of a broader educational approach of teaching cultural processes, my research question transcends my data. My dissertation investigates student learning when engaged in a nationally-recognized exemplary folklife education approach to the study of cultural processes, the *Standards for Folklife Education* (Sidener, 1997). I use the student impactful learning insights to identify the processes students go through in learning about culture's workings in this classroom. Relying on student descriptions of learning experiences increases accuracy and credibility in discovering how this educational approach Develops the Capacity for Tolerance. Findings from my dissertation are not only generalizable to educational programs that teach about cultural processes, but can inform all educators seeking to develop students' capacity for social tolerance (Dewhurst & Hendrick, 2016; Marcus Green, Gross, & Trudell, 2016).

The fourth criterion for a research question is that it contributes to an understanding of the theoretical construct. Folklife education using the *Standards for Folklife Education* teaches cultural content knowledge, includes intercultural contact, and develops students' thinking skills, so has the essential educational processes Vogt (1997) identifies to develop students' capacity for social tolerance. Folklife education using the *Standards for Folklife Education* is an approach

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that does not privilege cultural differences or cultural similarities when teaching about culture: it emphasizes cultural processes. Gaining clarity into how an educational approach that teaches cultural processes serves to develop students' capacity for tolerance advances theoretical understanding about teaching tolerant and respectful habits of mind. My dissertation also advances understanding about pedagogical practices that students find effective in fostering their learning and growth toward awareness and actions for social tolerance (Deafenbaugh, 1995, 2011a, 2012a, 2013, 2017b).

The fifth criterion is the capacity to surprise. Though I knew, from piloting the *Standards for Folklife Education* (Sidener, 1997) when they were first developed and using them in my work with teachers over the years (Deafenbaugh, 1996, 1998, 2006, 2011b, 2012b; Nixdorf, 1997), that students grow in their capacity for tolerance as they learn about cultural processes, I did not know the mechanics of how this happened. What components are involved and how they relate to each other is something I entered this study wondering about. But I also wanted to discover what students find most effectively aids their learning about cultural processes and their growth in Developing the Capacity of Tolerance using this folklife education approach. Nothing holds more capacity to surprise than the student perspective.

The final criterion for research questions is robustness. This dissertation has an abundant capability to generate complex results. I ask questions that demand complex, multi-layered responses. Coding stems from the parts of my research question. Querying these codes allows me to find meaningful patterns and complex relationships between the parts (Bazeley, 2007). Examining student learning entails coding for student reflections upon impactful learning and for variations in individual student learning pathways and experiences. Codes that contain cultural processes reveal students' insights into how culture works. The *Standards for Folklife Education*

(Sidener, 1997) adds the dimension of ordering multiple learning activities and the specifics of pedagogical approaches. Analyzing the process for Developing the Capacity for Tolerance emerges as I consider students' learning patterns and the relationships between the categories of student insights into cultural processes. My four analytic sub-questions, listed above, focus my analysis of the layers of data, organized through codes and queries, to emerge with an understanding of how the content and pedagogy in a course using the *Standards for Folklife Education* worked together to scaffold learning experiences that fostered student growth in Developing their Capacity for Tolerance. The process undergirding this growth appears when I consider the patterns that emerge as I order, reconfigure and query the codes in all parts of the analysis. My four analysis questions direct my attention toward determining the key layers, their sequence and relationships within the process. Answering my research question involves taking my question apart and then putting it back together. Thus, my research question easily fulfills the robustness criterion: no simple answer can satisfactorily address it.

With the help of Foss and Waters' (2007) criteria, I have discussed my research question in ways that demonstrate how it is theoretically sound and provides for an answer that is rich in nuanced understandings. In so doing, I provide some indications of the analysis layers I use to explore my question. I also provide a glimpse into the data on student learning that this course contained that increased my understanding about the process of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance.

1.4   OVERVIEW OF CHAPTERS

I provide a brief overview of each chapter to lead my readers through how I structured my dissertation to answer my research question.

1.4.1   Chapter 1: Introduction

You are in this chapter now.

1.4.2   Chapter 2: Conceptual frameworks

Through a review of the literature, I define the main theoretical concepts embedded within my research question of: cultural processes, folklife education, capacities, and tolerance. I examine the closely related concepts of tolerance and respect. I discuss factors in education that positively impact respectful intercultural interaction. With the developing capacities and habits of mind literature, I focus on intercultural contact situations. I situate the *Standards for Folklife Education* as an approach within folklife education that provides a framework to guide curriculum through cultural processes. I discuss the rarely defined concept of cultural processes with attention to complicating notions of cultural similarities and differences. I end the chapter by presenting a diagram showing my initial preconception of the relationship between the concepts used in my research question.

1.4.3   Chapter 3: How cultural processes were taught

This chapter presents the demographic and contextual information about the school, the students, the teachers, and the course. The intent of this folklife education course was for students to deepen their understanding of culture through developing rudimentary ethnographic research skills and conducting inquiry into cultural processes. I tell the story of the development of the course and describe the ongoing planning throughout the course. I explain the teachers' goals for the course, the sequence of learning activities, and pedagogical approach that stem from the *Standards for Folklife Education* as the core framework. I highlight my collaborative roles with teachers in the planning and execution of the course. By presenting a discourse analysis segment examining a conversation between a student, Miles, and myself, I highlight some of the tensions that occurred in my roles with students and how my role as researcher shifted with students. By the end of course, students and I had formed a research community of practice. Through a combination of narrative and appendices, I present the planned course outline, overview of multi-modal texts used for instruction, student syllabus/contract, and a thick, rich description of how the course was introduced to the students. I describe the important and layered roles digital media technologies played in the instruction performed in this course, the advancement of student learning, and the gathering of data on student learning for this dissertation.

1.4.4   Chapter 4: Identifying learning and the components involved in developing the capacity for tolerance

Chapter 4 is my methods chapter. My dissertation research was designed to extensively gather naturalistic data which I managed and analyzed with NVivo computer assisted qualitative data

analysis software. I present the ethnographic field methods I used for data collection and the process I used to reduce the data to the corpus of data useful for analysis of my research question. I emphasize my continual attention to the emic student perspective and describe my specific use of linguistic, thematic, and micro analyses toward that end. My analysis keeps the individual learner in mind, though the emergent patterns show how aspects of what individuals are learning cluster in useful ways to my study. Though students indicated they were learning from the very first day, it wasn't until Miles' pivotal conversation with me that I realized the critical unit of analysis for the dissertation: student declarations of impactful learning cued by linguistic marker phrases. In NVivo, my coding strategies include first level structure coding on impactful learning and two types of second level coding: thematic coding resulting in sixteen emic impactful learning insights, and discursive coding resulting in five types of emic linguistic marker phrases indicating impactful learning. All students used linguistic marker phrases and I conducted in-depth analysis of their use. Usage patterns show how the students' learning deepened throughout the course. Findings also reveal reflection and experiential learning activities as useful instructional practices that promoted the process of change. This chapter shows my methodological "how" of how I approached investigating the students' development of the capacity for tolerance. I present further analysis on "what" I discovered as the components in developing the capacity for tolerance in the next chapter.

1.4.5   Chapter 5: Developing the Capacity for Tolerance model

In Chapter 5, I provide the analysis that builds my Developing the Capacity for Tolerance model. To investigate my research question, I discuss each of my analytic sub-questions in turn, matching each with a section of the model's graphic. With the first analysis question, I build the

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nucleus of the Developing the Capacity for Tolerance diagram with its two interlocked components of cultural *Similarities* and *Difference*s. As I explore the second analysis question, I describe three commonly-shared components that students discussed as impacting their learning. I also describe the relationships between these three components and the additional complexity they add to the nucleus. With these components for understanding cultural processes that all students experienced in place, the components lock together to form the Basic Level of the Developing the Capacity for Tolerance diagram. With the third process analysis question, I explore the *Making meaning* component on the Advanced Level Awareness ring and the individual cultural process realizations students realized through engaging in meaning making. As I explore the fourth analysis question, I describe the process students experienced on the Advanced Level Action ring of imagining future actions they could take to apply their knowledge of cultural processes. The Advanced Level Action ring components are like the Advanced Level Awareness ring components in my model, in that all students discussed learning some components, but in very individualized patterns. The components on these two rings together form the Advanced Level of the Developing the Capacity for Tolerance diagram. The Advanced Level components are not exhaustive, but indicate the learning that is possible at this level. Through students' discussion of their experiences in the course, I caught glimpses of how students' learning about cultural processes could continue beyond graduation to further develop students' capacity for tolerance.

In Chapter 5, I also discuss two problem areas that this approach to folklife education addresses: a) the curriculum quandary problem illustrated by my initial multicultural day example in the introduction, which is addressed by the cultural process approach, and b) the reinforcement/creation of stereotypes problem that can occur when encountering dramatic

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differences, which is addressed by students considering their own culture first, culture as ordinary, and differences as variation of deeper similarities.

1.4.6   Chapter 6: Basic Level of Developing the Capacity forTtolerance

Chapter 6 is a data chapter. I follow the same sequence as I used in the previous chapter for presenting analysis to build my model, but here, I provide the data of the students' experiences in the course to illustrate and ground my findings. Through thick narrative descriptions of class instruction and individual learning experiences, I present some of the nuance and range within the data. I stay within the Basic Level in this chapter and discuss the commonly-shared components that all students described learning. This chapter's data illustrates the interlocking of my model's center core of *Similarities* and *Differences*. I describe the three Basic Level ring components separately and how they interlock to foster and develop each other. By using micro-analysis, I examine student learning pathways to gain insights into the learning activities and pedagogy that students found most useful for Developing their Capacity for Tolerance. The microanalysis I present makes visible the various learning pathways selected students used to observe the ordinary that required perspective shifts and increased understanding of folk group dynamics. It also shows student use of comparison for similarities and differences and development of cultural process hypotheses.

1.4.7   Chapter 7: Advanced Level of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance

Chapter 7 is another data chapter. As my chapter dedicated to the Advanced Level, it picks up where Chapter 6 left off in following the analysis sequence of Chapter 5. In the Advanced Level,

I profile students' individual experiences. All students developed Advanced Level understandings and imagined future actions, but their experiences were not as commonly shared with their classmates as they had been at the Basic Level. Most Advanced Level components are representative, rather than exhaustive. They indicate the type of insights into cultural processes that educators could anticipate many of their students realizing when engaged in learning at the Advanced Level. Students' prior knowledge and life experiences helped shape their learning of cultural processes at this level. One student, Rosalyn, who had had the most experiences with cultural processes, developed her understandings even further and extended the range and indicated to me further potential possibilities for Advanced Level components. This chapter's examples illustrate how the Advanced Level components interrelate with each other in a way that is different from the Basic Level. Process components of *Making meaning* and *Fostering cultural action* are input components with intentional instruction playing a major role in students' learning. The other Advanced Level Awareness ring and Advanced Level Action ring components are insightful realizations as outputs that students formulate about cultural processes and cultural actions they could take outside of the classroom.

1.4.8   Chapter 8: Conclusion

In the conclusion chapter, I pull together all my learning about my research question, "How does student learning about cultural processes via the *Standards for Folklife Education* develop their capacity for tolerance." I revisit my Developing the Capacity for Tolerance diagram and review what it reveals about the key elements of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance as well as the process of change that happens as students develop the components in the model. I structure this chapter to examine four key elements of what to teach, how to teach, how to prepare teachers to

teach and why to teach. Through these key elements, I highlight how this approach addresses the two problem areas I identified in planning instruction, discuss instructional sequencing and useful pedagogy, describe challenges and approaches to fostering student learning at the Basic Level and Advanced Level, and discuss what I learned about tolerance and how to develop it in students. A point I emphasize is: though there is no way to know if students will make choices for tolerance in future situations, the model illustrates a process for Developing the Capacity for Tolerance as a resource that students can use in intercultural situations. The model illustrates a process that has potential for students to keep developing their capacity for tolerance after the course. Folklife education with its focus on cultural processes is worthwhile for greater inclusion in schools who desire to develop students' capacity for tolerance.

 Chapter 8 ends my dissertation, but now I am at the beginning. As I move toward concluding this introduction to my dissertation, I acknowledge that there are several audiences who will find this study of interest. I next preview the main audiences and briefly describe what I believe will be of most interest to them.

1.5 AUDIENCES INTERESTED IN THIS DISSERTATION

There are at least four audiences who will find this dissertation of interest. The first audience is comprised of classroom educators. This group includes folklorists and educators who are directly involved in developing and conducting folklife education programs, courses, units and learning activities with children and youth (Zeitlin & Bowman, 1993). These can be educators in K-12 schools, museums or community settings (Bowman & Rathje, 2016). This audience could have used the *Standards for Folklife Education* in the classroom (Nixdorf, 1997) or some other

folklife education instructional resources within their folklife education programs with students (Bowman, 2013; Deafenbaugh et al., 2015a, 2015b; Higgins & Eleuterio, 2011; MacDowell & Kozma, 2007; Owens et al., 1997).

Folklife educators and classroom educators who use folklife education are rooted in folklife education practice. They are interested in research findings that show range and nuance within student learning and suggestions for maximizing the effectiveness of folklife education activities for every learner (Arya, Ling, & Deafenbaugh, 2017; Palmer Wolf, Holochwost, Bar-Zemer, Dargan, & Selhorst, 2014). Studies that can point out characteristics of impactful learning when students are doing some aspect of folklife education are useful to them (Arya & Ling, 2017; Bowman, 2006; Brueck, 2017; Ponce de Leon, Joselyn, & Deafenbaugh, 2017). This audience is interested in research that can provide evidence to justify the importance of studying cultural processes to children's growth and development (Deafenbaugh, 2013, 2017b). Studies that show validated educational practices (Arendale, 2016) in folklife education pedagogy are useful models to them (Bowman & Hamer, 2011). Validated educational practice models can stimulate these educators to assess and examine their own practice and consider making improvements to what they do. They welcome having more research studies available that they can use to explain, support and advocate for the folklife education work that they do to funders, administrators, and other educators.

The second audience is comprised of the folklorists, cultural anthropologists and other cultural specialists who work with educators to develop and facilitate folklife education programs (Pryor & Bowman, 2016). These educational support personnel can be located in schools, museums, historical societies, afterschool programs, and other community settings (Bowman & Rathje, 2016). This audience also includes those who teach folklife education to

pre-service or in-service teachers in higher education or continuing education courses. This audience may interact directly with students, but primarily interacts with adults who work with children and youth. They train teachers, traditional artists and other community members in designing folklife education learning activities (Deafenbaugh, 1997b, 2010; Pryor, Kmetz, Olsen, & Ackerman, 2011). They can also work with school administrators and education policy makers to encourage them to adopt folklife education programs in schools (Sidener, 1997).

These facilitators of folklife education programs are also rooted in folklife education practice thus are interested in research studies for the same reasons as the teaching folklife educators are. Because they focus on facilitating and collaborating, this audience is particularly interested in promising practice models that utilize cultural specialists in residence and involve community members in the classroom. These facilitators are also interested in studies that can provide theoretical backing to folklife education practice. Folklife education's national professional organization, Local Learning, research agenda includes, "Develop research projects that yield theoretical frameworks and identify where folk arts education dovetails with current educational theory and practice"("Local learning: Values and goals,"). This audience needs models, frameworks and tools that can be used in training settings. Facilitators of folklife education programs are interested in studies that can help with improving effectiveness, increasing benefits and developing assessments of folklife education programs (Bowman, 2006).

A third audience is comprised of educational administrators and educators who have set goals to develop their students' capacities for tolerant and respectful intercultural communication (Stephan & Vogt, 2004) or other culture related habits of mind, such as engaged citizenship. This audience also includes administrators and educators who value multicultural education, experiential learning, cooperative learning, community involvement and closely related

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educational programs and approaches. Educators who desire to or who do emphasize students learning about cultural processes in the school environment or curriculum are another contingent in this audience. This audience has interest in studies that can help them evaluate folklife education and other cultural process approaches for their usefulness and applicability toward meeting their schools' and students' needs. Studies that show results in student growth and learning in developing capacities and concepts in these goal and value areas are interesting to this audience. Studies that support the importance and impact on students of curricula that address these educational goals and value areas are useful to them for supporting, shaping, or restructuring curricula to align with research.

A fourth audience is comprised of educational researchers. This audience is interested in studies that contain interesting research methods for accessing naturalistic data on students in classrooms. This audience is also interested in models of how media technologies can be of service to improving data collection or quality, particularly in the challenging research setting of school classrooms.

1.6   GETTING STARTED

In my introduction, I have described the complexity of my dissertation and through my research question, specified the focal aspects and expected contributions of my investigation. I have introduced readers to a very interesting group of students who worked hard and grew in their understanding of cultural processes. I have indicated that my dissertation's analysis will keep us all moving through many chapters as I zoom in to peer intently at patterns within language use and various students' learning pathways and zoom out to envision the bigger picture of

Developing the Capacity for Tolerance guided by process analysis questions. I anticipate that my audiences will find my dissertation useful and hopefully they will also find it interesting.

2.0   CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS

The main theoretical concepts embedded within my research question are cultural processes, folklife education, capacities, and tolerance. Some of these concepts are inputs that went into the teaching of the course. I pull together some of the literature on cultural processes to flesh out the definition of this complex conceptual term. Folklife education is a way of conceiving and approaching the teaching of culture to children and youth. The *Standards of Folklife Education* (Sidener, 1997) as a specific approach within folklife education provide a framework to guide the development of curriculum through teaching cultural processes. I introduce the structure and content of these Standards. I also provide additional information about the major cultural issues Erickson (2007) identifies as important to education that the Challenge High teachers and I introduced as big ideas about culture to the students.

Some of the theoretical concepts are outputs visible in the students' learning in the course. I focus upon the close relationship between capacities and habits of mind to discuss insights the literature holds for developing students' habitual ways of thinking toward successful thoughts and actions. To define tolerance, I examine the closely related concepts of tolerance and respect by situating these concepts on an interaction continuum. Though tolerance is needed and used in situations throughout life, I focus on insights from the literature about teaching of tolerance in the school setting.

I end this chapter with a very simplistic diagram that I originally constructed to show my initial preconception of the relationship between the concepts used in my research question.

2.1   INPUTS INTO THE COURSE

2.1.1   Cultural processes

Culture is so complex and conceptually challenging to pin down into an easily articulated, yet comprehensive, definition that takes into account the cultural processes within it. The scholarly work in cultural processes draws heavily from cultural anthropology and folklore, but is not bounded by these disciplines because of the importance of considering culture in integrated ways in other fields, particularly human development and education. The close examination of culture toward identifying and articulating cultural processes is a more recent focus for scholarship that is making some progress. My discussion pulls from the anthropology and folklore fields along with the fields of social psychology, psychology and education.

Leung, Chiu, and Hong (2011) define culture as "a constellation of loosely organized ideas and practices that are shared (albeit imperfectly) among a collection of interdependent individuals and transmitted across generations for the purpose of coordinating individual goal pursuits in collective living"(p. 4). Their definition emphasizes loosely shared knowledge and the relationship between the individual and the collective with time accounted for via intergenerational continuity. They point to three "symbolic components of culture are often accompanied by concrete practices and behavioral routines (e.g., rituals)" (p. 5). They assert that the three symbolic components of cultural beliefs, values and norms stem from the knowledge

traditions' quest to answer three major questions: what is true, what is important in life, and what is the right thing to do. These three symbolic components begin to break culture into some of its parts for ease of examining the processes within them.

Toelken (1996) looks closely at cultural knowledge - and the practices and routines that stem from it, along with the performance of the knowledge and traditions at appropriate points in time - to emphasizes the dynamic process of culture with constant change and variation. Toelken seeks to articulate the dynamic of how and why folk cultural practices operates, came into being and why we keep passing them on. "Folklore structures the worldview through which a person is educated into the language and logic systems of these close societies. It provides ready formulas for the expression of cultural norms in ways useful and pleasurable to us and to any group with which we share close and informal expressive interactions" (Toelken, 1996, p. 22). His examination of the purposes for why cultural practices were created and why they persist explores structures and their functions through looking at dynamics as processes. "Dynamics may be viewed simply, for our purposes, as the forces behind the active traditional moments that occur between and among people" (p. 55).

In looking into these dynamic forces, Fischer (2006) considers culture as an emergent phenomena that is continually created through processes or systems relating to communication, learning, adaptation, representation and transformation. The complexities of these processes and systems contribute to the uniqueness of culture. But at root, Fischer points to how "culture must: maintain and distribute knowledge in a population of agents, produce the conditions by which cultural knowledge is useful, set the terms of reference within which behaviours or actions take place" (p. 260). Fischer (2004) urges those studying cultural processes to attend to the biological physical sciences, but recognize that culture is structured differently. Bohannan (1995) attends to

the physical and biological layers and takes into account how the rules governing those two layers of our human existence structure and are built upon by culture. He looks at some of the cultural dynamics that may have similar structures (like chains, cycles and dyads) but points to the vast range of differences that the cultural layer of rules imposes. The world with tools and meanings emerge from this layering of rules from the physical to the biological to the cultural.

Rogoff (2003) also looks for patterns of regularities in culture that take into consideration biology by looking at the intersection of culture and human development. She uses sociocultural-historical perspective which "requires examination of the cultural nature of everyday life"(p. 10) to find how cultural practices fit together and connect. Her orienting concepts for understanding cultural processes reinforces the overarching theme of cultural process as having a dynamic nature with wide-ranging variation. "Humans develop through their changing participation in the socio-cultural activities of their communities, which also change"(Rogoff, 2003, p. 11). Coll and Magnuson (1999) are in agreement with Rogoff about the centrality of culture as a major source of influence upon human development. The challenge they identify for this complicated intersection is "the lack of knowledge about which processes are basically universal and which ones are culturally relative"(p. 20). Bohannan (1995) tries to tease apart some of the cultural process universalities and relativities by drilling into layers of rules. He describes how the rules of culture are extensions of the rules of life which are the extension of the rules of matter.

Cultural processes are how culture works, such as: how culture directs individual action and protects society (Leung et al., 2011) or how cultural traditions are created, transmitted, and transformed (Sidener, 1997). Cultural processes work to produce a consensually validated framework so that individuals can interpret otherwise ambiguous experiences in life and know what is generally considered to be true, important, and appropriate (Leung et al., 2011).

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Identifying cultural processes take us to deeper understanding of our relationships with other people. Language as a place for encoding knowledge is a fruitful site for examining cultural processes. Heath (1999) delineate wide-spread regularities in processes that shape language, and in turn, learning and socialization. Cultural processes are the ways that people share knowledge in their groups, the structures of roles and rules, and the systems of worldview beliefs that provide form to what members do in their groups and to how groups interrelate in society (Sidener, 1997).

Analyzing cultural processes "sheds light on cultural differences but is not restricted to explaining cultural differences. This process analysis also connects cultural analysis to basic principles of social cognition, social motivation, and group processes. Its focus on the dynamic interplay of society, culture, and the individual" (Leung et al., 2011, p. 17). The variety of foci in scholars' work approach discerning cultural processes examine intersections with our physical and biological selves and seek patterns across the broad differences in individual and group cultural expressions and practices. By seeking to uncover the processes that structure and undergird culture, they all seek to reveal greater understanding of our own and other cultures. Cultural processes are the articulations of how culture works that help explain the workings or functions of some limited aspects of the complexities and dynamics of culture. With all the insights scholars have gained thus far, there is still much about cultural processes to explore to help us understand the mechanisms and functions of processes shaping our own and other's cultural lives.

2.1.2 *Standards for Folklife Education*

The *Standards for Folklife Education* (Sidener, 1997) are aligned with these National Council for the Social Studies themes and standards (Adler, 2010) and provide a framework for increasing student understanding of cultural processes through the study of student's own culture and the cultures of others in the community. Furthermore, the *Standards for Folklife Education* specify that students strive to become competent in the ethnographic field methods of conducting research through observation and participation in naturally occurring groups and events. In learning activities guided by the folklife standards, students develop skills in interviewing and using media to document traditions in their usual contexts. The folklife standards guide educators "to teach students the reflective and research skills necessary for examining and, ultimately, understanding culture and heritage" (Sidener, 1997, p. 2).

The folklife standards (Appendix A) are organized into nine performance standards clustered under three content standards. Each performance standard states what twelfth graders should be able to know and do by the time of graduation. Under each performance standard are developmentally appropriate versions as transitional levels for eighth and fourth grades. The first and third content standard each includes a key conceptual term to focus students learning of folk groups and folklife. The performance standards of the first content standard add additional key conceptual terms of worldview, roles, and membership. The second content standard, and its one performance standard, are about learning the skills of ethnography defined as a set of methods "to collect, organize, analyze and present folklife data" (Sidener, 1997, p. 9). The third content standard and its four performance standards focus upon some of the cultural "processes by which folklife is created, transmitted and transformed" (Sidener, 1997, p. 10). Content standard three guides students into exploring processes like the roles guiding performance, processes

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dynamically changing/maintaining/creating or losing traditions, interrelationships between folk/popular/elite cultural processes, the range and interrelationships of traditions in each folk group.

Sidener (1997) states that the folklife standards distill the discipline of folklife into concepts and skills that students can use as tools for exploring their own social cultural identity and learning about others. She uses the US Congress' definition of folklife as "the traditional expressive culture shared within the various groups in the United States," and includes a wide range of expressive culture learned and generally maintained informally (20 United States Congress 2101, P.L. 94-201, In Sidener, 1997, p. 1). But she makes clear that the folklife standards are not to teach students their own or others' heritage or traditions, rather, the standards teach students the skills and concepts to explore cultural participation. Because of the pervasiveness of folklife in our mundane daily lives, folklife education connects community learning with classroom learning through students' everyday lives. The folklife standards direct educators to start with having students explore of the concepts in the standards within their own lives and compare their findings with each other. Teachers are advised to develop students' competence with each concept and have students explore their own cultural participation before studying the cultural practices and participation of others.

The *Standards for Folklife Education* were intended as a contribution to educational reform in three ways, 1. by helping reformulate education as a high-quality endeavor with high expectations for substantial student learning, 2. by being student-centered so that students can bring their entire cultural selves to participate fully and meaningfully, and 3. by being interdisciplinary incorporating skills that have utility in academics and in life (Sidener, 1997, p. 5). Although development of the folklife standards was a joint project of Pennsylvania's

Department of Education, Council on the Arts, and Heritage Affairs Commission, they were not adopted as state-mandated standards for all schools in the state to follow. These standards have been recognized by the field of folklife education as the national standards for the field particularly since no other states developed comparable educational standards. The *Standards for Folklife Education* was awarded the prestigious Dorothy Howard Prize from the Folklore and Education Section of the American Folklore Society in 1997.

2.1.3   Big ideas of culture

Erickson (2007) identifies four main issues in culture as having special relevance to educators:

> (1) the notion of culture as invisible as well as visible, (2) the politics of cultural difference in school and society, (3) the inherent diversity of culture and sub-cultures within human social groups, and (4) the diversity of cultures within the individual – a perspective on the self as multiculturally constructed. (p. 42)

He highlights the first one because of how schools become sites where invisible cultural differences are not recognized and can exacerbate difficulties like in intergroup conflict or misattribution like judging behaviors or competence through a deficit assumption rather than recognizing that the difference is cultural. With the second issue, Erickson describes the distinction between boundaries and borders in terms of cultural differences. In his metaphor, boundaries are objective cultural differences that exist. Whereas cultural borders are a social construct that involves power and political considerations to make cultural boundaries symbolic markers of differences – like national borders that are not to be freely crossed. With this cultural process, difference can be used as a resource for ethnic or cultural group pride, and for conflict.

With group identity being relational, it need not result in an us/them dichotomy if cultural differences are framed as boundaries rather than borders.

All four of Erickson's (2007) issues contain concepts about how culture works. These statements act as big ideas to help educators and students make sense of lots of confusing cultural experiences and seemingly isolated facts about culture. Though he does not describe in detail what he considers the importance to education about the last two issues he identifies, they both focus on diversities. His third issue highlights the layers of diversity that exist within society, human groups and subgroups. Erickson's fourth issue brings into focus how diversity exists within each individual because of an individual's membership in so many different groups. These four descriptions about culture that focus upon some of the important dynamics surrounding differences are each a cultural process.

2.2   OUTPUTS FROM THE COURSE

2.2.1   Habits of mind

Most simply defined, habits of mind are habitual ways of thinking. Costa and Kallick (2000) selected sixteen Habits of Mind useful in problem solving that when employed draw forth patterns of intellectual behaviors that are a composite of many skills, attitudes and proclivities.

Costa and Kallick (2009) describe the process for developing student's Habits of Mind as educators first determining a set of thinking skills they want students to develop in the course of learning content in any subject. Then educators develop cognitive tasks that are "authentic, engaging, and challenging" to keep students from slipping into reproducing knowledge and

instead producing new knowledge by drawing upon these Habits of Mind. Costa and Kallick caution that simply using these cognitive skills in service to successfully do an assignment is not enough. Students must also learn that "success is ensured by mindfully applying these habits" (Costa & Kallick, 2009, p. 6). This is best done when students think about their thinking through self-evaluation and reflection. The internalization process for students requires them to make reference to the habits, practice applying the habits, identify and analyze the skill underlying each of the habits, and appreciating the value of the habits to their own lives, and finally make the habits part of their lived practice in anything they do (Costa & Kallick, 2009, p. 7).

Costa and Kallick (2000) sixteen Habits of Mind include many that are needed and used within folklife education learning experiences to explore culture including thinking flexibly, listening with understanding and empathy, remaining open to continuous learning, gathering data through all senses, questioning and posing problems, and thinking and communicating with clarity and precision. These scholars put forth this list as healthy habitual ways of thinking, and make no claims that this list is exhaustive. Their list targets the skills needed for the cognitive task of problem solving, so the list is not fully applicable to the task of intercultural interaction. However, Costa and Kallick's description of the process of developing their Habits of Mind is instructive and useful as a process for developing a habit of mind for tolerance or respect.

Gardner (2006) goes beyond the cognitive task of problem solving to consider the habits of mind that people will need in the future. He puts forth five minds, the first three of disciplined, synthesizing and creating mind deal with cognition forms and so overlap Costa and Kallick's list. Gardner's last two broad uses of the mind, respectful and ethical minds deal with our relationships to others.

The respectful mind "welcomes differences between human individuals and between human groups, tries to understand these 'others,' and seeks to work effectively with them. In a world where we are all interlinked, intolerance or disrespect is no longer a viable option" (Gardner, 2006, p. 3). A respectful habit of mind avoids stereotyping, tries to understand other persons on their own terms, seeks to convey trust in them, and does not ignore one's own beliefs nor accept everything the learner encounters. Further characteristics of the respectful mind include "responding sympathetically and constructively to differences among individuals and among groups; seeing to understand and work with those who are different; extending beyond mere tolerance and political correctness" (Gardner, 2006, p. 157). Gardner terms respectful as concrete and ethical as more abstract. The ethical mind ponders the good of the community and goes beyond self-interest. When cultivating these five minds, Gardner suggests an order for instruction that places respectful first and ethical last. He posits that without a respectful atmosphere toward others, the other educational goals would be infinitely harder to achieve. He does not give more specific guidance for instruction toward success for learners beyond stating that the schools alone cannot cultivate these minds. With respect needed in all contexts, his recommendations for cultivating this habit of mind in all locales is practical toward using this mind throughout the range of lived experiences.

2.2.2 Capacities

According to Merriam-Webster dictionary, capacity is an individual's mental or physical ability that includes the faculty or potential for treating, experiencing, or appreciating, as well as the facility or power to produce, perform, or deploy. When applied to complex concepts like tolerance or respect that have cognitive, behavioral and affective dimensions, in developing

students' capacity for these concepts an educator would seek to increase the individual's ability for understanding, experiencing and appreciating tolerance and respect, as well as the person's power to produce, perform and deploy tolerant or respectful thoughts and actions.

Gardner (2006) suggested a general method of teaching his five minds by using people who had any one of the minds well-developed as the exemplar of what each mind looked like. The Lincoln Center Institute (LCI) used this same concept of analyzing the thinking processes of creative artists to discover the habits of mind that they use to create. The LCI scholars designed a set of capacities to develop in students that work together to equals the thinking process for successful innovation. "Capacities for Imaginative Learning are a set of flexible principles designed to articulate and assess what might be learned and understood by students within aesthetic education practice. They represent the habits of mind of a vigorous and creative intellect" (Holzer, 2007, p. 1). Though the Capacities for Imaginative Learning are developed through doing art activities, their developers assert that these ten capacities of noticing deeply, embodying, questioning, making connections, identifying patterns, exhibiting empathy, living with ambiguity, creating meaning, taking action, and reflecting/assessing, have a broader application of innovative problem solving in school and in life. The goal of developing these capacities through the arts lies not with creating art, but with learning this set of inquiry skills.

Connections between the capacities and imagination are complex and occur at many levels in non-linear ways. "Imagination itself is complex enough to warrant its own in-depth exploration as a process before being connected to the larger concept of creativity" (Holzer, 2010, p. 4). These scholars' basic premise is that creating an image of something in the mind precedes it being manifested via using the skills, techniques, and tools of creative. The LCI approach to developing students' capacities with imagination is to use inquiry in aesthetic

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education to study works of art (often with artists) and explore the aesthetic/choice process the artists used and the context in which the art was created. Their first three capacities of noticing deeply, embodying, and questioning are the basic group of capacities that contribute to building the other seven. The LCI scholars split the seven into three more scaffolded groups with making connections, identifying patterns, exhibiting empathy, and living with ambiguity in the second group, creating meaning and taking action in the third, and reflecting/assessing in the fourth. Holzer (2010) states that all groups of capacities are recursive with the other groups in complex and non-linear ways.

Though the LCI scholars acknowledge that there are inherent differences between subject areas, they assert that there is transferability of the Capacities for Imaginative Learning to other academic content areas. Folklife education with its content area focus on the study of culture is inherently different from aesthetic education's focus on the study of art. But the LCI approach to develop the Capacities for Imaginative Learning, with inquiry broken down into discrete skills as capacities that interact and build upon each other toward establishing habits of mind of imagination and creativity, is well developed for classroom instruction and instructive for my purposes of my dissertation. The LCI scholars took the complex way of thinking of successful creative artists and broke it into component parts so that they could teach students how to successfully approach problem solving with innovation and creativity. Developing the Capacities for Imaginative Learning and developing the capacities for tolerance and respect are both rooted in inquiry. Students could only benefit from learning more about inquiry in general and in the skills and capacities that most fuel success in multiple life situations and multiple professions, i.e. the arts and anthropology/folklife. Transferability is not automatic between the two content

areas of art and culture, or problem solving and intercultural interaction, but there is overlap that would be worth a deeper look in the future.

2.2.3   Tolerance and respect

Allport (1979) defined tolerance as the opposite of prejudice with little known about tolerance because of the focus of researchers on understanding prejudice. Livingston (2011) found two studies that used Allport's definition to examine nonprejudiced thinking. The studies he reviewed identified two characteristics. The first is "the tendency to attend to and accentuate similarity rather than difference between the self and others"(Livingston, 2011, p. 27) and the second is "a lower propensity for categorization compared with ordinary individuals"(ibid). Livingston's review also found some indications that self-regulation of racial bias is also a factor in people who are nonprejudiced as well as being politically liberal. "Being truly nonprejudiced seems to involve at least two basic psychological processes: (a) lower attention to racial differences and (b) lower propensity to form negative associations" (Livingston, 2011, p. 31) surrounding differences. Livingston cautioned that there are different kinds of nonprejudiced thoughts, which can vary according to ethnic/racial group encountered or can be more visceral so less able to be regulated successfully by motives or values. Being naturally nonprejudiced is not very common. Livingston asserts, "It is quite possible for anyone to improve his or her racial attitudes. However, like most acquired skills (e.g., piano playing), prejudice reduction requires practice and the right context, in addition to motivation and desire, to be successful"(p. 35).

Since Allport and Livingston equate tolerance with nonprejudiced, this aligns with a universal orientation. Therefore, their definition would be situated in the emotionally neutral column between tolerance and respect in Figure 1. As I examine more definitions of tolerance

and respect, I found a range of perspectives upon these terms as attitudes about and behaviors toward culturally different others. Several scholars illustrate these terms through their relationships to each other and other conceptual categories. In Figure 1, I illustrate the alignment between the Anti-Defamation League's Pyramid of Hate (2008), Vogt's (1997) range of attitudes and behaviors, and Nieto's (1996) levels of multicultural education program characteristics. These scholars' concepts of tolerance and respect are situated along their continuums that when combined together plot out the range of attitudes and behaviors possible from the most negative of genocide, hatred and persecution, to the most positive of critique, love and self-sacrifice.

negative →					**tolerance**		**respect**	→ positive		
ADL Pyramid of Hate	Genocide	bias-motivated violence	discrimination	individual acts of prejudice	bias and stereotyping					
Vogt range of attitudes and behaviors	hatred and persecution		strong dislike and discrimination against (tolerance)		mild dislike and no action (tolerance)	indifference or universalism and no action	mild liking and no action	strong liking and discrimination in favor of	love and self-sacrifice	
Nieto levels of cultural pluralism in education programs					tolerance	acceptance	respect	affirmation	solidarity	critique

Figure 1: Situating tolerance and respect on hate to love continuum

The Anti-Defamation League's (2008) continuum describes the negative depths intercultural relationships can sink to with tolerance, the absence of action, as the best of these options. Nieto's (1996) continuum is designed for educators use and places tolerance as the worst of the options because of its link to negative thinking. As she describes, those planning cultural education programs naturally set goals for promoting and achieving more positive attitudes and behaviors than mere tolerance. Vogt (1997) presents the full continuum from the most negative thought of hate coupled with the action of persecution to the most positive thought of love coupled with the action of self-sacrifice. In his model, tolerance, universalism and respect

are all situated centrally as having no associated actions with these thoughts. The difference between his three central columns is descriptive of the range of attitudes toward culturally diverse others ranging from mild dislike through indifference to mild like. These concepts are closely linked in that they share the same behavioral characteristic of exhibiting lack of action, either positive or negative, taken toward others who are different.

Vogt's (1997) examination into tolerance considers the three UNESCO categories of political, social and moral as the objects of tolerance and looks at five affective/effective states of tolerating individuals in these three categories. Vogt's goal is to closely examine schools' role in directly or indirectly teaching tolerance since research consistently finds a correlation between more years in school and greater level of tolerance. Attitudes and behaviors emerge as the two most important aspects for education to focus on in all three categories. Political tolerance is tolerance of acts in public, which is more commonly called civil liberties. Moral tolerance is tolerance of acts in the private sphere. Social tolerance concerns people's states of being and how inappropriate others consider the public and private actions of people with various ascriptive characteristics. Education teaches tolerance in all three categories but the educational approach I am focusing on in this dissertation is situated in the social category of tolerance.

Vogt presents multiple nuanced definitions of tolerance which all revolve around the core concept of consciously putting up with something one does not like. A useful definition is "Tolerance is intentional self-restraint in the face of something one dislikes, objects to, finds threatening, or otherwise has a negative attitude toward - usually in order to maintain a social or political group or to promote harmony in a group" (Vogt, 1997, p. 4). This definition speaks to tolerance as a learned behavior in which each must consider the larger picture of a situation that one finds distasteful and go against possible preexisting adverse attitudes or negative emotional

reactions to achieve a greater end of peaceful coexistence. Such intentionality to resist acting on negative attitudes toward others does not come naturally. Active self-restraint must be learned.

Tolerance stands at the fulcrum point between overtly negative actions and positive attitudes and actions. Vogt discusses how tolerance becomes the necessary baseline in a pluralistic and egalitarian society. Tolerance not only guards against conflict, discrimination and injustice, but it opens the path to civility and possible cooperation between antagonistic groups. Though tolerance helps to honor both diversity and equality by providing a way for peace to become possible, Vogt does not hold tolerance up as the ultimate goal for a society to strive to achieve. "For almost everyone, tolerance is an intermediate, partial value. In some instances tolerance seems inadequate; although it might be better than intolerance, it often falls far short of constituting what one might think of as values appropriate for a just community" (Vogt, 1997, p. xxv).

In discussing what happens in schools at the respect level, (Nieto, 2002) describes how schools acknowledge cultural differences and demonstrates admiration and high esteem for incorporating cultural diversity within the various subject curricula, and other school programs. Respect becomes what is necessary to create an environment where everyone feels *safe* to talk about sensitive cultural issues and, in being able to have such conversations, can expand their ways of looking at the world. Nieto describes hoe individuals with respect display attitudes such as awareness and appreciation for others' diversity. Exhibiting an attitude of respect allows for the demonstration of a socially acceptable positive attitude that does not go overboard to risk confusing the respectful person's membership in either their own or culturally diverse others' groups. Students could demonstrate respect by not engaging in name-calling or talking about ethnically different others in hostile ways. They could speak positively about others' cultural

differences, say that they valued or liked that others are different from them, or discuss sensitive cultural topics.

Exhibiting an attitude of tolerance is when and individual shows a socially acceptable negative attitude to those one does not like who are culturally different from them. Vogt (1997) outlines how students would exhibit tolerance whenever they 1) demonstrated a recognition that a cultural difference exists between them and others, 2) expressed dislike for the others, and 3) indicated they had no intentions of doing anything about not liking them. Education plays a role in impacting the development of tolerance directly and indirectly toward improving intergroup relationships. With this understanding of some of the scholars' understanding of the definition and cognitive characteristics involved in tolerance and respect, I explore student conceptions of and experiences with these concepts at the midpoint of intergroup relationships.

2.3   MY INITIAL CONCEPTUALIZATION OF PROCESS FOR DEVELOPING THE CAPACITY FOR TOLERANCE

My initial concept about the simple relationships of the components of this study is depicted in Figure 2. The image created prior to the beginning of the course depicted the study of cultural processes as a broad educational practice that in this study was narrowed via the focus of the *Standards for Folklife Education* (Sidener, 1997). The input from the *Standards for Folklife Education* would shape the content of the curriculum so that students studied their own culture and others' culture. The expected output would be some impact (hopefully positive) upon students understanding of both their own cultural identity and of increased tolerance and respect for different cultures.
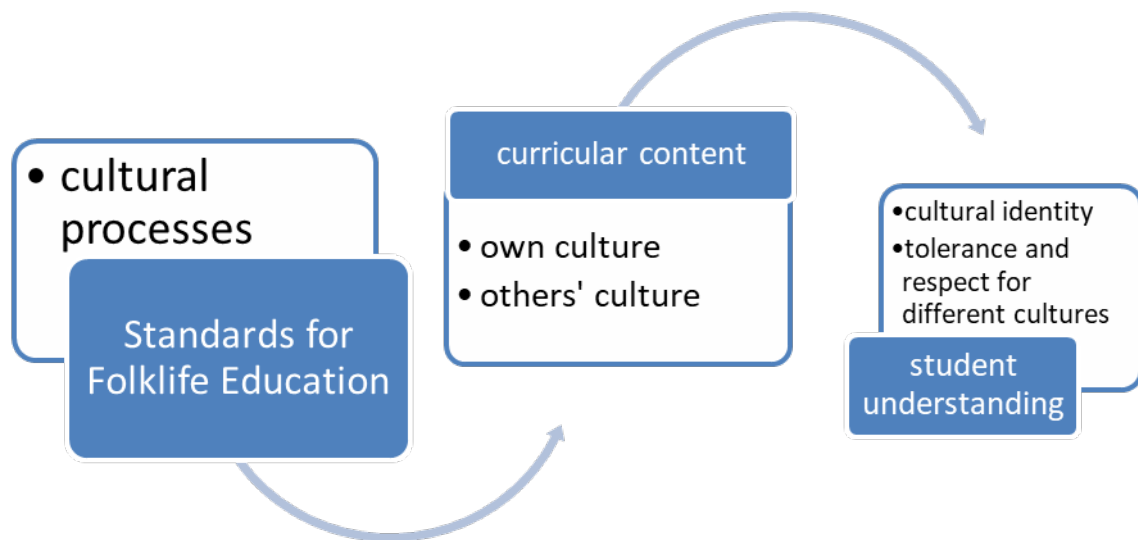
Figure 2: Initial conceptual framework of inputs and outputs of the study

The model was simplistic representing a simplistic cause and effect from an outsider's perspective. It suffered from a limitation of not taking into account the student's perspective on their learning experiences. It made no allowances for the interplay of skill development, along with the self-directed learning needed for awareness insights and action insights that I later found to be so essential to developing the capacity for positive intercultural interaction as a habit of mind. This early model retains some utility for educators in setting goals when developing curriculum for developing students' capacity for tolerance and respect for cultural differences and the dynamics of cultural identities. But even in that context, the model is limited by depicting cultural processes as an input rather than also depicting cultural processes as an output that fleshes out and defines student understanding. It was my first depiction and contextualizes my growth and learning in the dissertation process if it is considered as my pre-conceptualization with the Developing the Capacity for Tolerance model in Chapter 8 as my post-conceptualization.

3.0   HOW CULTURAL PROCESSES WERE TAUGHT

My focus throughout this dissertation is upon how students Develop the Capacity for Tolerance through learning the skills for investigating culture and understanding cultural processes in a folklife education course. The setting that contextualizes this learning includes the school, the course, the students, and my relationship to the teachers and students. An intensive folklife education course is not a regular offering at many high schools, including at Challenge Charter High School so I provide the background context for how this course came to be developed and offered.

Folklife education courses, units and learning activities contain a great deal of variation in the cultural knowledge content each focuses upon and the weight each place upon instruction in the various ethnographic inquiry skills. Examples of such diversity can be seen in the collection of folklife education program models Bowman and Hamer (2011) present. This place-based folklife education course centered the cultural content knowledge for students to investigate as the culture of urban public spaces. However, I focus my description on the overarching content focus of this course, which was on cultural processes and the ethnographic research skills students were taught. I sketch out the course's instructional sequence that included both basic skill instructional activities and practice using them in the community. I outline the importance of a variety of technologies to the teaching and learning in this course, and to integrate data collection for my dissertation.

Collaboration was an important contextual element. Collaboration was a value of the school. It shaped the process for developing and teaching this course that integrated learning in several fields. Learning activities were designed so students could collaboratively learn from each other, the adults in the room, and from community members. Engaging in relationships with teachers and students that were both collaborative and reciprocal was an important feature of my involvement in the course and the collection of data for my dissertation. Even the classroom was physically set up to make collaborative learning easier.

In this chapter, I use narrative story to convey the context of the room and the introduction students received to the course. I introduce one of the students, Miles, through a discourse analysis aided explanation of the tensions and shifts in my roles at a point when interactions between me and the students visibly became more collaborative. The course syllabus that contains an outline of the course, and the daily lesson plans organized by weeks that spell out multi-model instructional activities, are both important contextual artifacts that I urge my readers to examine. However, due to their length, they are both appendices that I reference in my discussion within this chapter.

3.1   THE SCHOOL

Challenge Charter High School (pseudonym) was a publicly chartered urban high school open to all students regardless of race, ethnic background, gender, religion and/or ability. As a publicly chartered not-for-profit school, the rate of low-income families it served was around 40%, slightly less than the low-income rate of the city's public-school district overall. The school admitted students based upon the order they applied to the school and used a lottery system if

enrollment exceeded the number of seats in a class. Most students lived in the various city neighborhoods, but students from communities outside of the city could and did attend if there were openings.

This high school was physically located in a high-rise office building in the business district of the city center. Everyone used elevators to enter the school's main office floor and used stairwells to access the multiple classroom floors. Shared services, like the cafeteria, nurse, guidance counselors, administration, and arts classrooms, were located on one floor while each of the four grade levels was on a separate floor. In this school, the teachers stayed with the students from the first day of ninth grade until the day students graduated four years later. New students could not enroll in the school beyond the tenth grade so teachers got to know each of the approximately 150 students they taught for multiple years quite well. The teaching team with the twelfth graders had fourteen members. The school valued collaboration and teamwork in teaching and learning, consequently administration worked hard to build a school culture that nurtured these values. Teacher camaraderie and collaboration was furthered by the physical layout of their grade-level floor that had a large teacher's lounge with individual desks for each teacher and a common area to eat lunch together daily.

The school administration also placed a high value on teaching technology and preparing students for the digital workplace. To enact these values, the school supplied each student with a laptop computer that the youth personally cared for and used in every course. Students received instruction in technology courses in basic workplace technology software like Microsoft Office and other products. Students were also required to participate in a variety of career related activities in the community such as job shadowing experiences and trimester-long internship placements in local workplaces.

The school operated with block scheduling. Each class period was just over an hour and a half long and each course was in session five days a week throughout a term. Students might only have five class periods each day, but teachers would team teach so students received instruction in two subject areas combined through common themes whenever possible. This school's year was divided into trimesters, each about twelve weeks in length, with the final trimester of the students' senior year a special compressed term of only eight weeks in length. Though the sequence of required courses students could take each trimester was rigid throughout the youth's time in high school, students did have flexibility to choose their electives. By the last trimester of the students' senior year, a few students may have needed core content area credits, but most sought to fill their schedule with electives.

School administration was committed to providing exceptional educational opportunities to their students. As a charter school, they were able to implement a combination of innovative educational practices and they had the flexibility to try out new ideas emerging from their teaching staff. The school administration was sensitive to the desire of students to be done with high school especially after students started receiving acceptance letters to colleges and solidifying their post-secondary plans. Combatting this disengaged 'senioritis' is a challenge in all high schools. One way this school's administration addressed the problem was to charge some of its teachers with designing new courses for students seeking elective and core content area credits in the final trimester of their senior year. The educators sought to keep students attending, engaged and learning till the end of their time in high school. By providing such an opportunity to teachers to innovate and design new courses, administration also contributed to energizing the teaching staff as their time with a cohort of students drew to a close. The course I studied in my dissertation was one of these innovative new courses designed for high school

seniors. The course was never intended to become part of the regular offerings of the school, since administration allowed each grades' cohort of teachers to develop these special end-of-senior-year elective courses based upon the teachers' personal interests and their assessment of what they thought their students would like to learn.

3.2   THE COURSE

The intent of this course was to teach students to investigate the workings of culture, particularly the cultural processes operating in public urban spaces within the city center where the school was located. The course honored the students' prior knowledge about their own cultures and their capability as creators of new knowledge by investigating other cultures and conducting rudimentary analysis and re-presentation.

The course was cross-listed for social studies or digital media credits. Technology was an important feature of the course and its multi-modal learning activities. Teachers made use of a diversity of texts to aid student learning. Some texts were typical resources for classroom learning like videos, selected readings, and teacher mini lectures with media images. Students expected having teachers' knowledge as a textual resource, but their having access to my knowledge and experiences as a career researcher was more novel to them. Many texts teachers instructed students to consult in this course were less common resources like a museum exhibit and exhibit guide, students' own memories, other students' memories, community members' memories, and ordinary daily activities taking place in front of them. Students generated texts in conceptual mind-maps, blog entries, hand-drawn maps, audios, videos, and powerpoints. Since

cultural processes continually shape students' experiences in the spaces around them, it was not difficult for teachers to tap into unexpected resources for fostering student learning.

The course was developed in an ongoing iterative process that was responsive to the student needs and learning progression. The course's lesson plans in their final form can be found in Appendix B. I next describe some of the major decisions and steps in the process of conceptualizing and developing this course that highlights the integration and collaboration involved between the teachers and myself.

3.2.1 Conceptual frame

The *Cultural Anthropology and Digital Media Design* course came into being because the twelfth-grade social studies teacher, Hannah Connolly, wanted to engage her graduating seniors in anthropological field research that would study cultural dimensions of the school's urban community. Hannah had studied and taught internationally, had taken at least one course in anthropology at the university, and had studied folklife education in continued professional development workshops with staff from the Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage. Hannah was a master teacher. This was her second cohort of students she had taught for the four-year looping cycle at Challenge High. She had a good sense of the direction she wanted for this course, but sought assistance in designing its curriculum for her students. She initiated a collaboration with me, an educational anthropology doctoral student with extensive experience developing folklife education curriculum, to help her develop a course that focused on students conducting a field study of the culture of downtown public spaces.

In our initial conversations in coffee shops, we discussed the components of field work, including how media technology permeates the daily practice of folklorists, cultural

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anthropologists and other cultural researchers. From data collection to data analysis and the presentation of findings in ways that engage audiences, cultural research professionals utilize a variety of media technology when they do their work (Baker, Green, & Skukauskaite, 2008; Bauer & Gaskell, 2000; Bazeley, 2007). Challenge High was a high-tech high school, so including some form of this customary practice of cultural research was not only possible, but desirable. Hannah invited the digital media teacher on the twelfth-grade teaching team, Neil Brodsky, to partner with us in developing and teaching the course. Neil was a new teacher to the school and at the beginning of his teaching career. He had participated in an international study abroad program while he was at university and expressed excitement about tapping into his personal experiences studying culture in this new course.

The first work we did together was to put out on the table all the standards we wanted to address with the course. Hannah wanted her students to have more experiences with the study of anthropology, one of the core disciplines of social studies toward achieving a primary social studies goal of helping "young people make informed and reasoned decisions for the public good as citizens of a culturally diverse, democratic society in an interdependent world" (NCSS, 1994, p. 3). She wanted to support student learning of the National Social Studies Standards. These Standards emphasize, "Through the study of culture and cultural diversity, learners understand how human beings create, learn, share, and adapt to culture, and appreciate the role of culture in shaping their lives and society, as well the lives and societies of others"(Adler et al., 2010). Neil sought to support student learning of the National Standards for Business Education (NBEA, 2007) particularly with opportunities to utilize multimedia software to create media rich projects like those that this course would present for students.

Both teachers wanted to teach an engaging, experiential field research course that would effectively deepen students' understanding about how culture works. From my expertise in using folklife education for teaching culture, I shared practically useful folklife education resources with the teachers. As a team, we selected to use the *Standards for Folklife Education* (Sidener, 1997) as the guiding framework for the curriculum because of its useful emphasis on teaching students the skills of ethnography and exploring how culture works within their own cultural groups (folk groups) and experiences before conducting inquiry in the community. We added to the concepts of culture in the *Standards for Folklife Education* four main cultural issues identified by Erickson (2007) as having special relevance to education. We considered these four issues as big ideas of culture that would help students with understanding some of the ways culture worked. We included the three folklife standards and Erickson's four big ideas about culture in the course syllabus Hannah and Neil prepared for students (Appendix C) so that students would get an overview of the content direction of this new course when they learned about the course activities and requirements.

Having made decisions about the broad goals of the course to include concepts about how culture works combined with developing students' skills in investigating culture, we next considered the scope of the course activities. We wanted students to learn how to use the tools of ethnographic research to investigate the cultural processes operating in the community through a study of culture that was personally meaningful. Instructional activities would have one focus on developing students' skills in the ethnographic inquiry process and a second focus on developing students understanding of cultural processes. We decided that these two foci for instruction would be heavily experiential and overlapping. Students would learn ethnographic skills by doing them. Then students would refine their ethnographic skills as they applied them to conduct

inquiry toward figuring out how culture worked. With the school located in the heart of the city's downtown rather than within a residential neighborhood, we decided to maximize students' learning by studying the cultural dimensions of an easily accessible field site – urban public spaces. Fieldwork would thus be done in class sessions, so the teachers and I could provide maximal guidance and support in developing students' field research skills.

The teachers and I sketched out a sequence of lessons for the course that would start by teaching basic cultural concepts within the *Standards for Folklife Education* (Sidener, 1997) like folk groups and tangible/intangible traditions, whilst students developed basic skills with inquiry methods through investigations of their own and their classmates' cultural groups and practices. We designed the lesson sequence to next teach some cultural concepts of private and public space, like proxemics (Hall, 1980; "Perception: The art of seeing," 1997), and move students into field data collection. In the field, students would apply their skills as they gathered some of the variety of perspectives and complexities surrounding the cultural aspects of urban public spaces. We infused the teaching and use of multiple media technologies throughout the course as tools to facilitate the development of students' research skills, including: the collection of data, the visualization of cultural patterns, and the representation of their findings for an external audience. We sketched out the major instructional lessons that would happen in each of the eight weeks to the degree of detail presented in the student syllabus (Appendix C). With the course developed to this stage, the teachers were ready to seek approval from their school administration. But first, we needed to give the course a title. After some discussion, we settled upon a purely descriptive title: Cultural Anthropology and Digital Media Design.

Up until this point, I had been thinking of my working with these teachers as just another folklife education curriculum development project, but I came to realize that this course with its

multimedia components held promise to facilitate my inquiry into student learning on developing tolerance in productive ways. Additionally, neither teacher felt comfortable enough with her/his current grasp of cultural process content knowledge to proceed with teaching this complexly layered intense course we were planning without ongoing consultation with a cultural expert. We decided it was mutually advantageous to continue our collaboration on developing this course. Besides, we realized that if we were planning to tell students they were going to learn to be "apprentice" anthropologists in this course, it would be useful for students to have interactions with a "master" anthropologist. We crafted a role for me in the classroom as "anthropologist-in-residence" to help both students and teachers with cultural content knowledge specifics as needed.

We also decided that we would make use of my observations of student learning in another layer of reciprocity. I would share some of my insights into students' learning with teachers during ongoing planning sessions so that they might adjust instruction and better develop the teaching tools needed in the daily enacted curriculum. Teachers and I would continue our collaboration to iteratively design the daily activities of this course to maximize student learning of the course goals.

3.2.2 Importance of technology

Neil explained to me how he was especially excited with this course design in which students would learn new technology skills through meaningful applications of the technology. Unlike many other technology courses where the focus was on learning the technology via practice drills, in this course, the focus was on the course content and learning the technology became a means to that end.

All students had a laptop and were basically competent with downloading and uploading assignments to the school server. Students could use word processing software to complete assignments. For this course, Neil set up a private account for the class on a social media site which allowed the class to interact via blogging and sharing of diagrams and images. Neil selected a freeware, Popplet (Schiffman, Lee, Tiongson, Gerhardt, & Cho, 2011), for students to use for collaborative conceptual mind-mapping activities. For the final project, Neil planned for students to create PowerPoint presentations with a diversity of rich media content. Students would also learn to record field research data via digital photographic and video cameras and audio recorders, to record their own interviews, group discussions and verbal reflections by using the record feature of their laptops, and to transform hand-drawn maps into digital files via scanning. A couple students wanted to learn to use computerized mapmaking software, so Neil taught those who were interested how to do this. Neil involved all the students in the course in working with video editing software. Though some of the students had encountered some of these technologies in other courses, the digital media layer of the course held much that was new to most students.

Some of the software was designed for collaborative shared using, but even if one wasn't, learning the new digital media technology was often a collaborative process for students as they helped each other figure it out. Group work was an important pedagogical method for learning research skills and cultural concepts and the media technology layer of the course supported it. Particularly through blogging, students could share some of the ideas they were thinking about and give and receive feedback from their classmates about these thoughts. The digital media helped advance students' thinking and build the relationships between the students. Students did not get to select their blogging partners nor their work groups. In their assigned groupings they

learned much about each other in the activities to investigate their own cultural folk groups at the beginning of the course.

With digital media turning students' research assignments into material they could use within their final media-rich project, students began to regard each other's work as additional resources they could draw upon and use in their own assignments. The digital media assignments that had been uploaded and organized by students on the server and on the blogging site made student work easily accessible to teachers for grading and monitoring their progress. This student work was also readily accessible to me for use in my dissertation research. In addition to the technology-assisted content students were generating in this course as resources for learning, teachers were generating technology-assisted content like presentations and learning aids. Teachers would present these tools in class and students could access them on the server to review later. The technology layer of this course was important for making learning visible and accessible for students, for teachers and for me as a researcher.

As anthropologist-in-residence I modeled for students the use of media technology in my profession daily by recording the activities of the classroom. At first students did not grasp that my modeling the doing of media-assisted research was of value to them. However, as the course progressed, and students began to view each other as sources of research data for learning about culture, they began to realize that my documentation of them was another data source they could use for their own ends in their final projects. When students began to ask me for copies of my recordings of specific research activities done in the classroom, I realized that we had built a community of practice doing research, with technology playing an important part in its formation.

3.2.3   Planning daily instruction

Instruction of this eight-week course followed the planned curriculum co-developed by the teachers and myself with daily and weekly adjustments to individual assignments based upon student needs and technology problems encountered along the way. The course ran for 90 minutes per day from April 26 to June 14, 2011 (8 weeks x 5 days per week – holidays = 35 class sessions). Hannah Connolly, a master social studies teacher, and Neil Brodsky, a first-year digital media teacher, team taught the course with me as the anthropologist-in-residence in the classroom every day. The course took place in the third block of the day, roughly from 11:00 am till 12:30 pm with students and teachers going directly to lunch after class ended.

Hannah and I met daily at the beginning of her planning period which usually occurred right after lunch. We reviewed the day's activities and reflected upon our observations of students' reactions. We previewed the next day's lesson plan, going through the objectives of each activity and the main points to emphasize. We developed instructional tools and their modifications that individual students needed. At least once a week, we had a longer planning session with Neil and previewed one or more weeks of lessons discussing what instructional materials we still needed to prepare and where we had to adjust our plans. The final daily lesson plans reflect this detailed planning (Appendix B).

Often, we talked about the challenges of teaching inquiry through an inquiry approach. We would notice students struggling with figuring out what the cultural processes and dynamics were within the data they would gather about their own lives or from the community. We discussed the value of the struggle in discovery learning within a folklife education curriculum where the students were constructing new knowledge. We pondered how to balance the assistance we gave to students so that we functioned as coaches supporting them through the

research process rather than directors dictating what students were to see and do without deviation from a predetermined script.

Hannah encouraged me to take the lead in teaching a couple of lessons' activities in the classroom, but generally, I preferred to support her and Neil's teaching by helping them develop their tools and lesson plans. I also provided support to the course by contacting organizations and community members to obtain resource materials and recruit volunteers to be interviewed by the students. From a community folk cultural heritage organization, I arranged to borrow an exhibition that focused on the cultural transmission of folk art knowledge between masters and apprentices. That exhibition not only described and illustrated many important points about how culture works, it also helped students learn about re-presentation skills like selecting the data, quotes and images that would best support the narrative they would create in their own final project of their field data.

Through senior citizen organizations, I recruited older adults and worked with them in community settings to draw a map of downtown as they remembered it from their youth or young adulthood. These maps were cultural maps that highlighted their experiences of the city center rather than portraying the physical layout of the streets. Elders brought these maps to share with students and compare them to the cultural maps the students made of downtown in students' first day of interviewing of community members. I oriented, and often recruited, the other community members from different professions who took the students on walking tours of downtown and answered students' many interview questions about these public spaces from the community members' perspectives. Bringing in community resources and volunteers takes time, time that was hard for teachers to find when they were involved in developing a new course on top of their regular teaching load. Hannah and Neil actively did recruit community members, but

my providing the extra support in coordinating community involvement ensured greater community participation.

When we prepared handouts and worksheets, we shared drafts of them with each other for feedback. We screened and selected segments of videos on cultural processes to use in lessons. Hannah wanted to include some readings in the course, but there was no ready textbook appropriate for this age student. Therefore, I excerpted and modified college-level text to prepare a few short readings. But the majority of textual resources we used in the course fit Botel and Lytle's (1988) expansive definition of text, including the readily available memories of members of the class and the community. My readers can access more details on the course's textual resources and multi-modal instruction through the narrative descriptions of selected instructional sequences I describe periodically throughout my dissertation to illustrate students' learning processes.

3.3   INTRODUCING STUDENTS TO THE COURSE

With my dissertation's focus upon the students' perspectives and experiences, I provide next a general introduction to the students who became part of this study and begin my description of their experiences with an overview of how students initially learned about the course. All twelfth-grade students were eligible to take the course. Some chose to take it because of their interest in the subject matter. Others could not exercise the same degree of choice because they needed the types of credits this course provided to graduate. No matter if the students were there because of interest in the topic or because of need for the credits, they all received the same introduction to the course. This course focused on the cultural dynamics of public spaces, so I

situate my dissertation with a thick description of my field site space, the classroom. Describing the first day of the course further contextualizes my study in exploring what students learned by providing an overview of how and what teachers positioned students to expect to learn.

3.3.1   Recruitment of students

Twenty-four twelfth grade students ranging from 17-18 years of age enrolled in the course. Students could choose this course from the electives offered this trimester. Some students needed more credits in social studies, others needed more technology course credits to graduate. Advisors encouraged students needing credits for graduation in either of these areas to enroll in the course. Neil recruited a couple of students who had advanced skills in digital technologies to sign up for the course. Hannah also recruited students with interests in studying culture and social studies to enroll. At the last minute, she recruited a student with great interpersonal skills with his peers because "a class always goes better when he is in it." I had no influence whatsoever over the recruitment or enrollment process for students to become part of the course.

A great deal of diversity could be found within the twenty-four students who enrolled. Students ranged from those who could be classified as honors students to those who received learning support services. Students had different learning styles. There were fifteen male and nine female students. Twenty students in this class were born and raised in the city where the school was located and the surrounding region of small towns and suburbs. Two students started their lives in other US cities before their families relocated to this city. One student was born in Mexico and moved to this city to start school at age five. One student spent nearly her entire life growing up in Ethiopia. Students identified their own race and ethnicity at the end of the course. Eleven students identified as African-American or Black with only two in this group identifying

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ethnicities. Eight students identified as Caucasian or White with half identifying ethnicities. Five students identified as Biracial and all identified their ethnicities. These diversities represent a range of cultural experiences and learning experiences, all valuable in contributing range and depth to my study examining students' processes for Developing the Capacity for Tolerance.

Though students were enrolled in the course, they were not automatically enrolled in my dissertation research. I had to recruit students to participate in my research study. Hannah helped me develop the wording for the IRB approved informed consent forms so that students and their parents would best understand my inquiry. Students who had turned 18 signed their own permission form with parents signing the form for their 17-year-old child. All parents and students voluntarily agreed to participate in the study giving me a 100% participation rate. With this participation rate, I was able to move forward with my data collection plan without any modifications needed.

3.3.2 The classroom
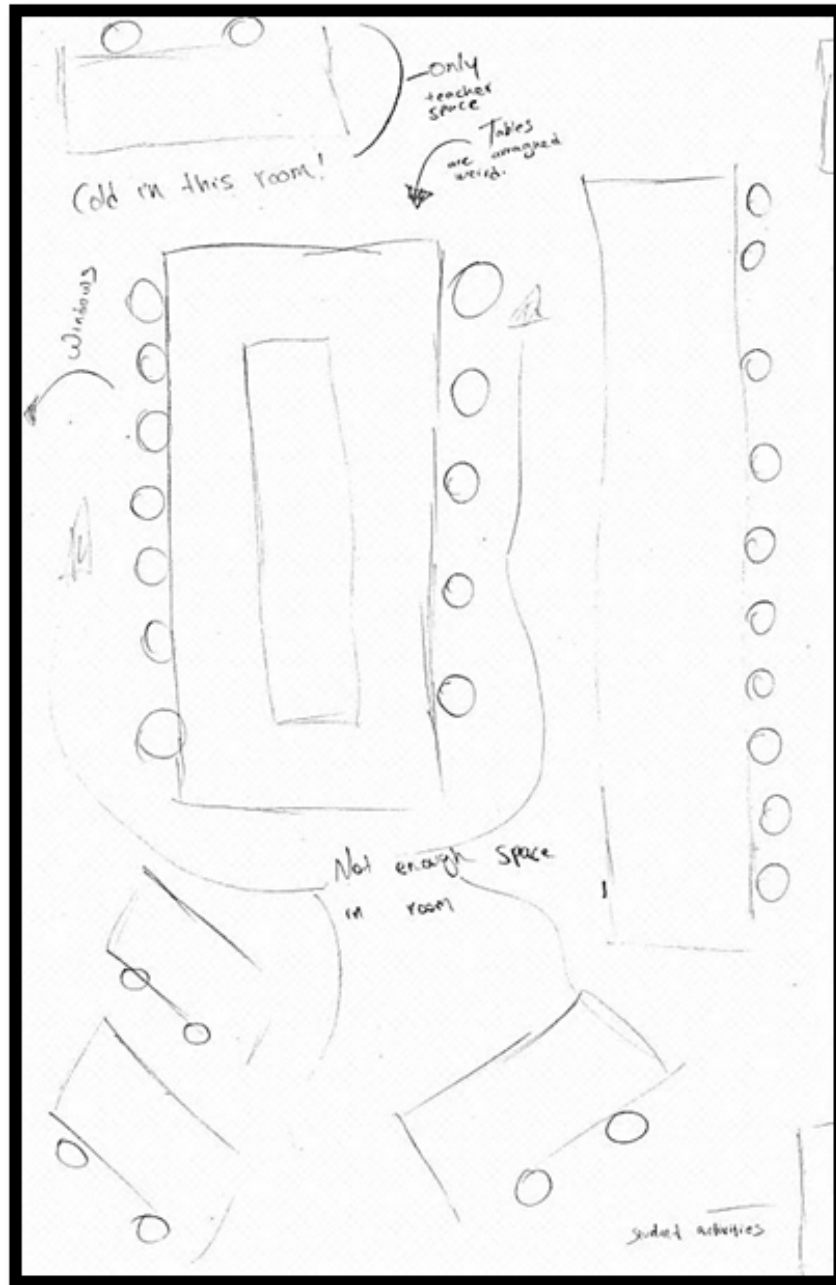
Figure 3: Victor's diagram of the classroom

As the students entered the room on the first day of class, the teachers gave them their assigned seats. The long skinny room was packed with tables and chairs arranged in an interesting pattern (Figure 3). Tables arranged in a long rectangle extended out in front of the teacher's desk along the window side of the room. With just enough room to carefully walk behind the seated students, a long row of tables lined the corridor side of the room. In the rear, three tables were placed on the diagonal, angled so the students were oriented slightly inward, but faced the front of the room. Lining the front wall of the room was the white board that doubled as a screen for media presentations. The back wall contained a pocket door that was shut to separate this room from the adjacent room. The door could not keep the noise of the other class from seeping through from time to time. The corridor wall contained a large locked storage cupboard that held extra batteries for student computers as well as teaching supplies needed for other courses. On either side of the cupboard were shallow recess areas, one containing a printer, paper and drawing supplies that students could access. The other recess was closer to the front of the room, next to the room's exit, and held a jumbled shelf of text books and a stack of extra chairs.

The perfect vantage point in this room arrangement was from the teacher's desk in the front corner. All students could see the central front projection area with only a few students needing to turn sideways. Teachers only seated students around the table exteriors so all basically faced the front of the room. The seating pattern of an inner full horseshoe partially surrounded by two-thirds of a larger horseshoe meant that those in the inner "fishbowl" as they referred to it, faced each other at a distance that facilitated conversation. The outer ring faced the backs of the inner ring which resulted in students twisting around completely to face student speakers in whole class discussions.

The fishbowl tables had space in the middle of them, but a table at the front closed the rectangle and created a small open space to give students more distance between their workspace and those of the students surrounding them. The front table of the rectangle was used by the teachers who would fill the surface with their laptops and a few papers they might be using in the day's instruction. One teacher was always at this table as class started. This teacher would log attendance, greet students, answer student questions, and launch the class period's overview after the last hallway whistle had sent all students scuttling into their rooms.

The forward recess near the door was where class visitors often sat I was told, so that small space became my hangout. I could see all parts of the room, but because I was behind the outer ring of seated students, they could choose to ignore me. From a location about half of the way along the right-hand wall in the classroom, behind students at the outmost table and not too far from the forward recess, I usually set up my video camera on a tripod to film wide angle shots that frequently included both the teacher who was instructing and multiple students. But most often my camera was focused exclusively on the students to capture their interactions and the learning taking place. I knew my one audio recorder placed on a table near the front of the room would capture teachers' instruction most clearly as well as the student voices in that part of the room. My second audio recorder was often placed on a table toward the back of the room to capture clarity of those student voices, or I carried it with me as I moved around the room. All video and audio recorders recorded continuously from the beginning of class until the end of class. Sometimes I repositioned the camera in the room to get a better angle of an activity or to only focus the camera on one or two work groups.

3.3.3 First day of class

On the first day of class, teachers assigned students to seats in the room when they took attendance. Teachers made a few adjustments in where students sat throughout the course, but for most students, they were in the seat they would occupy for eight weeks. Neil then immediately launched the course with an introductory activity that all students did independently without discussion. This activity involved students viewing and responding to a set of five photographs pulled from the archives of a folk arts organization in another city. The teachers and I, and the community folklorist who helped with selecting these photos, anticipated that these images depicting culturally rich scenes would be unfamiliar to the students. Students downloaded the document onto their computer and typed answers to two questions, "what do you know" and "what do you want to know", for each image.

This activity is an anthropological training technique for fostering transcultural sensitivity in fieldworkers by recognizing the biases an observer naturally brings to what they notice about another culture (Spindler, 1997a). This activity is also one that has been used as a tool for observing if students in folklife education productively shift from viewing an unknown cultural situation from their own worldview perspectives to viewing the unknown cultural situation from a different, more open and curious, point of view (Sidener, 1995). We decided to use this activity as a baseline indicator of where students were at in their openness to other cultures and in their skills of inquiry. Student writing about these photographs helped us get our first glimpses into the inquiry skill building activities we needed to emphasize or adjust.

After students uploaded their responses, the teachers explained how the course would be like the introductory activity - experiential by involving them in asking questions and conducting inquiry into figuring out cultural unknowns. This course would prepare them as apprentices to

become anthropologists who explore culture without knowing ahead of time what they would discover about culture along the way. Hannah assured the class that she really did not know what the results of their investigation of the culture of public space was going to be. She introduced me as an educational consultant and anthropologist who would be in the room helping us. I spoke very briefly about my work as an anthropologist studying folk cultural processes in different parts of the world and in local communities in the USA.

Hannah passed out physical copies of the syllabus (Appendix C) and she and Neil went over it with the students to explain and answer questions about each part of it. The syllabus first presented what students would be learning and indicated some of the cultural content they would learn as outlined by the *Standards for Folklife Education* (Sidener, 1997) like understanding folk groups, recognizing the range of human experience in everyday life encompassed by folklife expressions, and understanding processes by which folklife is created, transmitted and transformed. It also listed Erickson's (2007) four big ideas of culture as further content the students would be studying, i.e. culture is invisible as well as visible, each individual is multicultural, groups of humans are inherently culturally diverse, and society does not treat everyone the same. The syllabus also listed the ethnographic research skills students would learn via weekly assignments and use in doing their final project of observation, participant observation, reflective writing, interviewing, map making, and representation of data.

The next part of the syllabus outlined the assessment activities of the course and how many points could be awarded for completing class assignments, participating in blogging groups, doing a final project, and the final exam. The syllabus then had a place for students to get a parental signature as parents signing syllabi was the usual practice of the school. The next part of the syllabus was the class rules that focused on expectations of students for active

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participation and respectful actions. The last part of the syllabus was a schedule that contained the major activities that students could expect to be doing each week. Hannah concluded her discussion of the syllabus by stating the goal teachers had for this course as "helping students see the world from a different perspective."

With the syllabus covered, Hannah moved on to explain my dissertation study to examine how students learn about culture and inform students about how they could be part of my study. She assured students that if they opted to be, or not be, part of the study, nothing about the course was going to be different. She and I answered students' questions about the study and assured them that none of my video footage of them would ever be shown anywhere and probably the only one ever watching these videos was going to be me. I handed out permission forms to those that could sign them themselves and to those who needed to take them home to get a parental signature.

The activity planned to end the first day of class was for students to view a video, *Everybody's Ethnic* (LearningSeed, 2001). This video is packed with cultural processes illustrated with examples drawn from the cultural traditions of groups around the world. Hannah stopped the video frequently to ask questions and prompt whole class discussion of the video's content. The discussion was lively with good participation as this instructional video triggered much students wanted to share about their own experiences and current understanding of culture. The LearningSeed video introduced many of the cultural concepts and big ideas that students has just read in their syllabus that they would study. Whole class discussion was going so well, that Hannah could not finish this short 21-minute-long video before the end of the period. She would finish up this part of the introduction to the course content at the beginning of the second day of class.

3.4 RESEARCHER IN THE CLASSROOM COMMUNITY

School administration was very supportive of my being a part of the development and instructional assistance for this course and valued the content expertise I added. In granting permission for my also conducting my dissertation research at Challenge High, school administration had two requirements, first that I maintain the focus of my research on the students' learning not on the teachers' teaching and second that my study not detract from the primary focus within the classroom of teaching and learning. These requirements were not at all burdensome since they both aligned well with the research study I proposed to examine students' learning and explore their process for Developing the Capacity for Tolerance.

As a researcher in the classroom community, I did document both teaching and learning, but learning was always my focus in analysis. With the complexity of the course design, teachers and I did not expect every part of every lesson to be of equal value in helping students maximize their learning. By following students' lead into the aspects of the course design and instruction that students valued and found important, I kept my analytic gaze on the students' learning. I describe my analysis process in greater detail in the following chapter. Teaching in this course provides the context for students' learning, and as a narrative bricoleur (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008), I juxtapose descriptions of instruction throughout my dissertation when students indicate that this or that activity was impacting their learning.

The success of my dissertation research depended upon the classroom focus being on the teaching and learning of this course. The teachers and I recognized that having me as an observer in the room might have detracted students from this focus, thus we built in multiple roles for me so that I would become an accepted part of the community. After I describe these roles, I describe students' acceptance of me.

3.4.1 My roles in the classroom

Doing qualitative research in any setting raises concerns about how reliable and credible the study is (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Wolcott, 1990). Using ethnographic research methods in a classroom raises additional concerns about the degree to which the research interferes with the learning activities and environment of the classroom. Such questions can be addressed with transparency including describing how the researcher was situated within the study. I was very involved in shaping the planning and execution of this course. I held multiple roles. All roles were intentionally collaborative with the teachers and I discussing and agreeing upon what my layers of roles would be.

The first layer was the collaborative role I played in course development. I brought my expertise in folklife education curriculum design to the planning table to assist the teachers with designing the curriculum, instructional methods, lesson activities and learning aids. Together, we planned the course to ensure that the curricular goals and teachers' needs for assessing student progress were met in ways that also allowed for integrated research data collection for my dissertation study, so it did not burden the students.

A second layer of collaboration was my role in the classroom with instructional tasks. The teachers conducted the instruction of the students throughout the course. My role was to help with instruction in secondary ways through my designated role in the classroom as the anthropology content knowledge specialist. This role allowed me to add greater depth to the class discussions the teachers led by interjecting stories from my experiences in the field to illustrate points, by providing content knowledge insights the teachers might not have known, and by posing a question or giving a comment to help the class consider a different aspect of the cultural topic under discussion.

My third role involved collaboratively monitoring the course. In our daily and weekly debriefing sessions, the teachers and I discussed what we were observing about the lessons, the students' reactions to them, and any emerging concerns with the research components. We discussed and adjusted the plans for subsequent days to better meet everyone's needs as the needs emerged.

My first roles were collaborations with the teachers. The next layers of collaboration occurred between me and the students as they begin to engage with me. As students started to trust me in my role in the classroom of anthropologist-in-residence, they began to use me as their own anthropology content knowledge consultant. As their consultant, I listened to their emerging ideas on the cultural processes they noticed in their assignments. Within this collaborative role, I worked side-by-side with individual students to examine their field observations from the community investigation assignments and figure out the cultural processes within it. I posed questions and gave comments that prompted students to explain further their conceptualizations of the cultural processes they were seeing. In acknowledgement of the inherent power imbalances between adults and teenagers in the classroom (Roman & Apple, 1990), we constructed my role so students could grow to recognize me, a content expert from a workplace situated outside of the classroom, as a natural and useful resource for their own learning situated inside the classroom.

My final role with students was as a researcher investigating their learning. Though teachers and I hoped this would also be a layer of collaboration, with students learning from and with me as I modeled the research process, it took a while for this layer of collaboration to develop. Students' increasing confidence in and experience as researchers themselves elicited the

shift in how they considered my researcher role. Once the shift occurred to become collaborative, the classroom transformed into a research community of practice.

3.4.2 Students become more collaborative with my researcher role

Students' perception of my researcher role changed from the beginning to the end of the course. Initially students were accepting, but not overly enthusiastic about my role as a researcher studying them in their classroom. They considered me as an ever-present observer whose video and audio recorders were always watching and listening to them as much as they tried to ignore these electronic devices. Several students depicted my ever-listening ear on the table and ever-watching eyes in the camera images (Figure 4) they drew in maps of the classroom early in the course.

Figure 4: Student drawings of classroom depicted researcher as omnipresent observer

As the course progressed, the way students considered my role shifted. I was able to observe the shift in student thinking about my role as researcher in a pivotal conversation I had with Miles in Week 5. This conversation is one that I will discuss at different points in my dissertation to unpack and interpret the layers of meaning it contained. Here I use discourse analysis to examine my various roles with students in the classroom and analyze the tensions I experienced between them. In this transcribed excerpt from the conversation (Table 1), my first turn begins with me situated within my role as an anthropologist-in-residence. In that role, I would mentor students in more of a teaching capacity.

On the day of this conversation, Miles had initially approached me as a teacher to help him with the recording device he was using to gather field research data on a tour and interview led by a community member. I took the opportunity to check in with him on how it was going with a generic phrase used by teachers to find out how a student was doing. He replied with a generic student phrase indicating all was well. I moved the conversation immediately from those stock teacher student exchanges to some casual talk about pigeons who took flight in front of us to build rapport. I then initiated a deeper conversation to see if I could find out more about his reaction to the tour. Since he had started his interaction with me by positioning me solidly in the role of teacher, I stayed with that teaching role when I made the statement numbered in Table 1 as turn 1.

In turn 1, I state an observation about the tour that I thought mirrored the confused reaction I was observing from some students. Miles (turns indicated in blue) responded with his observation that elaborated upon my perspective. I accepted his comment and re-voiced it with an elaboration, meant to model how to think about such ordinary data. In turn 4, Miles stated his opinion about the tour more directly and completely. He was aligning with what he thought was my perspective, but his comment was not aligned with what I was sensing from the group of students and trying to get him to discuss with me.

In turn 5, my question for him to restate indicates that at that point I became aware of the miscommunication that was taking place in our conversation. I did what is done in normal conversation to repair a misunderstanding, which is to ask for further clarification (Bailey, 2004). Interestingly, this was not a miscommunication that had taken place between Miles and me. The miscommunication was within me. I was responding to an internal frame clash tension between my two roles. In turn 7, I provided a response and asked a probe that indicates that I had shifted

roles into researcher, but it was a temporary shift, for in my next turn, I returned to the teaching role.

Miles gives a value statement about his thinking process in turn 8 that speaks about the course in general and not this tour in particular. In turn 9, I acknowledged and evaluated his answer. Then I attempted to turn the conversation back to the tour we just experienced by again trying to capture the students' reaction to the office worker (community tour leader), by making an observation to see his reaction and get his assessment as to whether or not I was reading the students' reaction correctly. I had never heard any student say they were bored, but it was an attempt to describe the teen's confusion using a term I had heard my own teenage children use to describe experiences that were not that interesting to them. In turn 10, Miles re-voiced my observation in a way that indicated there was something there. I re-voiced him again and used the rest of turn 11 to turn back to instructing and modeling how anthropologists observe in the field.

In turn 12, Miles made a move to shift the conversation focus from him listening to me to me listening to him. He had something important to say about his learning that he knew I would be interested in since it was what my research was about, and he must have sensed that I was not fully listening to what he had to say. His description of his learning fully got my attention as a researcher and I fully shifted to the researcher role until turn 27. My statement in turn 27 was an intertextual reference to a whole class discussion in class a week earlier about rule violations on buses. I used that statement as a probe from my researcher stance since Miles was describing rule violations he observed on buses, but he was not using that term to describe what he was seeing. My use of the vocabulary from the classroom discussion reintroduced my teaching role by making a connection between my role in the classroom a week prior with my role in that

conversation on the street at that moment. However, the way I phrased my statement continued to affirm he had the floor and I wanted to hear stories of his observations. The conversation continued after the transcript excerpt presented here ends with Miles telling stories he heard from his father about crazy things that happen on buses.

Table 1: Student and researcher as colleagues in a community of practice conversation

Turn	Content	Speaker
1	Yeah, I mean the ah data isn't particularly, like, exciting. It's pretty ordinary	Ms. D
2	Obvious	Miles
3	Ordinary sort of stuff, obvious sort of stuff, but yet ... yet not	Ms. D
4	I think it is exciting. I like it	Miles
5	You think what?	Ms. D
6	I think it's exciting	Miles
7	Yeah? Why?	Ms. D
8	I like studying people and things like that. Figuring out how where, things started. Who started the tradition and things like that	Miles
9	Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah. Awesome. Awesome. Yeah. To me, you know I hear people say they're bored	Ms. D
10	Yeah, I'm like how are you bored?	Miles
11	How can you be bored? There's like... subtle variations of this and that and trying to figure it out, and ... constant, constant, constant.	Ms. D
12	Ever since I've been taking this class I have been looking at things totally differently.	Miles
13	Really?	Ms. D
14	Like getting on the bus. Just small things like getting on the bus, going to work.	Miles
15	Yeah? What have you noticed that's different?	Ms. D
16	I mean its like things that people do that I just always took as normal	Miles
17	Okay?	Ms. D
18	Like people getting on the bus, like how they get on the bus, when they get on the bus, when people get up, when people sit down	Miles
19	Right	Ms. D
20	things like that	Miles
21	Yeah, yeah. So what have you noticed different?	Ms. D
22	Um. I think its not really so much different, just that I've paid more attention to it,	Miles
23	Ok	Ms. D
24	Like you hear of people always, not always, but mostly get up for elderly people	Miles
25	yeah isn't that great	Ms. D
26	Yeah. Then they usually let women get on first. Sometimes. Sometimes the opposite. And I'm like "Oh, oh that's different"	Miles

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Table 1 continued

27	Right, right, right. Yeah and I just love it on the bus when people start talking about how when someone else violated a rule.	Ms. D
28	Yeah, I haven't come across that so much, but my dad's a bus driver and he tells me about things all the time	Miles
29	Oh really (ha,ha,ha)	Ms. D
30	Yeah, he said he's seen some crazy things	Miles
31	Oh, yeah I bet. What's his normal route?	Ms. D

The conversation was harmonious with plenty of moves within it by both speakers to align with each other. The tensions I was attuned to during this conversation/interview were internal. Both my roles involve listening and speaking, but I experienced the tasks in the roles in different ways. The teaching role is one in which I tried to gather enough information from the students to select the information I thought they needed at the time to push their thinking further. In the teaching role, I was very responsive, but still oriented to transfer knowledge from me as knower/teacher to them as novices/students. I was listening, but not fully listening for I was sifting through my knowledge base for items that they might need to hear about. My attention was on listening enough to know what to tell them.

In my role as a researcher, my listening to students was quite different. I attended to them to hear what I could learn from them. I suppose technically I still was not fully listening, for I was processing what I heard. But this listening was not so I could then give information. It was listening to get information. My thinking process was to match what I was hearing against what I wanted to know, and figure out how it confirmed and disconfirmed what I already knew or the categories of information I sought to know more about. The tension in the roles was not fully hidden, though it felt like an internal struggle to me. In the transcript above, the probes indicated the shift, and the voice inflections and other non-verbals that are not shown in this transcript, contained other subtle indicators.

This transcript also illustrates the degree of acceptance I attained within this classroom. From the beginning of the conversation, Miles demonstrated his acceptance of me as a partner in his learning, but, in my role as a teacher. He made a bid to assert his developing skills with the content of the course by positioning himself within this conversation as my colleague as a researcher. In the early part of this transcript, I partially accept his bid, but continued to treat him as one needing instruction from I who knew more than he. In turn 12, Miles made his most effective bid with me to assert himself as an anthropologist researcher. My internal shift to the researcher role shifted the power structure within the conversation. I stopped asserting my knowledge and began affirming his bids to be considered as a skilled researcher. The remainder of the conversation was two peers talking about their shared professional experiences casually and conversationally. He had accepted my being in his classroom but accepted me as a peer rather than just a teacher. I fully accepted him as a knowledgeable expert in describing his internal subjective perceptual changes. In this conversation, I accepted his bids to assert his developing capacity as a researcher. At least with Miles, a shift in his, and in my, thinking about my roles had happened. I began to explore if this shift was happening with other students and found that it was now that students were collecting data in the field. My roles with students had become more collaborative as we began to relate to each other within a community of practice.

In my layers of roles, I was able to add much to the course beyond curriculum development. What I added included modeling and assisting teachers in develop their content knowledge of cultural practices, providing feedback for teachers from my position of observer of the impact of instruction, and assisting teachers with the time-consuming community coordination piece. As a collaborator with students in a community of practice, I was able to

acquaint them with a career option, but more importantly model and coach them in the relevance of this field in their own daily life.

3.5   CONTEXT SUMMARY

This chapter provided the context for my investigation of how students Developed the Capacity for Tolerance within a folklife education course that focused upon teaching students the skills of ethnographic inquiry to investigate cultural processes. I described three important contextual features that situated this course in a place, described its participants and how they came to be part of the course and my study, and outlined the course's content providing details about the course development process and the way the course was introduced to the students. With the development and content overview of the where, who, and what context described, I have provided insights into the input of instruction that students received. This sets the stage for my investigation into what students found impacted their learning and helped them Develop their Capacity for Tolerance. The course was richly complex with learning activities designed to engage students, but students did not find everything of the course was of equal value in their learning experiences. In this chapter, I presented what the input was, the remainder of the dissertation presents what students found was the most impactful and how they grew in response to the inputs.

In this chapter I also provided descriptions about my roles in developing and teaching the course and in assisting students as they developed their skills as researchers. Transparency in the nature of my involvement throughout the planning and execution of the course, and in my relationships with teachers and students is a further contextual layer that situates the instructional

inputs and the student learning outputs. With this transparency, I add to the trustworthiness of my findings. With my descriptions of my layered roles, I also provide insights into the contributions I, as a folklife education partner, made with the teachers. I present these insights into how we collaborated to help inform folklorists and teachers who wish to work together to develop folklife education programs in other schools about what is possible. My findings with students, presented in subsequent chapters, will further guide my audience in determining the importance of folklife education partnerships for Developing students' Capacity for Tolerance.

4.0   IDENTIFYING LEARNING AND THE COMPONENTS INVOLVED IN DEVELOPING THE CAPACITY FOR TOLERANCE

In this qualitative research study, I used ethnographic field methods for data collection and linguistic, thematic and micro analysis methods to analyze the data collected. To investigate my research question, I gathered extensive naturalistic data occurring within this classroom and isolated the data that would best reveal how students were Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. In this chapter, I first explain data collection and management methods I used. Then I showcase the emergent process I used to reduce the data I collected to a relevant corpus of data and undertake the different types of analysis with NVivo computer assisted qualitative data analysis software. By presenting the process I followed as I developed the analysis using the methods of linguistic analysis, applied thematic analysis, and microanalysis in preparation for further descriptive analysis with my analytic sub-questions, I increase transparency and demonstrate the iterative nature of my research. The illustrative story I present in this chapter is the story about how I came to recognize what in student discourse constituted them articulating their experience of growth and learning. I present analytic findings in subsequent chapters.

4.1   DATA COLLECTION

As students took part in this folklife education course, my qualitative research study captured their experiences in the classroom. The extensive use of technology in the course enabled the easy capture of multiple types of data and involved the students as both passive and active collaborators in data collection for my study. Because students could construct meaning about cultural concepts and processes at any point in their experiences, I designed my data collection to expansively capture the messiness of students' situated practice with the "contradictions, irony, and nuance of the actual conduct" (Erickson, 2006, p. 241) of learning.

I used ethnographic field methods in this study to explore the students' experiences and describe their learning from their perspectives. The ethnographic approach with description as its ultimate purpose, provides a methodology for elaborating emic-based knowledge, theories of knowledge, meanings and understandings through close attention to language and communication (Lassiter, 2005; Spindler, 1997b). I sought to capture naturally occurring learning within the classroom context with a focus on learning as determined by the students themselves. I wanted to extensively explore what students "caught" rather than focus my descriptions on what teachers "taught", a distinction Wolcott (1997) makes about educational processes. My study allowed for teaching and learning to be causally connected, but using an ethnographic approach opened a space for more and different relationships between instruction and the experience of participating in it to emerge. Ethnographic research methods were ideally suited for my examination of learning as students experience it and accessing the experience from the students' perspective. I investigated learning with ethnographic methods to first document the realized, rather than desired, learning that a diversity of students experienced in a folklife education classroom setting. Secondly, I used ethnographic methods to explore the

practical process the students were experiencing toward Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. Ethnographic methods dovetail with my aims and provide various techniques to help me as a researcher gain access to phenomenon from the perspective of those experiencing it (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Spindler & Spindler, 1997b; Wolcott, 2008).

Naturalistic data (Angrosino, 2007; Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007) was well-suited to answer my research question since the social world of the classroom was the setting of the study and I sought to examine the naturally-occurring student meaning-making processes taking place there. Teachers assigned instructional activities to help students develop skills for investigating culture and discovering cultural process concepts. To do these activities, students had to observe their community and their own lives and discern the workings of culture within them and articulate their learning content and process in their own words. These teachers placed a high value on students engaging in reflective practices, which further increased the value of this classroom as a site for my collecting naturally-occurring data on student learning. My goal was to obtain the students' emic understanding of culture as they reveal it in the naturalistic course environment, and to do so in ways that the data generated was robust, realistic and complete (Erickson, 2006; Wolcott, 1990).

To more easily obtain students' own words about their emerging concepts throughout their experiences in this class, I became an accepted part of their experience. I became recognized by the teachers and students as a functioning member of the classroom, not as an outsider. Though ethnographic research methods generally provide ways of accessing the emic perspectives of the students in the classroom (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Wolcott, 2008), the methods of collaborative action ethnography (Erickson, 2006) were better suited to this study. My researcher role was as a participant who observes (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007), or

as Erickson (2006) terms it, an observant participant. The teachers and I crafted a membership role for me in the classroom to minimize my researcher role in the eyes of the students. My involvement in collaboratively and iteratively developing the curriculum with the teachers based upon our daily observations of student progress and challenge experiences was part of my practice in this action ethnography method. The heavy technology use in the course also leveled the power relationships between researcher, teachers and students as the research required minimal researcher-imposed data collection methods and put teachers and students in charge of much of the data generated in the study.

My collaborating teachers were interested in learning more about effective teaching practice from my study, and we discussed this throughout the course, making continual adjustments to improving instruction based upon their and my observations. Though I was deeply attentive toward conducting my research in socially-just ways with practitioner ways of knowing foregrounded, I still retained the focus of my study's analysis upon investigating my question about Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. Teaching students to practice tolerance and respect in intercultural interaction situations was desired by teachers as an outcome of the course, but was not their stated instructional objective for the course because it wasn't known how to achieve it. With my research objective closely-related, but not identical, to the teachers' instructional objectives, I cannot claim that my methods fully fall on the maximally-collaborative side of Erickson's (2006) continuum of approaches in collaborative research.

Making meaning resulting from the integration of new aspects with prior knowledge and experiences can happen for students at multiple and not easily predictable points. Thus, I documented as much of the students' experiences in the classroom as possible, collecting anything that could be conceivably related to the objective of my study (Spindler & Spindler,

1997a). I collected everything so that when students indicated they had made meaning from what they were learning about cultural processes, it would be possible for me to do backwards mapping to make some of the salient factors in their learning process visible (Engle, Conant, & Greeno, 2007). By documenting the students' daily classroom experiences, I gathered data that I could examine more closely in analysis to highlight the learning that was occurring, the lessons and methods that resonated with students, and how students altered or built upon instructional experiences to internalize course elements and make the knowledge their own. Learning is a complex and individualized process happening internally with meanings uniquely constructed by the learners. There is no easy mirror to clearly reveal student learning within the inherently complex teaching and learning process as it is occurring in the classroom. Without prior understanding of the process of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance, it was challenging for me to predict the specific instructional aspects students would attend to and the meaning making they were likely to experience when they did. Capturing the complex experiences of these youth, as broadly as I did gather them, made it possible for me to take a deeper look into their meaning making whenever it occurred.

Since my methods aimed to come as close as possible in capturing classroom learning naturalistically, I did not wish to disrupt the classroom environment and students' experiences within it by introducing formal research interviewing into that setting. The data I needed for this study was what was naturally occurring in the classroom in students' own words and experiences. The data collection methods I used in the classroom thus embedded me as a participant and relied heavily on observation and gathering the artifacts students generated through various assignments. I strove to maintain the normally occurring classroom experience as much as possible to increase the rigor of my study and my ability to speak more generally and

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with confidence about the insights it was possible for students in classrooms to gain through folklife education learning activities.

My being situated within the classroom setting within a participatory role designed to increase student acceptance of me brought me one step closer to attaining an emic perspective on their learning. It was never my intent to confuse students about my role as researcher-in-residence by shifting into a strictly researcher role to conduct a formal interview. The only situation that could have triggered me to have made that shift was if I saw that a student had more to say but for some reason was not revealing much in the classroom context. In such a case, my data collection goals for this study, of gathering the emerging understandings of the students in ways that were believably realistic and complete, would have been best served by my switching roles. If such a situation had presented itself, I was prepared to set up a formal interview opportunity outside of the classroom and provide a means for that student's voice to be heard in the study even though it was being silenced in the classroom in some way. Such a situation did not present itself in this classroom. My study benefited from the already established relationships of trust and belonging amongst students and faculty in the school.

Teachers practiced an instructional technique of finding out where students were in their thinking and then helping them make the connection to the concepts through questioning and suggestions. As an anthropologist-in-residence participant in the class, I had ample opportunities to informally talk with individual and small groups of students and sometimes assist with whole class instruction. My interactions with students mirrored the teachers' instructional practice so were geared to advancing student learning through finding out from them what they were thinking and experiencing and then making suggestions or posing more questions that shed additional light upon how the cultural aspect they were grappling with aligned with the

instruction of that day. Whether it was teachers or I who interacted with students in this way, these experiences were included in the audio recorded documentation occurring for this study.

Using ethnographic methods for data collection entailed my engagement in focused observation of student classroom experiences to see how students were making meaning of folklife education curriculum on cultural processes. Observation was the predominant method I used on this project, but I did not rely upon my own eyes as the sole observational point. Students had complex experiences within the classroom. They interacted with instructional activities in the classroom and community settings, interacted with the teachers and fellow students, and interacted with their memories of prior outside-of-school community experiences that teachers asked students to recall and use as content within learning activities. Though I was in the room intently observing and capturing data through two mostly unmanned audio recorders (placed in different parts of the room and running continuously throughout class session) and one video recorder also running continuously (at a wide-angle setting to keep as many students as possible in the frame that was usually placed on the side of the room about halfway back to easily pan the students in the room), there was much I could not capture on my own. All students took an active role in data collection and captured many of their interactions through the variety of technologies used in the classroom and through their completion of assignments. For example, students would collaboratively create popplets on a computer in their work groups, audio record their interviews of each other, and video and audio record their interviews of community members, while I video recorded them engaging in these activities. Student-made audio and video recordings, blogs and electronic files of various assignments became artifacts in my study. Even though every assignment students completed and every recording students made were

valuable sources for data for my study, these artifacts' primary value in the classroom was to the students as aids to their learning and to the teachers as aids for assessment.

4.1.1   Sampling method

I used purposive sampling in this study to research the classroom experiences of only those students enrolled in the *Cultural Anthropology and Digital Media Design* class taught in one term. Though maximum diversity of all types of variations within the student population would have been ideal, purposive sampling procedure dictated that all the students enrolled in this class, and only them, were eligible to become participants in the study (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). I as the researcher had no influence over the students who enrolled, though teachers recruited a few students who had interest in either cultural anthropology or digital media design and encouraged them to select to enroll in the class. Most of the students who enrolled either selected to take this course from the electives offerings in that time block or were assigned to take it by their academic advisors because they needed social studies or technology education credits to graduate. Without my having the ability to control the student participants, this introduced the dimension of convenience into my sampling procedure, for I could only involve those who conveniently enrolled in the course and agreed to participate. Once students were enrolled in the course, they had the opportunity to voluntarily participate in the study or not, with informed consent forms being sent to parents of students who were not yet 18 years of age. 100% of the students enrolled in the course also agreed to participate in my research study.

4.1.2 Data collected

Though I collected data (fieldnotes and audio recordings) with teachers at various locations (coffee houses, teacher's lounge, or empty classrooms) and at any time when we could meet to discuss the course, the students or the research activities, data collection with students was not so flexible. School administration limited data collection with students to when students were actively focused upon the course content, which for all practical purposes meant I collected data only during the assigned course meeting times. Any probes I wanted to do into active and passive aspects of student learning that the youth may have engaged in outside of course meeting times had to be solicited within the normal functioning of classroom activities, such as assignments, blog prompts or whole class discussion questions, and any such probes had to contribute to student learning within the course. Teachers designed this course to blur the distinctions between school and community as sites with content for learning, so community knowledge was integrated as a resource for learning (Deafenbaugh, 2015). Teachers hoped students were actively and passively engaged in furthering their learning about the content of this course when they were outside of the classroom during that semester. Selected assignments teachers designed sought to make such evidences of this learning spillover into the community more visible, but my data collection was restricted to documenting only what students chose to bring into the classroom. Homework was not part of the culture of the school. Therefore, any outside of classroom meaning-making involving course content that students might have been doing, and chose to share in class, was something I found particularly noteworthy.

The school administration insisted that this research study could not interfere with or detract from the focus on teaching and learning in this classroom. The study design I developed collaboratively with the teachers of ethnographic data collections methods that sought to

minimize disruptions to the naturalistic classroom environment, met the administration's requirements. The teachers and I took every opportunity to make activities occurring in the classroom during the course multifunctional to address student learning needs, teaching and assessment needs, and research data collection needs. Assignments students did were useful to the students for fostering their learning. The same assignments were useful to teachers for assessing the students' learning and adjusting instruction. Then these assignments became useful to the research project as sources of data available for me to examine for evidences of processes students used in Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. Technology seamlessly integrated this multi-purposed use of assignments by students, teachers and researcher. Students could easily produce electronic files within assignments and easily transfer them to the server where teachers and I could access them to make copies for our differing needs.

With my aim to document students' experiences in the course and capture their expressions about their learning in this course, I collected various types of data. Since digital media was one of the content areas taught in this course, data occurred in various formats. The formats of data I collected for this study included:

- Student writing, such as: reflective writing in blog posts and comments on other student's blog posts, posts to the virtual wall of cultural concepts and processes, essays, tests and quizzes.

- Student visual creations, such as: popplet concept maps, digital photographs, digital videos, drawn maps, and edited final products in multi-media powerpoint format.

- Student verbalizations, such as: audio recordings of discussions in small group work, audio/video recordings of whole class discussions, audio recordings of conversations with researcher or teacher.

Being a high-tech high school in which each student had his/her own laptop, students took charge of recording their own discussions in group work on their computers. I took charge of documenting the classroom context through video/audio recording of instruction and whole class discussions. The teachers and I made audio recordings of informal interviews and one-on-one discussions between a teacher or researcher and a student if the students happened not to be recording at the time.

Since I was present in the classroom every day, I observed the student experiences occurring in the class, participated in instructional activities occasionally, and made sure that one recorder was always near the part of the room I was in to record conversations I was hearing from my vantage point. I placed a second unmanned audio recorder at a different location in the classroom to capture conversations happening across the room from where I stood, or it was carried by a teacher when he or she engaged in on-on-one conversations with students. The video camera was most often unmanned as I set it up to record footage from a third vantage point that was not very far from the alcove near the door where I would sit to take fieldnotes, so I could monitor the battery and adjust where the camera was pointing for different learning activities.

I also collected the important contextual data for this study about the classroom and the course to situate the student experiences and expressions about their learning and better understand the processes involved in students Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. Context data I collected included:

- Planned written curriculum

- Video of enacted curriculum

- Planning notes, emails, and audio recordings of planning/debriefing meetings

- Researcher field notes

Learning is such a complex experience for students. By not knowing exactly which passive or active learning experiences were the most important to students in Developing the Capacity for Tolerance, my data collection sought to capture the students' experience in the course to the fullest extent possible with minimal disturbance to the naturalistic classroom environment. Evidences of useful student learning experiences could occur at any point for individual students and occur in various ways, so I set out to gather everything I could within the block of time students were in the course. With my collecting data so comprehensively, I found I had captured many spontaneous expressions of learning in the form of "aha" moments along with the recording of more deliberative teacher-solicited expressions of student understanding.

Because my study used ethnographic methods, I was committed to documenting student learning from their emic perspective. My study design thus recognized that student engagement in meaning making about the course's many concepts would occur whenever the students did it, rather than only occurring when the teacher prompted them to do it. Certainly, teacher prompts for reflective writing in various assignments such as blogs and exam questions, proved to be particularly rich sources of student discussion on their learning and new insights. But whole class discussions, small group discussions and assignments, and individual assignments also contained student expressions of learning while providing micro-contextual information I found extremely useful in analysis of the process a student may have been experiencing at that moment. The quantity and quality of data students generated in this course was extensive and provided me with much to explore to answer the questions of this study.

4.1.3   Data management

With so much data to organize, I used NVivo computer assisted qualitative data analysis software to facilitate data management (QSR, 2010a, 2010b). I used version NVivo9, upgraded mid project to NVivo10, and organized the various items chronologically to align data management with how teachers used weeks as their structure when planning course activities. I de-identified with pseudonyms all collected data that could be de-identified. Assignments, like exams that had students responding to a uniform set of questions, I structure coded (Guest et al., 2012) using NVivo's auto-coding feature. This type of coding organized all answers to identical questions within a hierarchical coding tree and facilitated further coding. I treated individual students as cases within NVivo with fixed-feature attributes assigned like gender, self-declared ethnicity, and teacher-determined learning types. I found attributes useful in querying coded data to look for patterns. I also clustered data occurring in each instructional week into sets to facilitate analysis and look for useful patterns when querying.

I only transcribed the 60+ hours of video (continuous filming of each class session) and 125+ hours of audio (continuous taping of each class session on two recorders placed in different parts of the room plus audio taping of planning sessions with teachers) as needed during the analysis process. Because I had one video and two audio recordings of each class session, I designated one file as the main recording of that class session with the other files consulted when I could not clearly hear any words. The main type of transcript I created were content logs to help me find data. I did make verbatim transcripts of selected segments of recordings whenever I deemed these segments significant for use in analysis.

4.2   DATA ANALYSIS

My analytic sub-questions developed to target the process students experienced when they Develop the Capacity for Tolerance guided my analysis. But the first challenge I faced was to reduce the large amount of data I had gathered of everything occurring in the classroom into a corpus of data most useful for addressing my analytic sub-questions with depth and nuance. In maintaining my study's approach to investigate students' learning from their emic perspective, it was important that I identified when students expressed metacognitive awareness of their own learning and explored the teaching and learning strategies that usefully helped them in their learning process.

I did not enter my study with my analysis strategy predetermined, but let my selection of analysis methods emerge as I gathered and organized the data and gained insights into the complexities within the classroom. I provide a narrative story of how I initiated my analytic exploration and details of coding hierarchies and analytic queries I created to increase the transparency of my process and demonstrate the iterative nature of my inquiry. My process in conducting analysis was not linear, but here I present my data reduction coding and the salient patterns that emerged within them in a sequence for ease of understanding how I arrived at my corpus of data. By the end of the analytic exploration I did in this study, I had made use of linguistic analysis, thematic analysis and micro analysis methods, all facilitated by NVivo computer software. With this compilation of methods, I arrived at a corpus of data that isolated students' learning that they found impacted them, identified components involved in Developing the Capacity for Tolerance, and examined nuances within individual student experiences that shed further light upon the processes by which students Developed their Capacity for Tolerance.

4.2.1 Developing my initial analysis strategy

For the first half of the course, I puzzled over how I could operationalize the students' perspectives about their learning and what they considered as important learning experiences. My "aha" moment of a good place to begin occurred in Week 5, the field data collection week in the community. I return to the conversation with Miles I discussed in Chapter 3 that occurred right after one of the interview/tours with a community member of the city center. It was something Miles said in our conversation while we walked back to the school that provided me with the starting point for the analysis in my study.

On that day, I carried the digital camera for gathering data for my study, and as was my standard fieldwork practice, I recorded continuously. About a third of the way through our conversation and unprompted by any direct question from me, Miles told me, "Ever since I've been taking this class I have been looking at things totally differently." Miles had volunteered this personal insight statement and I capitalized upon his enthusiasm to probe further with an on-the-spot informal interview about this different way of seeing and what he could now notice.

In that insightful conversation, Miles not only provided me with a detailed description of the impact he was experiencing from participating in this course, but unbeknown to him, he provided me with a starting point for analysis. "Useful analytic concepts sometimes arise 'spontaneously', being used by participants themselves" (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007, p. 211). I wanted to know if other students were experiencing impacts similar to "looking at things totally differently" from the course. If so, could or would they too describe them? Miles' spontaneous sharing triggered me to discuss with the teachers how we might develop prompts about the concept of looking at things differently in reflective questions on the final exam. The reflection questions we developed worked well to stimulate students' thoughtful descriptions of

their learning in this course, but I later learned while I reviewed audio/video recordings that Miles was not the only one spontaneously talking about the impact the learning in this class was having upon him. Students discussed this at many times during the course, whether prompted or not. I needed to identify these times. Based off Miles' well-phrased comment about his learning, which I will examine more closely later in this chapter, I decided that some type of linguistic analysis would be useful to initiate my analysis exploration by looking closely at the words students used to describe their experiences.

When reading over the students' responses in the final exams, I noticed other students articulated variations on Miles' phrase of "looking at things totally differently." What the other students described as seeing or being different for them included many aspects about investigating culture and cultural processes that teachers addressed in this course, along with others that teachers did not teach. Students' phrasing and use of language gave me the impression that students considered the learning they experienced transformational in some way. Not all the students used language in exactly the same way, but they still communicated that their learning somehow impacted them.

When students were expressing their experiences of learning, I noticed they often used a type of verbal pointing to indicate that what they were talking about was something they had learned or experienced when learning. I wanted to code the data sensitively and in ways likely to lead to identifying differences in student learning processes. I sought a ready analysis tool to use that could help me code and explore nuances in this linguistic pointing I was seeing.

Discourse analysis with its sociolinguist roots held some potential for analytic approaches to what I was finding. What I was noticing in my data were words, or sets of words, being used to function with a meaning in a particular situation - a situated context of reflecting upon

learning. Students were using these words as a way for building connections between awareness of learning and content learned. I explored Gee's (2011) discourse analysis toolkit, but did not find either his connections building tool nor situated meaning tool as fully helpful with analysis. Nor did I find function or context analysis (Gee, 2005) readily applicable to what I was trying to isolate in my data. Nonetheless, these approaches informed my thinking about how to approach the language patterns I was noticing by sharpening my attention on language functioning.

I found Chi's (1997) verbal analysis process instructive in how she blended qualitative and quantitative methods through discourse analysis to attempt to figure out what a learner knows based on what the learner says. Chi examined learners talking as they were involved in learning. I was working with learner reflections upon learning that had previously occurred. Though I desired a process for exploring students' ways of speaking about their learning, there were too many differences between what Chi was studying and what I was studying to use her method directly. But Chi's verbal analysis process of doing reduction, segmentation into a meaningful granularity size, code formulation, determining what utterances constitute evidences of specific codes, and triangulating data provided guidance on a process that I could follow.

Equipped with a process rather than a ready tool to use, I developed my own double-coding process using discourse analysis approaches of focusing upon language in use. My first layer of coding focused on isolating a specific use of language the students often employed when they discussed learning. My approach identified when students perceive their own learning by looking carefully at the words they use and the ways they use them. I isolated the various ways students used language when they indicated impactful learning, and this set a basic framework in place for other coding layers. The language students used pointed toward the speaker/writer's metacognitive awareness about the process of learning and served as a connector to highlight

what students felt was the content of their learning or some other important aspect of their learning. To arrive at patterns within the language students used to achieve this function, I developed a second layer of coding for nuance within the first layer of coding.

My analysis on student perception of learning as impactful shed greater light upon the processes involved in the students' experience of learning content by pointing me to the content and instructional experiences the students considered the most important. Later, the content of student learning became another analytic coding layer for me that expanded upon the first two coding layers and isolated what concepts the impactful learning language pointed to so that I could examine them to develop theoretical understandings about the process of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. However, for that coding, I needed to use another analysis method. At this early point in my analysis journey, I was at the stage of needing to reduce the mountain of data gathered to a useful set for examining my research questions. The linguistic analytic process I developed first usefully illuminated the students' emic perspectives about their learning experiences through their metacognitive awareness of their learning. I used linguistic analysis to systematically identify students' perspective on their learning rather than my imposing some external assessment defining when students learned upon my data. By isolating the times when students spoke or wrote about their learning with the help of these language in use incidences, I reduced the data and established a corpus of data that I would approach with other analytic methods to further explore my questions. In the reduction process, I found the language in use patterns also usefully revealed much about the learning process these students were experiencing.

4.2.2 Operationalizing impact of learning

My analysis of language in use revealed nuanced insights into the growth and learning students were experiencing in this course. I looked closely at when and how students indicated that they had or were experiencing some sort of impact. The resulting patterns in my analysis, reveal insights into the progression of learning throughout the course and the instructional activities that students considered had the most impact upon their learning. But first, I present how I addressed initial data quality concerns I had about if learning in this course even was impacting the students, and quantity concerns about if sufficient amounts of impact was taking place to reveal patterns.

4.2.2.1 Quality and quantity concerns: Establishing that student learning was being impacted

Even before I entered the classroom, I knew I wanted to emerge with students' emic perspective about their learning. What I did not know when I walked in that door for the first time was what form(s) such perspectives would take or even if these perspectives would yield sufficient data in both quantity and quality for building theoretical understandings about Developing the Capacity for Tolerance, or anything else for that matter. The teachers and I had designed this course for students to learn cultural concepts and fieldwork skills in ways that required them to synthesize the learning components with ever increasing complexity. But within this layered learning experience, I was not sure when to expect what degree of impact or shift in student thinking to become visible. The possibility also existed for students to experience no impact at all.

My concerns about the possibility of discovering a total lack of data were alleviated immediately. From the initial whole class discussion on the first day of the course, I heard a

phrase that let me know that something was captivating student interest and triggering thought. "That's deep," Akim spontaneously exclaimed as the introductory video "*Everybody's Ethnic*" (LearningSeed, 2001) was paused for the first discussion of cultural concepts. Ms. Connolly then officially opened the discussion with a prompt about the video, "What did you get out of it so far?" Several students jumped in with their observations and opinions. When Akim next commented, his contribution was situated in the conversation. His statement immediately followed another student's utterance and provided an example illustrating the point made by that student. Unfortunately, from my perspective, Akim did not use his conversational turn to elaborate on his initial reaction of what in the video struck him as being so "deep". Regardless, Akim had showed me an example of an emic linguistic marker indicating that something was taking place within his thinking. As I mentioned above, it took me weeks before I could pinpoint Akim's exclamation as a language in use marker phrase useful in analysis, but my fears about getting any data at all were laid to rest.

Throughout the course, I did hear "that's deep" used occasionally in whole class discussions, and students continued to use this phrase as a standalone exclamation without elaborating upon it. Students seem to use this phrase to mark that they were finding something about whatever they are experiencing interesting and thought provoking, though they were not quite ready to articulate exactly what that was at the moment. Teachers accepted the phrase as a conversational contribution signaling engagement in class discussion.

Miles also happened to be one of the student participants making elaborated verbalization of his thinking process in that initial Day 1 whole class discussion. Miles started his turn in the conversation by saying, "It makes sense now that somebody says it. But you don't think about it. But now that someone is saying it you are just like …" He finished his turn by sharing a specific

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cultural example illustrating variation in cultural traditions. Miles thus indicated that indeed something was happening in his thinking, he was comfortable thinking aloud in front of the class, and he was able and willing to describe it with a fair amount of detail. Akim and Miles exemplify how the students provided me with early indications of impactful learning, and demonstrated some of the wide variation the evidences expressing their awareness of learning would take.

I was also able to quickly lay aside my initial concerns about the quality of data. As these examples from Miles and Akim show, even on the first day, discussions were rich and meaningful content-wise and were peppered with students occasionally sharing their thinking about thinking. Student writing in early blog posts fit a similar pattern. After four years together, students were clearly so comfortable with each other and the teachers that the group needed little time in this course to establish classroom norms and relationships. I saw many evidences of student comfort throughout the course, including students' willingness to share their opinions and to participate in cultural discussions with topics that were sometimes sensitive or personal. Being comfortable with each other facilitated students' engagement and reflective participation within the course and helped me attain quality data for this study.

My membership role in the class allowed me to be present in the classroom every day and observe classroom conversations. I was also a full member of the class' internet blog community and observed these written conversations. My viewing of other written assignments could not happen in real time because I did not have membership privileges that afforded me access to the school's server. Teachers transferred digital files containing assignments to me as soon as time permitted. Even with the delay of a day or two in receiving these files, I could monitor the data and assess if I should suggest changes to an upcoming activity or prompt for reflection that might

encourage students to deepen their thinking. Every suggested change I made was mindful to first improve instruction and learning while being useful to me for potentially increasing my data quality.

Blogging was new to most students. To help distinguish academic blogging from social networking, teachers developed and provided prompts for blogging and guidelines for commenting. Teachers' prompts for blogging pushed students to develop their capabilities in reflecting upon both content and process. The thoughtfulness of the student responses to the prompts for reflective writing yielded rich data for addressing my research questions, and the number of reflective prompts teachers gave in this course helped me attain a larger quantity of data to analyze. With my having access to all student assignments to accompany the video and audio recorders capturing classroom discussions, I found the naturalistic classroom environment yielded sufficient amounts and quality of data for examining student Development of the Capacity for Tolerance.

4.2.2.2 Verbalizations of impact: Marker phrases

My guiding question for shaping my linguistic analysis was: how do students mark their descriptions of their learning? I addressed it by coding the marker phrases students used to signal they were assuming a metacognitive perspective and were reflecting upon their own thinking and learning. To identify these emic *marker phrases*, I coded the single word, or the combination of words, students used to mark that the rest of the sentence, or the surrounding sentences, contained some changes, large or small, in their thinking or learning. I use the term *markers* for the ways these students used language to indicate they were experiencing some sort of shift in their thinking. I use the term *phrase* to refer to a group of words that the students used collectively as markers. My coding does not follow other linguistic analysis frameworks since

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the marker phrases I coded would include various combinations of multiple parts of speech. Perhaps my data set might be a rich source for further examination using structural functional linguistic analysis, but that type of investigation was beyond the scope of this study.

I observed broad diversity within the marker phrases. But within the diversity, I noticed that the students had various patterned ways of marking the shifts that were happening in their thinking. In initial coding of all marker phrases, sometimes I kept the contents or experiences these were marking with them. I did this so marker phrases that were separated by content could be clearly seen. I then recoded just the marker phrases into more nuanced emically-derived codes based upon the various ways the students used the words and phrases. This second-level coding tree I developed for marker phrases included five types that the students used: *Before and after cues, New ideas expanded thinking, Thinking more deeply – content, Thinking differently – process*, and *Changes to future self.* These are not mutually exclusive categories since students' words for marking could contain elements that might place them in more than one category. Students had various ways of pointing their reader/listener to pay attention to what they were sharing with their audience as something the student deemed important about a learning activity or about the course in its totality. When students discussed changes in their thinking, I discovered that they would use a variety of marker phrases to signal to the reader or listener that the student was shifting to a metacognitive perspective.

Using data exploration features of NVivo computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (QSR, 2010a), I systematically searched through the various types of data gathered to look for the many incidences of marker phrase use. As I recognized words that students were likely to use in marker phrases, I could use text search queries to identify other times those words appeared in the data. I then evaluated each contextual usage of the targeted word to determine if

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it was being used by the student as a marker phrase. I found students used marker phrases in writing and speaking. They used them when teachers solicited students to discuss their learning, and they used them spontaneously to communicate the experience of having a new insight in "aha" moments.

4.2.2.3 Recognizing impact within reflection

The teachers, with my input, designed this course to encourage students to engage in reflective thinking in multiple ways through many assignments. When students used their own lives as sources of data, these learning activities prompted students to reflect back upon their own experiences. Teachers encouraged students to attend to their inner experiences while they were engaging in fieldwork. Recording their own impressions and reactions to field experiences was critically important for students to do when they were learning about collecting subjective research data. Reflection thus could become subjective data and students could use these as a starting point when completing data analysis assignments. Teachers encouraged students to use reflection when inserting their own voices in their final projects. Teachers used the blogging technology as a space for students to regularly engage in reflection and gave students prompts to focus their reflective writing in new blog entries. Students used the interactivity of blogs as places to respond to each other's reflections. I noticed some of the student responses to their peers were very reflective back into their own experiences rather than staying fully focused upon discussing the original writer's experiences. The thoughtfulness of many blog posts showed that students were writing to clarify their own thinking to themselves. In clarifying their thinking for themselves, they also made their thoughts and thinking processes more visible to their classmates, their teachers, and to me.

Reflection assignments would prompt students to think about their own experiences with culture in their own lives and communities and with their learning in how to investigate it. A prompt could ask students to write about a family tradition or it could ask students to verbally reflect upon their learning as a wrap up to their audio recording of small group work sessions. The final exam contained several questions asking students to reflect upon their learning throughout the course and to consider the future utility of any of these insights.

All these reflective thinking assignments teachers gave provided students with many opportunities to verbalize their emerging insights and describe any changes in thinking they were experiencing. Reflection as an instructional practice supported students in learning by keeping students focused upon the task of learning. In addition, these reflective thinking assignments produced evidences for my study of students grappling with course concepts and developing research skills. As it turns out, the assignments with teacher-given prompts for reflective writing contained most of the incidences of students using marker phrases and articulating the impact this course had upon them. I did find incidences of students reflecting upon their learning within reflection assignments without using any marker phrases, but most often students used these linguistic forms to point to their learning, and in so doing, communicated additional nuance about their learning experiences. Reflection, particularly prompted reflected writing assignments, were thus one of the richest places in the course for me to find students' emic perspectives on their learning that I could usefully include in building my corpus of data.

4.2.2.4 Triangulating for data quality

With student reflections facilitated by instructional prompts as the richest sources of data for this study, I realized I might have a quality concern if students were not serious about their writing. I needed to verify that the student writings were authentic reflections of their perspectives about

their learning rather than some sort of procedural displays just for a grade. I used two ways to triangulate the quality of student reflective perspectives expressed in response to instructional prompts. First, I sought to determine if unprompted student reflections that occurred in the course were like those prompted. Secondly, I identified incidences of procedural display simply for the grade in student writing to determine if these were different from their written reflections discussing their learning.

I went through the data gathered to identify occurrences of unprompted incidences of students discussing impactful learning experiences in this course. These spontaneous incidences would happen when students verbally articulated their learning in conversations with the teachers or me or in conversations students were having with each other. Unprompted reflective statements would also sometimes occur in written blog post feedback conversations between students within blogging groups. These spontaneous expressions very often contained the excitement that accompanies an "aha" moment and an element of genuine yearning to share some exciting thing that was happening with someone else. I was not surprised that there were far fewer of these spontaneous sharings than there were prompted written reflections. But those spontaneous sharing examples that were captured provided further evidence of emerging insights and changes in thinking students experienced.

Table 2: Types of marker phrases used in unprompted reflective statements

Types of markers	Spontaneously verbalized
Before and after cues	1
New ideas expanded thinking	2
Thinking more deeply- content	2
Thinking differently - process	8
Changes to future self	6

As seen in Table 2, the students used the same five types of marker phrases in spontaneous verbal and written reflections as they used in prompted written reflections. Spontaneous reflective statements also contain similar content to the prompted written reflections. The lack of difference between these two types of reflection situations gives me confidence in considering prompted student reflective writing as equally authentic expressions of student perspectives about the impact the course was having upon them and the growth and learning students were experiencing.

I next examined the impact typical classroom power dynamics may have had upon student writing within their prompted reflection assignments. Because grades were involved, I had to consider the balance between the reflective writings being procedural display to get a grade verses authentic reflection of the student's thinking. When students were given a reflective writing assignment, they all would write, but they did not all always reflect. Writing that was not reflective was distinctly different. Non-reflective writing lacked personal investment and did not contain the marker phrases that pointed the reader to notice that the writer was engaging in meta-level thinking about his/her own learning. Lack of marker phrases was a characteristic of non-reflective writing, but it was not the most critical one since reflective student writing could include no marker phrases but still contain meta-level thinking and be included in my data corpus. More telling characteristics of non-reflective writing were that the writing was more superficial and mechanical about content, and contained nothing explicit indicating that the student was perceiving s/he was learning. Though I cannot know if students were purely motivated by grades when they did such superficial writing or if they just did not know how to do reflective writing, but non-reflective writing contrasted with the students' written reflections on their learning experiences in the course.

I encountered another type of writing in a few blog posts that contained language about being reflective, but the writing was marginally reflective and more of a procedural display. This type of writing lacked details and depth, made poorly supported assertions or broad generalizations, and communicated a superficial investment in doing reflective writing. Lack of detail was not the most important defining characteristic since reflective writing could be short, but be committed to communicating the student's perspective and experiences. Writing that lacked investment in being reflective was minimally thoughtful and threw together words in ways that seemed more heavily weighted toward getting a good grade than maximizing the opportunity to reflect. Procedural display writing stood in contrast to reflective writing that contained details describing impact and change to accompany the marker phrases pointing to shifts in thinking. I can never be sure of the motivation of a student when s/he was writing. But when a student whose previous work shows depth and detail in his/her reflective writing then writes a marginally reflective post, s/he gives me the opportunity to examine procedural display writing since writing anything for an assignment contributed more to a student's grade than writing nothing.

I gained a sense of the quality of the students' expressions of their learning through the contrasts between non-reflective and procedural display writing and reflective writing. The contrasts helped me determine that for most reflective writing, the scale was tipped toward supporting that students reflective writing came from a place of authenticity. When triangulating my findings to look at the similarities of written reflective writing with spontaneous verbal expressions of learning and the contrasts with procedural display and non-reflective writing, I was assured that the data I included in my corpus for analysis was of quality in reflecting students' authentic perspectives about the course's impacts upon their learning.

4.2.2.5 Nuances in learning experiences conveyed by marker phrases

When coding, I identified five types of marker phrases that students used to cue their reader/listener that they were shifting to a metacognitive perspective to share something that they deemed important to discuss about their learning and how they were being transformed in some way. When students used the different types of linguistic marker phrases in their many reflective writings, they indicated they were growing in multiple ways in this course and revealed different nuances in the changes they were experiencing in their thinking. As I describe the meanings of each type of marker phrase, the selection of students' marker phrases I provide in Table 3 illustrates what each type of marker phrase practically looked like and shows the phrase variations students used within it.

Table 3: Student linguistic marker phrases used when discussing changes in their thinking

1. *Before and after cues*
"I never knew… I now see"
"I think of … a bit more" "trying to think why … instead of"
"at first i didn't understand … so now since i had Anthro class"
"Before, I would … but now I"
"I've begun to think about …rather than"
"This has caused me to think differently because… Before I never would think about"
"Until having a class like this, I never would've thought much about"… "Now, I have a whole new perspective on"
2. *New ideas expanded thinking*
"I learned"
"before I didn't know there were"
"This class made me realize"
"It really made me think about"
"I had no idea"
"had never really crossed my mind before"
"It has caused to start to think about"
"The … I found most interesting"
3. *Thinking more deeply - content*
"… seem more interesting to me now"
"This helps me understand … even more because"

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Table 3 continued

"It's helped me understand…"
"It has taught me a lot about"
"I learned a lot about"
4.   **Thinking differently - process**
"I think about … in a completely different light now"
"Ever since I've been taking this class I have been looking at things totally differently."
"I had the change[sic] (*I believe she meant chance*) to look at things differently than I normally would"
5. **Changes to future self**
"I've learned … I think that will stick with me because…"
"From being in this class, I can say that I truly have developed ... I can see a difference"
"It's cause me to be more"
"more than what i had thought i knew"
"It will be useful to me whenever"

The first type of marker phrase I found the students used, *Before and after cues,* was characterized by their use of a "before and after" structure. They used this language structure to make a comparison between their thinking before and after taking this course or engaging in a particular course learning activity. Students would use comparison markers to discuss concepts or the experience of thinking itself. With this structure, students made explicit how they had thought before and so provided evidence indicating the degree of change they experienced.

New ideas expanded thinking, the second type of marker phrase students used, pointed to the student experiencing a change but s/he did not provide explicit evidence about what his/her "before" thinking might have been. Students seemed to use this second type of marker phrases to point to ideas that appeared to be new to them. If a student had never considered the idea before in some way or another, s/he did not have a prior reference point to use for comparison. This marker phrase structure provided me with evidence of expansions in thinking that were occurring as students encountered novel content and found it of interest.

The third type of markers students used, *Thinking more deeply – content,* focused on describing the nuances of the changes in their thinking that they were experiencing. Students seemed to use this third type of phrase to mark ideas that were not new to them, but through this course and its activities, they found they spent more time thinking about these ideas than they normally would have. The changes in thinking students pointed to with this marker phrase type were not just in the amount of time spent, since reflective writing discussions containing these marker phrases also contained the new content insights they gained from spending more time thinking about these ideas. This marker phrase type provided me with evidence that at least some measure of productive engagement deepening prior knowledge occurred in this course.

Students used *Thinking differently – process*, the fourth type of marker phrase, to discuss changes to their thinking processes rather than to their content knowledge. Students would use these phases when they discussed changes they were experiencing to their repertoire of thinking methods. This type of marker phrase provided me with evidences of expansions occurring within the students approaches to learning and pointed to these changes taking place within the students' experiences with learning processes and ways of thinking.

The fifth type, *Changes to future self,* contains phrases students used to point to changes they were experiencing that they considered as long-term changes. This type marked student reflections about how their learning would be useful to them in settings outside of class. These markers included phrases portraying possibilities and future imaginings. These markers indicated that changes the students were describing, were profound enough to affect who they were and would be from that point forward. In this type of marker phrase, I saw evidences indicating the students' perception of the importance of the changes they were experiencing toward shaping their future actions and who they might become.

The five different types of linguistic marker phrases gave me more nuanced discernment into the changes students were experiencing within their learning. When students used marker phrases, the various types provided additional information about the context of the content that they marked, and helped clarify my understandings about students' experiences. In using marker phrases, students did more than just describe what was happening to them: students demonstrated that they could (had the capacity to) notice and describe these experiences from a metacognitive perspective. Students could see their own growth. They could recognize and describe something new, or different, or more nuanced, or deeper, or more complex occurring in their experiences. Students could recognize that they themselves had somehow changed and could become different armed with the new knowledge they had acquired through the course. Through reflection on their own learning, students reinforced a developing sense of their own agency, capacity, and confidence.

4.2.2.6 Individual student variations in marker phrase use

Having identified distinctive types within marker phrases, my analytic attention shifted focus from considering marker phrase use as a feature of the collective of students in this course to investigating patterns of use by individual students. This course contained such diversity in the students, I wondered if marker phrase use was widespread, or if the use of different types of marker phrases was dominated by a few students. I examined how individual students engaged in describing their learning with the use of various types of marker phrases.

When I examined the raw pattern of marker phrase use, I found that students varied a great deal in how much and how often they would use marker phrases to point to their reflections upon their learning. The least articulate student used eight marker phrases throughout the course whereas the most articulate used 80 marker phrases. Some students would use one marker for a

whole blog posting whereas other students would use multiple markers in a paragraph or even in a sentence. All students used marker phrases with some degree of regularity, but I cannot use the volume of marker phrases as a useful reflection of impact students were experiencing given the diversity of writing capabilities in the group.

Table 4: Individual student's use of types of marker phrases

	Before and after cues	New ideas expanded thinking	Thinking more deeply- content	Thinking differently - process	Changes to future self
1 : Aaron	11.82%	18.21%	23.64%	28.12%	18.21%
2 : Akim	0%	33.86%	40.94%	11.81%	13.39%
3 : Alice	5.82%	19.67%	45.98%	4.71%	23.82%
4 : Andrew	17.25%	25.1%	17.25%	18.43%	21.96%
5 : Avery	6.19%	15.79%	19.81%	43.34%	14.86%
6 : Bryce	11.48%	30.44%	18.97%	18.5%	20.61%
7 : Daniel	13.39%	36.22%	11.02%	8.66%	30.71%
8 : Erik	1%	27%	16.5%	31%	24.5%
9 : Fiona	7.53%	21.82%	25.19%	32.21%	13.25%
10 : Gary	1.71%	20.8%	29.91%	43.02%	4.56%
11 : Geno	12.45%	10.73%	18.88%	24.03%	33.91%
12 : Harris	11.67%	6.9%	36.43%	28.81%	16.19%
13 : Kenzo	16.77%	31.61%	26.45%	18.71%	6.45%
14 : Luis	0%	27.59%	10.34%	18.97%	43.1%
15 : Miles	22.87%	4.79%	13.83%	39.89%	18.62%
16 : Mimi	0%	22.43%	18.69%	17.76%	41.12%
17 : Randall	10.11%	11.24%	51.69%	0%	26.97%
18 : Rebecca	33.79%	8.97%	9.66%	28.97%	18.62%
19 : Rhiana	5.51%	18.11%	33.07%	14.17%	29.13%
20 : Robb	2.54%	20.06%	30.23%	30.23%	16.95%
21 : Rosalyn	7.76%	14.19%	20.4%	23.06%	34.59%
22 : Tara	8.12%	33.76%	36.32%	9.83%	11.97%
23 : Victor	8%	37.71%	28.57%	13.14%	12.57%
24 : Zephira	9.39%	23%	39.91%	17.14%	10.56%

In Table 4, I present each student's use of the five marker phrase types. The row percentages are calculated for each student and show their individual preferences for using each

type of marker phrases. By using percentages rather than totals, I could more usefully examine the use patterns for individuals and compare across students to see broader patterns. Some students used marker phrases of each type evenly distributed across the categories as visually represented by the yellowness of their rows. Other students had distinctive preferences for a marker phrase type as represented by the intensity of the reds or had rarely used a type as represented by the greens in their row. There are very few green zeros to indicate that a student did not use that marker phrase type in the course and no red 100s to indicate that a student only used one type. All individual students used at least four types of marker phrases to communicate the thinking shifts they were experiencing, and most used all five types.

When comparing student use of the five types to mark their thinking shifts, the predominant pattern I found was the absence of a pattern. I interpret this to mean that though individual variation predominates, all the students indicated this course impacted them in a variety of ways. The pattern of - most students used most of the types of marker phrases - indicates to me that students shared a degree of similarity with their learning experiences in the course. Seeing this pattern supports me in discussing the impact this course was having upon student learning by using language that generalizes and lumps individual students' experiences together at times.

4.2.3   Patterns of impact: Student use of marker phrases throughout course

I next investigated when in the course students felt it was important to use marker phrases to indicate their experiences of growth and learning. The general pattern of marker phrases usage was that students used more marker phrases with greater frequency to mark that they were engaging in reflections upon their learning as the course progressed. Although this might be the

expected pattern since student learning should ideally increase throughout the duration of any course, developing the capacity to engage in reflective thinking is not automatic. Students in this course benefited from receiving instructional support to grow in their reflective capacity. Since my dissertation, like the course I studied, sought to take a deeper look at what we might consider ordinary, I turned next to analyzing this assumed-to-be-normal pattern to gain insights in the most impactful instructional practices.

4.2.3.1 Weekly patterns

I looked first at weekly patterns in the students' use of marker phrases when engaging in reflection throughout the course's weekly instructional activities. Since reflective writing assignments were the richest source for finding students' using marker phrases, I look at the relationship between these assignments and phrases to discern dynamics between them.

Table 5: Student use of marker phrases compared to reflective assignments given each week

	Week 1	Week 2	Week 3	Week 4	Week 5	Week 6	Week 7	Week 8
Curriculum weekly topics	Folk groups	In/tangible traditions, Cultural processes	Reading space, Midterm project – school culture	Transmitting cultural knowledge, Fieldwork methods	Fieldwork data collection interviews and tours	Final project - data analysis	Final project - data representation	Final project– presentation, Final exam
# marker phrases used	7	23	87	33	417	0	69	322
# reflective writing assignments	1	2	4	2	4	0	1	4
Simple average of marker phrases per reflective writing assignment	7/1 =7	23/2= 12	87/4= 22	33/2= 17	417/4= 104	0	69/1= 69	322/4 = 81

The colors in Table 5 visually highlight weekly quantities with green colors on the smaller amounts and the colors moving through yellow and oranges to get to red, the color that highlights the largest amounts. The first row presents the contextual information of the topics of instruction each week for ease of discussion. The second row provides the total number of marker phrases, verbal and written, of all marker phrase types coded within each week. Week 5 with the most marker phrase usage by the students was the field research week. In Week 6 with the least marker phrase usage, students were beginning to analyze their field data and teachers did not give them reflective writing prompts. The third row shows the numbers of reflective writing assignments teachers gave each week. In most weeks, all the reflective assignments were in blog post prompts, however, Week 3 had two reflective questions as part of the midterm project, and Week 8 had three reflective questions within the final exam. The bottom row shows a simple average of marker phrase usage per assignment in each week arrived at by dividing marker phrases used by numbers of assignments given in that week. The simple average shows a weekly ebb and flow pattern in marker phrase usage in any give week's individual assignments independent of the number of reflective assignments.

If I divide the course into two equal halves (Weeks 1-4 and Weeks 5-8), students used more than five times the number of markers in the second half of the course (808 markers) as they did in the first four weeks (150 markers). Yet, each four weeks of the course provided the exact same number of assignments for reflective writing (9 assignments). The students' increase in marker phrase use over time as evidenced by the average number of marker phrases per reflective writing question increasing throughout the course demonstrates that from the students' perspective, the impact upon their learning did build as the course progressed. The pattern of an average of 17 marker phrases per reflective writing assignment in the first half of the course

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compared to an average of 90 marker phrases per reflective writing assignment in the second half of the course also demonstrates that students increased their capacity with reflecting. The pattern of increase could have been helped by students simply having more practice with writing, but the context of the instructional activities of the course and with teachers' efforts to increase students' skills with reflection explained the pattern better.

Blogging was a new instructional activity for most of these students, so I was not surprised that the first few blog posts were less reflective. As the course progressed, the teachers changed the questions they designed to prompt reflective writing to help students develop their capability with reflecting. Blog prompt questions teachers gave at the beginning of the course asked students to reflect upon the importance of their folk groups and their traditions. In Week 3, teachers began to ask students to directly reflect upon what they were learning. Students clearly indicated by their marker phrase usage in Week 5 that fieldwork data collection activities impacted their learning a lot. In Week 7, teachers' prompts expanded as they also asked students to reflect upon how the project was helping them better understand their own use of space, culture, and relationship with different folk groups. In Week 8, teachers' prompting questions directed student to reflect more deeply about their learning by considering what in the course caused them to think more or differently about culture, as well as which ideas were the most useful to them. Teachers' intentional instruction to develop the students' reflective writing was an important factor in helping students develop their increasing capacity with reflecting.

4.2.3.2 Patterns indicating deeper learning impact

I turned from the overarching pattern of increasing marker phrase use in the course to examine more of the complexity occurring within student learning each week. I break down the weekly use of marker phrases into the five types of marker phrases in Table 6 for insights into the ebb

and flow pattern since it was not a steady increase. For easy reference, I have placed the totals of each marker phrase type used in the course on the outer right-hand column and the totals of all types of marker phrases used each week in the bottom outer row. In the rest of the table, I present the weekly distribution of marker phrases in the five types as column percentages (each of the five cells of a column equal 100%). Again, I use green in the table to represent the least amounts moving through yellows and oranges to get to red representing the largest amounts. The green to red color pattern illustrates the patterns separately in the weekly marker phrase types table from the outer totals column and from the outer totals row.

Table 6: Distribution in use of types of marker phrases shown by percentages for each week

Types of Markers	Week 1	Week 2	Week 3	Week 4	Week 5	Week 6	Week 7	Week 8	Total markers of each type
Before and after cues	64%	0%	11.55%	0%	7.98%	0%	10.19%	9%	105
New ideas expanded thinking	9.33%	36.17%	34.2%	22.35%	26.77%	0%	17.72%	11.74%	260
Thinking more deeply - content	12%	41.49%	30.07%	30.17%	25.71%	0%	38.83%	24.96%	365
Thinking differently - process	14.67%	3.19%	17.43%	37.43%	18.79%	0%	19.17%	32.04%	153
Changes to future self	0%	19.15%	6.75%	10.06%	20.74%	0%	14.08%	22.26%	148
Total numbers of markers used each week	7	23	87	33	417	0	69	322	958

I notice a pattern emerges between the usage of marker phrase types throughout the course as students developed their capacities of reflecting. A diagonal trend (visible with the red and orange colors) occurs in the marker phrase types students use most each week as the course progresses. In Week 1, the most prevalent type of marker phrase students used was *Before and after cues* comparing their experiences before to now. As the course progressed, students developed their reflecting capacity in multiple ways as evidenced by the broader distribution of marker phrases used in each category each week. In the second half of the course, marker phrases pointing to discussions about *Changes to their future self* were much more frequent numerically than in the first part of the course and a much higher percentage of the total marker phrases used each week.

As I investigated the spikes in total number of marker phrase use (totals in Table 6 are shown in the right-hand column and bottom row) that occurred in Weeks 3, 5 and 8, the first explanation is that these weeks all had four reflective questions, which would naturally elevate the counts. But the simple division of the marker phrase totals by the numbers of reflective questions I showed in Table 5, still shows that spikes in marker phrase use occurred in those weeks relative to the weeks on either side of them. The first leap in student learning according to the count of marker phrases occurred in Week 3. Students used nearly four times more markers Week 3 than they did Week 2 with only double the number of reflection assignments.

Week 5 stands out as an explosive learning week for the students. They had the same number of reflection assignments as they did in Week 3, yet the students used far more marker phrases to indicate shifts in their thinking in all categories. The totals that created the percentages in Table 6 show that student use of each type of individual marker phrase jumped in Week 5 from 3 to 13 times more numerous than the numbers of markers students used in each type during Week 3.

Week 6[1] has no marker phrases signifying thinking shifts, and it also is the only week without any teacher prompts for writing a reflective blog posting. Week 7's one blog had fewer markers in four of the five categories than each blog post written in Week 5. The exception was the *Thinking differently - process* type which had more markers in it than in any of Week 5's four blog posts had in that type. Week 7 also had a different weighting of use between the marker phrase types from Week 5's pattern. As Table 6 shows, Week 7 had a higher percentage of the markers used in the *Thinking more deeply - content* type.

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[1] Students did do reflective writing in Week 6, since they started Monday morning finishing the blog posting for the previous Friday. The tours on Friday had run longer and the students ran out of time to complete their reflective writing. For my analysis, I shifted it from Week 6, where it was written, to Week 5, where teachers had planned for it to be written.

Week 8 has another relative surge in students using marker phrases. Students used fewer marker phrases in three of the five types in Week 8 than they had in Week 5, however *Changes to future self* had the same number in both weeks. Student used 1.5 times more marker phrases in the *Thinking differently - process* type in Week 8 than they did in Week 5. Students used between 1.3 to 12.8 times more markers of each type in Week 8 than they did in Week 3 when they also wrote the same number of reflections.

My analysis of the ebb and flow pattern of marker phrase usage by weeks by examining the patterns within the types of marker phrases supports the importance of reflective writing assignments to the students for developing their capacity to reflect. As the students progressed through the weeks, the distribution of marker phrases between the types began to shift from *Before and after cues* to a more balanced usage of all types and then toward the types *Thinking differently - process* and *Changes to future self* at course end. Students were not only increasing in their reflective capabilities about their learning and growth, but they were becoming more nuanced in their reflections. As the course progressed, students began to capture and reflect shifts happening in their learning and development that indicated they perceived the changes they were experiencing could or might continue beyond the class. My examination of the marker phrase type distribution patterns helped me to illuminate the students' developing capacities for reflection and their complicating notions about the impact of their learning upon their ways of thinking and being throughout their study in the course. Still, I sought deeper understanding of the dynamic happening in weeks with spikes in the marker phrase usage when students were indicating something with a lot of impact was affecting their learning.

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4.2.3.3 Patterns indicating learning activities with most impact on student learning

I looked deeper at the three high impact weeks with the large numbers of student usage of marker phrases to indicate shifts in their thinking by plotting the pattern on a graph (Figure 5). The graph shows the actual number of marker phrases students used each week, the average used with the reflection questions given each week and the average used with the reflection questions of the course. The upward trend line depicts a pattern that could be expected for increased practice with reflection. But the spikes on some weeks were more intense than my analysis of just the reflective assignments could fully explain. I turned to explore what was happening in the curriculum in those weeks that made them different from the surrounding weeks.
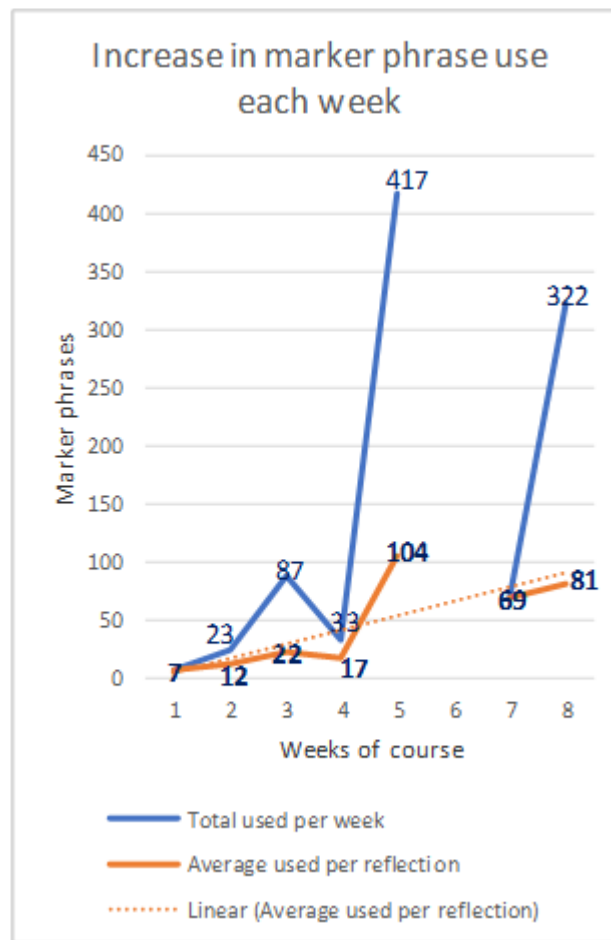
Figure 5: Weekly pattern in marker phrase use and increasing trend line

What Weeks 3, 5 and 8 had in common was that the lessons taught those weeks contained experiential learning activities that challenged students to synthesize their learning to that point. From day one, students engaged in experiential learning activities in the classroom and made steady progress in developing their knowledge of culture and ethnographic research skills through folklife education. Teachers consistently conducted instruction by using experiential learning activities throughout the course, but their instructional activities would vary between those that focused on isolating discrete concepts and skills, and those that emphasized synthesizing and combining these concepts and skills. In Weeks 1 and 2, the curriculum focused on basic folklife education concepts and research skills. In Week 3, teams of students had to pull together their learning to that point to collect data on the culture of the school and analyze it. In Week 4, the curriculum cycled back to extend student learning about various folklife education concepts and research skills. In Week 5, students again needed to draw upon everything they were learning in this course to effectively gather the perspectives of multiple community members in the field. Week 5's fieldwork fed into the final project production which experientially involved students in the activities of data analysis and representation for the next two weeks. The final project synthesizing their fieldwork experiences was completed and presented to classmates in Week 8. Week 8 also contained the final exam that teachers designed to include experiential components that required students to draw upon all their learning in the course one more time.

When students engaged in experiential activities that required them to synthesize their learning, they generally used more marker phrases. This signaled that students perceived of their learning as having greater impact when they had to apply their learning. Lower use of marker phrases in non-synthesizing activity weeks did not mean students were not learning, it meant

students were not finding their learning in regular experiential learning activities quite as impactful as they found their learning in synthesizing activities. But as an etic observer of students' experiences, I keep in mind that students could not have experienced such impact in synthesizing activities if they had not learned the skills well in the preceding weeks.

The combination in this course of reflection and experiential activities for learning concepts and skills alternating with synthesizing activities to apply the concepts and skills provided the conditions that these students needed for learning that had a lot of impact. Still something more was happening in Week 5. It spiked high above the trend line in Figure 5, much more than the other two synthesizing activity weeks.

The added layer in Week 5 was that it was the only week teachers had students engage in field research opportunities to learn with community members on tours and from community members in interviews. Students had observed people in public spaces previously with minimal interaction when developing isolated research skills. Student engagement in inquiry experiences by interacting with community members appears to be the additional factor that explains the large increase in use of all marker phrase types by the students.

But, I must caution against rushing to a conclusion about the impact of the interviewing community members without thoroughly considering the context. If this activity had come at the beginning of the course, it is very likely that it would not have had this impact, and may have even impacted the students negatively. The many folklife education activities to prepare students that happened in the first half of the course laid the groundwork for the spike that I observed.

Combining the three factors of reflection, synthesizing experiential learning activities, and engaging with community members in the community was the blend of factors occurring in Week 5, the week students discussed their learning and its impact the most in this course.

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Students engaged in investigating cultural processes throughout the course, and learned much. But student learning "took off" (Engle et al., 2007) with the additional opportunity for interacting with community members in substantive ways. Determining key instructional factors that contributed to students' learning was important to deepening my understanding of how students Developed the Capacity for Tolerance.

To recap, as I examined operationalizing impact and the patterns within it, I presented my process with linguistic analysis for determining when students discussed their learning from a point of metacognitive awareness. From this meta-perspective, students would discuss learning that was having an impact upon them in some way and point to it with marker phrases. Through closer analysis of the linguistic marker phrases, patterns emerged in types of marker phrases to show that the students were developing in multiple ways. I systematically explored the data collected in the course for speech events to compare with the written marker phrases. Marker phrases in spoken and written forms aligned to demonstrate their value as trustworthy cues pointing to the students' emic perspectives. I then looked at marker phrase use patterns and noticed the ubiquity of use with all students and the trend for the type of marker phrases used throughout the course to shift toward indicating deeper impact through changes in their thinking and ways of being as the course progressed. I also isolated when students pointed to certain impactful learning activities via spikes in their marker phrase use and considered relevant contextual information about these activities. The instructional practices of reflection, synthesizing experiential learning activities, and substantial interactions with community members, that built upon foundational learning, aligned with the spikes to indicate that these instructional activities were having great impact upon student learning. Thus, I have established in my analysis so far that I have developed a useful way to tap into students' perspectives on

their experiences of growth and change, and to focus in on instructional activities that students found contributed to their learning about culture.

4.2.4   Operationalizing the importance of learning to students

I did not feel it served the study to know that students were metacognitively aware of their learning without also being able to gauge if the students themselves attached any importance to this learning. Having explored nuances within learning experiences through types of marker phrases, I next turned to look for a different set of linguistic expressions that would indicate that the learning these students discussed experiencing was of value to them. I found that students did express the importance of their learning in this course, and did so through their use of valuation words and phrases.

Figure 6: Value words students used to express
importance of their learning

Students generally communicated in positive terms about their changed thinking and new insights gain by their participation in this course. Many also attached linguistic value indicators (Figure 6) to the statements or discussions they had about their learning using phrases such as the

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following to express their evaluation of the changes they were experiencing: "eye opener", "exciting", "never forget", "very or more or most interesting", "had fun", "wonderful", "fascinating", "important", "stick with me forever", "follow me the most", "surprisingly helps me", "useful", and "impactful".

I present the NVivo word tree visual representation in Figure 7 to provide context illustrating how students used these words surrounding one of these value indicators. Student statements depicted in the figure come only from coding of students discussing their learning. Within the word tree, many marker phrases are also evident. This illustrates how close in proximity the value words could occur to marker phrases. This means many students would often not only point to their learning with marker phrases, but attach indicators of value to the learning as well.
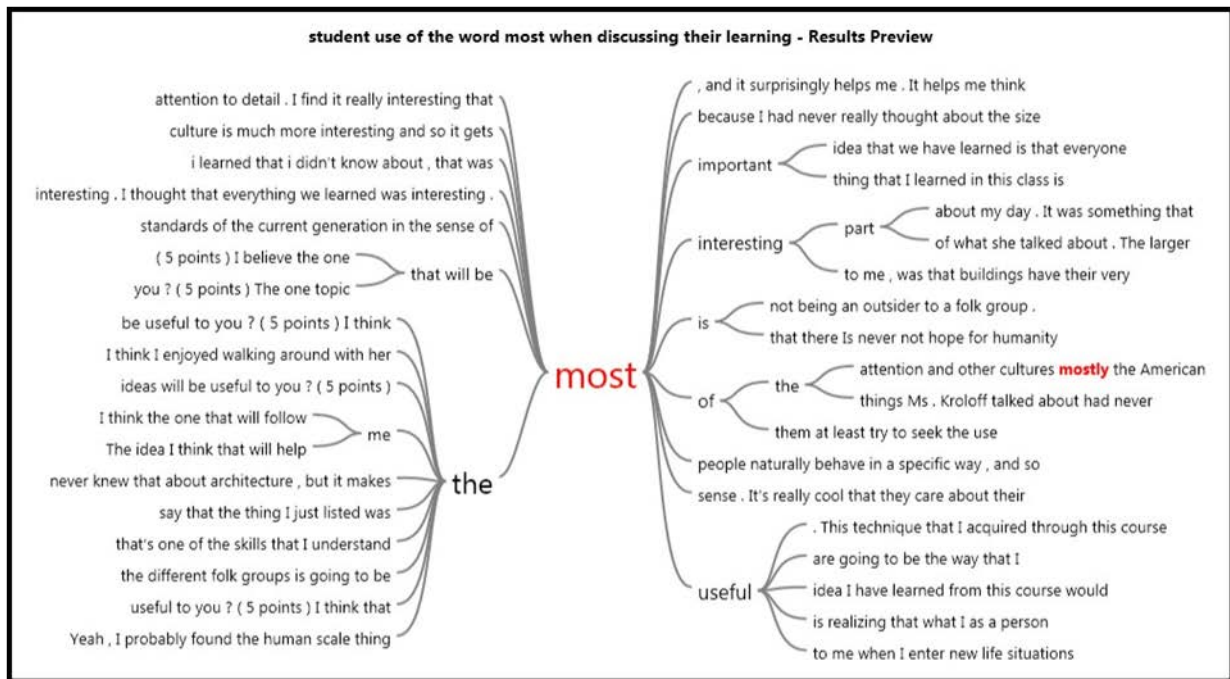
Figure 7: Context surrounding how students used the word "most" to indicate value when discussing their learning

I noticed that though words and phrases reflecting positive value were clear indicators of the importance of course learning experiences, these were not the only way students expressed value. Sometimes a student would make the importance of their learning the subject of his/her reflection. On the final exam, Andrew discussed the impact an aspect of this course had upon him. He wrote, "I don't know how long I'll remember these things, so I can't say for sure if they'll actually impact me in a few years, but I'd like to think that my perspective as it is now will carry on to my later life." Andrew's statement begins with a skeptical view on how memorable the content of this course might be for him. His valuation statement was a subject shift in his longer reflective discussion about proxemics characteristics and the rules governing personal space. Undoubtedly, he was questioning how long he might remember things like terms and characteristics when these were pushed aside in his mind by life or new concepts presented in college courses. Nonetheless, he ends his reflection with this powerful declaration about the impact this course's experiences had had upon the way he had come to view the world. The changes to his thinking about the cultural world were so important to him that he wanted his newly changed perspective to be integrated as part of who he would become and shape what he would do in personal space situations.

Student use of value indicator words and phrases, along with the occasional content on importance of this learning experience, all provided evidence to support my evolving understanding about the value and importance of their learning from the students' emic perspective. What I found was that students not only were learning, but they very often considered this learning as having value or importance to them.

4.2.5 Operationalizing the components within students' learning to Develop the Capacity for Tolerance

The linguistic analysis process I used allowed me to proceed with confidence toward determining the data set I needed to investigate student learning within this course from the students' perspective. Having addressed these essential concerns about whose perspective on the course that I was going to analyze, I next shifted to investigating the content in what students described was impacting their growth and learning in this course. To do this, I changed methods from linguistic analysis to thematic analysis to operationalize the Developing the Capacity for Tolerance components within students' learning. In this analysis, I found sixteen important content thematic codes in the descriptive text co-occurring with marker phrases. I used NVivo's matrix queries to explore these thematic codes and determine the major patterns within them that would be of greatest use in exploring my research sub-questions and understanding how students Develop the Capacity for Tolerance.

4.2.5.1 Identifying the components

My approach to developing themes to reflect the content of student learning was to let the themes emerge from the students' data because this was a study committed to describing student learning from the students' emic perspective. I chose not to design my coding categories by overlaying a top down conceptual framework based upon the *Standards for Folklife Education* (Sidener, 1997) or any of the other course instructional inputs upon my data. The focal question of my dissertation was not to determine the degree to which students learned the concepts and methods of investigating culture that this course taught them, though I present findings that reveal much about this peppered throughout my chapters. A top down deductive approach

looking for data to confirm direct learning of instructional inputs would have been evaluative, whereas my focal question was descriptive and sought to inductively describe learning from the students' emic learning however they experienced it (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). My sub questions focused on exploring and describing the process of how students learned concepts and skills for Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. My understanding of this capacity-building process would emerge as analysis progressed.

I began applied thematic analysis coding (Guest et al., 2012) by coding only the reflective questions in the final exam. I did first level structure coding to separate my corpus of data into a parent node (Bazeley, 2007) in this first exploration into my data. I coded to the node the large chunks of exam question text in which students described this course as an impactful experience, usually by using marker phrases. This coding usually captured the students' entire response to the final exam's three reflection questions, though there were text segments that were deemed irrelevant to this code and not coded. Students were brain-dumping on the final exam so included many different impacts in their responses as they thought back over the entire course and furiously wrote within the exam timeframe. This first level coding served as a text segmentation tool (Guest et al., 2012) separating a chunk of text where students discussed or described their learning from where they did not and placed each chunk into a single reference. This coding reduced the data gathered to a condensed data set focused on a common meaning of student descriptions of impactful learning they experienced in this course. Saldaña (2009) refers to this first level coding as *decoding* in preparation for an *encoding* process that subsequently places the data into appropriate themes. With this structure coding, I had constructed a particularly rich corpus of data (Bauer & Aarts, 2000) containing students' perceptions of their own learning.

From this corpus of data, I explored it in a second level coding process to identify themes. To achieve better insight into student learning and uncover the nuanced impacts, I went into this node of chunked coded references and recoded them into sub-codes. In the applied thematic coding process (Guest et al., 2012) the coding categories emerge from the data, so in my case, from the realizations and insights the students described in their reflective writing. I placed the content students described learning in their final exam reflections into codes that each contained closely related ideas. Any given phrase, sentence or paragraph did not have to be placed in a code to make each code mutually exclusive since students often combined multiple ideas in the same sentence. I was interested in keeping related groupings of ideas together, so it did not matter how much data I placed in each coding reference. A coded reference could contain a phrase or a paragraph, depending upon the amount of words the student used for articulating that insight into their learning.

My emergent codes were a form of in vivo coding since the ideas coded together were determined by students' emic perspectives of their learning. However, unlike other conventions used with in vivo coding (QSR, 2010b; Saldaña, 2009), I did not use the terminology the students used for the title of the codes. Students described the impacts this course had upon them in diverse ways, so I decided to name the codes based off the common ideas the students were expressing rather than privileging one student's wording of an insight over another for coding nomenclature.

By my having begun coding with only the student reflections in the final exam at the end of the course, I had amassed enough data to determine what the content codes were, and thematic categories began to emerge (Guest et al., 2012). I also had enough to begin to examine the codes for how they were related to each other and begin to rearrange the codes into coding trees to

reflect my new insights (Bazeley, 2007; QSR, 2010b). I used the coding done to this point as pilot coding to begin to build conceptual models and to direct my investigations into the literature for any frameworks that could shed further light upon what the students in this course had experienced.

Next, I systematically coded all the data I gathered in the course for evidences in students' reflections upon shifts in thinking and descriptions of learning they found particularly impactful. Through students' writing and speaking, I sought a more longitudinal picture of impacts. I used the same double coding method throughout my raw data that I had used in my pilot coding of first isolating chunks of text/utterances for adding to my structural data corpus code and then recoding them using the in vivo thematic codes. I added more sub-codes as needed when new themes emerged in the expanded data corpus. When I had completed coding the data from the course, I had identified 16 distinct in vivo codes which became the components of the process of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance model. I next turned to explore the various relationships occurring between these thematic codes to discern the shape of the model.

4.2.5.2 Identifying patterns within components

The first relationship between codes I noticed was how they clustered around the themes of awareness or action (Table 7). Sometimes students discussed their gaining awareness insights into concepts, ideas, issues or processes. Though the students actively gained insights through engaging in experiential learning activities and reflection, what they discussed in these awareness codes were thoughts that primarily served to increase their understanding. The nine codes that I found shared the characteristic of being predominantly awareness insights were: *Attending to the ordinary, Shifting points of view, Working with conceptual terms, Making*

meaning, Own biases, Equality of cultures, Ubiquity of culture, Uniqueness of groups, and *Uniqueness of individuals*.

Table 7: In vivo codes within awareness and action thematic categories

Themes	References in data set
Awareness Insights	
Attending to the ordinary	257
Shifting points of view	226
Working with conceptual terms	187
Making meaning	109
Own biases	35
Equality of cultures	13
Uniqueness of groups	10
Uniqueness of individuals	8
Ubiquity of culture	6
Action Insights	
Be an ally for change	133
Fostering cultural action	96
Use cultural rules	31
Be open to other cultures	20
Gain access to new folk groups	17
Communicate across cultures	13
Meld cultural practices	2

In the other codes, I found students discussed actions they were imagining of things they could do or ways they could, or were, changing. The students were not actively taking action, instead they were writing their thoughts about action. I found these action codes contained commonalities by containing characteristics like utility, change and transformation that held potential for enactment. The seven action codes I found were: *Be an ally for change, Gain access to new folk groups, Communicate across cultures, Meld cultural practices, Use cultural rules, Be open to other cultures*, and *Fostering cultural action*.

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This pair of overarching thematic categories, awareness and action, became central in my exploration into understanding how students Developed the Capacity for Tolerance in this course. I delved into the analysis to learn more about how awareness and action broadly relate to each other, and to explore the interrelationships within and between the codes clustered within them. Just as I examined the data for patterns occurring across time and with individual students with NVivo when I did linguistic analysis, I followed that process again within thematic analysis. I explored the data for insights into how capacity for tolerance developed over the timeframe of the course and how the experience differed for these diverse students.

4.2.5.3 Patterns throughout the course

When I examine the references in all the thematic coding for when they occurred over the eight-week period of this course, (Figure 8) I noticed first that the coding had expected spikes in Weeks 3, 5 and 8 due to the close alignment of these codes with the student's use of marker phrases. But unlike the marker phrase distribution having the highest spike in Week 5, Week 8 contained the largest amount of thematic content references. The sheer volume of references in the final week provided support for my having selected to use the end-of-course reflection questions as my pilot for developing the thematic in vivo codes. Student discussions of their learning in the course became more numerous as the course progressed.
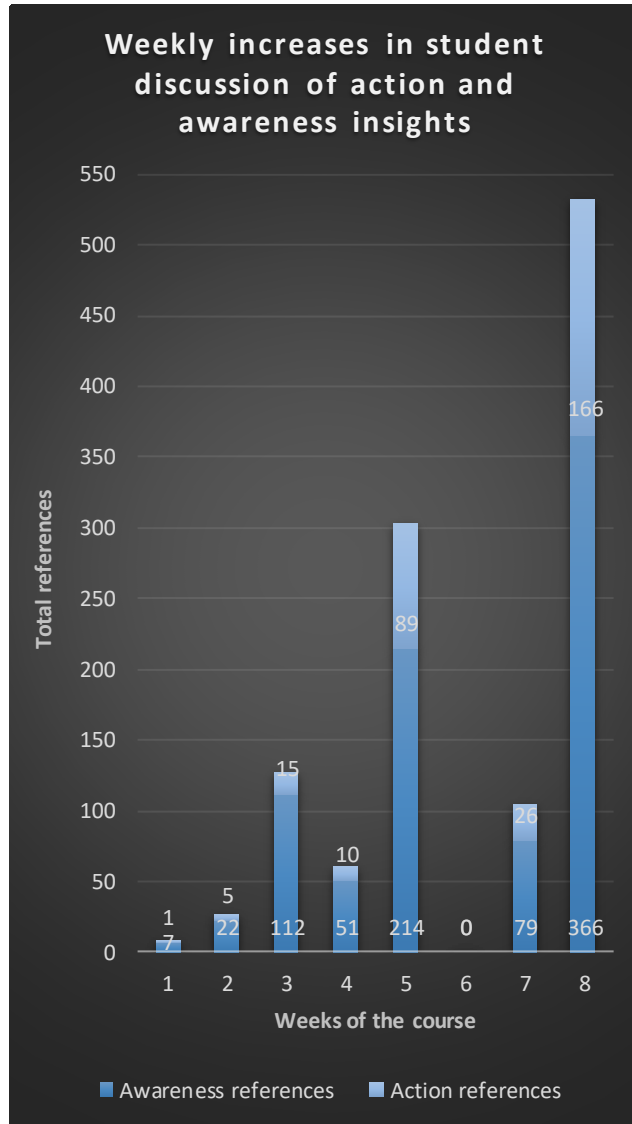
Figure 8: Weekly increase in student discussion of action and awareness insights

Figure 8 depicts the total each week of all spoken and written references coded to any one of the nine awareness insights or any of the seven action insights. Since the reflection assignments were the predominant location for students to describe their learning experiences, the figure provides a distorted view of the increase due to the variation in the number of written reflection assignments given each week. I corrected this distortion in Figure 9 by dividing the weekly total of references by the number of reflection questions occurring each week and arrived

at a figure that shows steadily increasing learning. The increase also triangulates my findings in linguistic analysis of students' capability with reflection growing and the composite way their learning builds with instruction that cyclically layers synthesizing experiential learning activities.
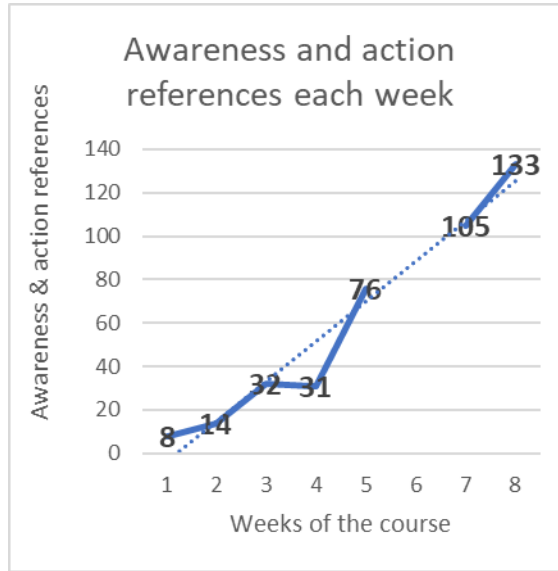
Figure 9: Total awareness and action references per a single reflection question weekly

I next examined closely the link between marker phrase use and student discussion of awareness and action insights into their learning within this course for nuanced insights into the relationship between content and impact of learning. Figure 10 illustrates how similar the two patterns are for marker phrase use and references for awareness and action insights when both these measures are adjusted to contain just the average for a single reflection question each week.
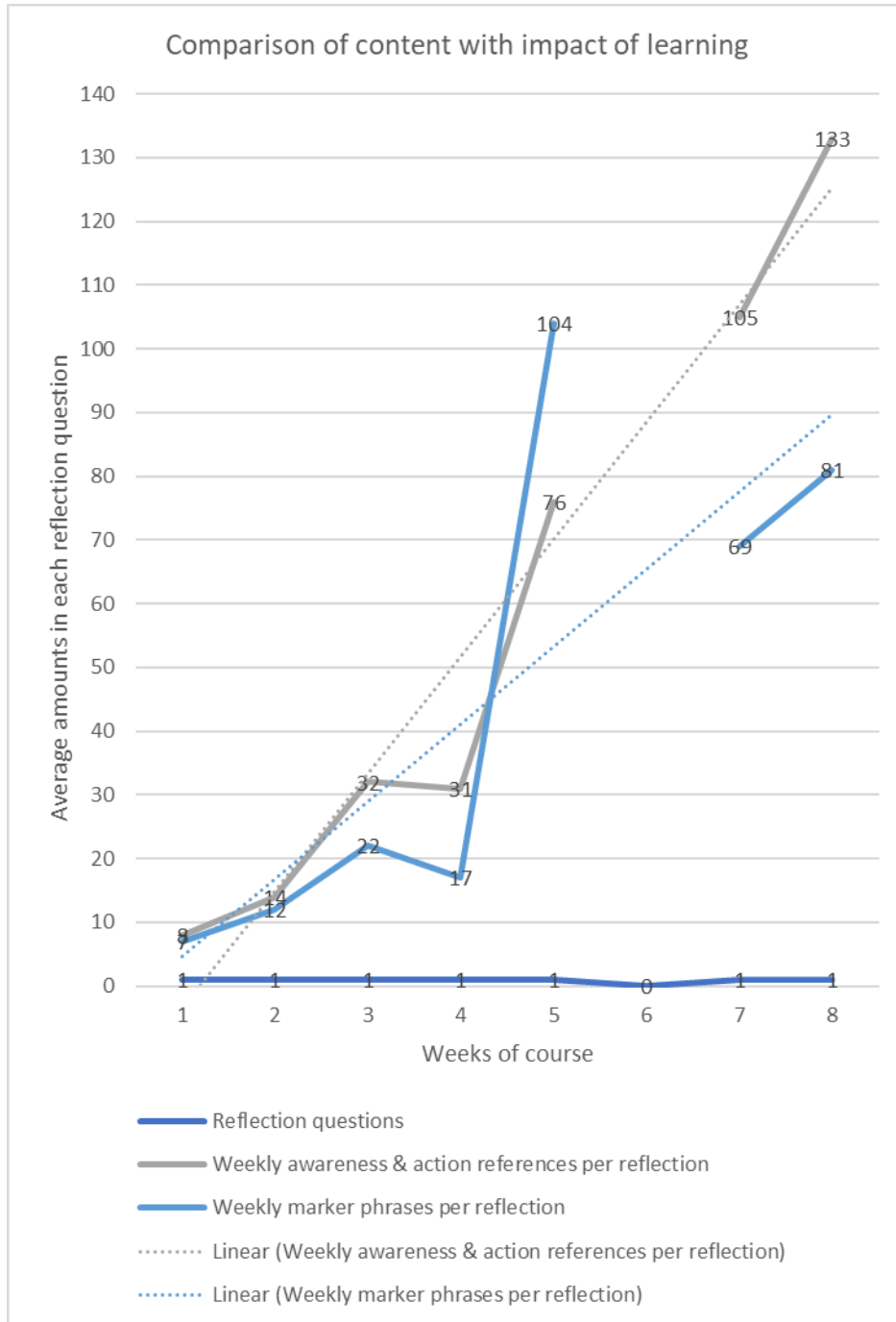
***Figure 10: Comparison of weekly use of marker phrases and occurrence of
awareness & action references adjusted to the weekly average for one
reflection question per week***

The trend lines of both content and impact clearly indicate their related, but not identical, patterns of steep increases. When coding, I was aware that not all awareness and action coding references included a marker phrase, so was prepared to see the marker phrase totals be consistently lower each week. Week 5 broke from that pattern with students using many more marker phrases than they typically did in most of their discussions. Since awareness and action references capture *content* of learning whilst marker phrases reveal *impact* of learning experience, Week 5 in Figure 10 illustrates the very great impact that learning experiences with community persons had on these students.

Table 8: Weekly distribution of awareness insights										
Awareness Insights	Week 1	Week 2	Week 3	Week 4	Week 5	Week 6	Week 7	Week 8		Total
Attending to the ordinary	0	7	36	23	91	0	18	82		257
Shifting points of view	3	5	13	7	83	0	18	97		226
Working with conceptual terms	1	4	47	10	11	0	16	98		187
Making meaning	3	1	8	10	17	0	22	48		109
Own biases	0	1	2	0	10	0	5	17		35
Equality of cultures	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	12		13
Uniqueness of groups	0	4	1	1	1	0	0	3		10
Uniqueness of individuals	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	6		8
Ubiquity of culture	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	3		6

I next investigated the weekly distribution patterns occurring across the in vivo codes for specific insights within the awareness and action thematic categories. In Table 8, I present all the themed in vivo codes for awareness with the coded references in each insight plotted out by the weeks of the course.

Action Insights	Week 1	Week 2	Week 3	Week 4	Week 5	Week 6	Week 7	Week 8		Total

Table 9: Weekly distribution of action insights

Action Insights	Week 1	Week 2	Week 3	Week 4	Week 5	Week 6	Week 7	Week 8		Total
Be an ally for change	0	0	3	2	48	0	16	64		133
Fostering cultural action	1	3	7	5	26	0	8	46		96
Use cultural rules	0	0	3	1	8	0	1	18		31
Be open to other cultures	0	0	0	0	6	0	1	13		20
Gain access to new folk groups	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	16		17
Communicate across cultures	0	2	1	2	1	0	0	7		13
Meld cultural practices	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2		2

In Table 9, I present the weekly distribution of references coded to the specific insight codes within the action thematic category. I arranged the insights from most frequently discussed to least discussed overall with the colors ranging from green for smallest to red for largest numbers of references. Teachers gave no written reflection assignments in Week 6 when students worked diligently to plan their final projects and select the data they were going to use within them.

A consideration that must be kept in mind when interpreting these charts is the boundaries of the corpus of data. *Attending to the ordinary* code, for example, does not contain all incidences of students describing their familiar ordinary cultural surroundings. Even though it was the largest insight in many weeks and in the entire course, the code only captures when the students indicated or marked that they were seeing the ordinary surrounding them more deeply or differently. Students could indeed have been describing their cultural surroundings in every reflection and in many other assignments, but if they did not somehow indicate that they were engaged in deeper noticing, I did not code their normal looking to this coding node.

I recognize that my coding captures student learning in the middle of the learning process, not at the beginning of the experience. Students were undoubtedly increasing their attention to the ordinary with every assignment, even the very first ones at the beginning of the

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course. But the students did not describe experiencing "aha" realizations about the ways they were seeing at the beginning. It took time for students to build and sharpen their capabilities for noticing until they realized they were noticing in new ways.

One pattern I noticed in Tables 8 and 9 is that every awareness and action insight was present in the final week of the course when students synthesized their learning throughout the entire course and reflected upon both their final project specifically and the course as a whole. Interestingly, every awareness insight was also present in Week 3 with the first synthesizing activity of the midterm project. Though the frequency of occurrence in every week might not always be large, there were several insights that occurred every week. Weeks with synthesizing instructional activities really increased the volume of references in the most frequently discussed awareness and action insight codes. The bottom five insights in both the awareness and action theme categories were much less discussed by students and had different patterns in when these were each discussed. The overarching pattern within these charts that I noticed was that there is quite a bit of variation in when, or if, students discussed each insight. I would have to look closer to discern greater nuances in the thematic coding to understand why some occurred all the time and others infrequently.

4.2.5.4 Patterns of components for individual students

I next examined individual students' profiles of discussing all the insights into their learning captured in these thematic codes. I present the distribution of references within the in vivo codes in the awareness and action insights for each student in Table 10 and Table 11. The insight codes have been flipped from being represented in rows to being presented as columns. However, codes have been kept in the same order as previous tables, so those with the most numerous references begin on the left and the least numerous references are on the right. The first pattern

evident is that all students discussed the first three awareness insight codes *Attending to the ordinary*, *Shifting points of view*, and *Working with conceptual terms* and the action insight code *Fostering cultural action.* Almost all students discussed the awareness insight code *Making meaning* too, but discussed it somewhat less than the first three awareness codes. The individual variation in all the other awareness and action insight codes was the most noticeable pattern to me. Some students were clearly very interested in a particular in vivo coded insight into their learning experiences and discussed it a great deal. Other students may never have experienced any impactful learning about an in vivo insight code, or if they did, they never discussed it. Students may have experienced the same curriculum, but discussed attaining a differing profile of insights into their learning than their classmates attained.

Table 10: Awareness insights distributed by individual student

Awareness insights	Attending to the ordinary	Shifting points of view	Working with conceptual terms	Making meaning	Own biases	Equality of cultures	Uniqueness of groups	Uniqueness of individuals	Ubiquity of culture
Aaron	15	5	15	1	5	1	2	0	0
Akim	5	13	4	1	0	0	0	2	0
Alice	9	13	8	11	0	0	0	1	0
Andrew	11	21	4	3	3	1	0	0	0
Avery	12	9	11	5	1	0	1	0	0
Bryce	17	20	17	5	2	0	1	0	0
Daniel	8	3	9	1	3	0	0	1	0
Erik	11	4	9	6	3	2	1	0	0
Fiona	13	10	7	3	2	0	0	1	2
Gary	12	8	5	11	1	0	1	0	0
Geno	12	6	10	6	1	0	0	0	0
Harris	9	13	3	9	1	1	0	0	0
Kenzo	10	7	3	1	1	2	0	0	0
Luis	4	4	3	3	1	1	1	0	0
Miles	12	3	4	4	1	1	0	0	0
Mimi	9	4	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
Randall	4	5	4	1	1	0	0	0	0
Rebecca	8	4	4	2	0	0	0	0	0
Rhiana	8	10	6	3	1	0	0	1	0
Robb	16	16	10	7	2	1	1	0	0
Rosalyn	13	14	12	10	2	2	1	1	4
Tara	13	6	8	6	1	0	0	0	0
Victor	10	5	10	3	0	0	1	0	0
Zephira	12	19	9	6	2	1	0	0	0

Table 11: Action insights distributed by individual students

Action insights	Be an ally for change	Fostering cultural action	Use cultural rules	Be open to other cultures	Gain access to new folk groups	Communicate across cultures	Meld cultural practices
Aaron	1	4	0	1	1	0	0
Akim	3	4	0	0	1	0	0
Alice	28	8	8	0	2	2	0
Andrew	1	6	3	1	1	0	0
Avery	16	8	0	0	2	1	0
Bryce	5	3	0	3	1	1	0
Daniel	4	3	0	2	0	0	0
Erik	12	1	0	1	0	0	0
Fiona	19	4	2	0	0	0	0
Gary	0	3	1	0	1	0	0
Geno	1	4	0	0	0	0	0
Harris	15	7	8	1	0	0	0
Kenzo	1	2	1	1	0	0	0
Luis	0	1	0	1	0	0	0
Miles	0	3	0	1	0	0	0
Mimi	6	4	1	0	1	0	0
Randall	0	2	0	0	1	2	0
Rebecca	0	2	0	0	1	0	0
Rhiana	1	2	0	2	1	0	0
Robb	4	7	4	3	1	1	0
Rosalyn	4	7	2	1	1	2	2
Tara	1	5	0	0	1	3	0
Victor	6	1	1	1	1	0	0
Zephira	5	3	0	1	0	0	0

I looked in these tables for any patterns of extremes and I noticed several. Bryce and Robb had the most references in total in the course indicating they often discussed their learning experiences as being impactful. Rebecca, Luis, and Randall had the fewest references in total indicating that they did not often discuss their learning experiences as being impactful. I did not find that looking at total references was particularly useful since this pattern pointed out strong and weak writers, rather than intensity of experiences or other useful understanding about students' experiences.

Alice was the student with the most references within a single in vivo code in the entire course, *Be an ally for change*, a content topic she was extremely interested in. Rosalyn was the

only student who discussed impactful learning in each and every in vivo insight code in both the awareness and the action theme clusters. On the opposite end of the spectrum, Mimi and Rebecca were the two students who discussed insights in the fewest number of awareness insight codes. Rebecca, Geno, Luis and Miles discussed only two action insights codes each, but these were not consistently the same two. These distribution patterns within the students' insights into their learning looked worthwhile for me to further examine when presenting and interpreting data on each insight code as a component of my model in subsequent chapters.

Through close examination of these tables, I recognized an overarching pattern would emerge when I reorganized and split the in vivo insight codes into two groups within each table. In each awareness and action insight code table, students all discussed some codes signifying a similarity of their experience of learning that they deemed impactful. I called this group of codes in each table the commonly-shared learning experiences. Students' profiles of other coded insights into their learning experiences were more individualized. I called this group of codes in each table the individually-realized learning experiences. This commonly-shared or individually-realized division was useful to advancing my thinking about the process the students were experiencing of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. A process for Developing the Capacity for Tolerance that was a mix of shared and individualized learning experiences held greater potential for replicating the process in classroom settings than a process that was purely individual.

Commonly-shared learning experiences held maximal potential for usefully being replicated in other classrooms, but I needed to explore the nuances within these before making my recommendations. One of the advantages of this course as a research site was the varieties of diversities students embodied. To explore the commonly-shared experiences further, I realize I

needed another tool to help with analysis that would reveal nuanced differences in what appeared to be the same for all students. The tool I sought would help me operationalize some aspect of students' diversities, so I could use it in understanding the process, and variations within it, for Developing the Capacity for Tolerance.

4.2.6 Student learning styles: Shaping students' Basic Level experiences in Developing the Capacity for Tolerance

Even though the culture of the school discouraged the use of labels when thinking about students, teachers still used their own categorization systems for thinking about organizing students in ways that would aid instruction. When I asked my partnering teachers initially for the categorization systems they were using, I was given one focused on *effort* i.e. those students that work and those students that don't work. I suppose this teacher categorization system might correlate with grades students earned, but I did not have access to grades, and, grades were not relevant to my study.

In my field observations in the classroom, I noted that some students did experience senioritis. Senioritis affected teaching and learning in this course by negatively impacting student engagement and sometimes the depth of insights students developed. Based on my observations, I found this *effort* categorization was not a fixed feature useful for analysis since senioritis would come and go with the students and some students 'suffered' with senioritis more frequently. When considering the course as a total entity, all students did quite a bit of work in this class, so an *effort* categorization system based upon fluctuating effort and engagement was not useful for my purposes. However, the teachers utilized another categorization system in this course that had

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more value to my exploration of students' Development of their Capacity for Tolerance: *learning styles*.

4.2.6.1 Teacher emic categorization system for lesson planning

Teachers had an emic way of considering the learning styles of their students when planning instruction. They thought about student learning styles according to their degree of concreteness or abstraction. Throughout the course planning sessions, I heard teachers use the term "concrete" in two ways. One way they used the term was to discuss the content and the method of instruction such as "How can we make that more concrete?" The other way they used the term was as a descriptive attribute describing students, such as, "… so the kids that are concrete learners will be able to...". Teachers used this term in our planning sessions frequently since the course content was focused upon the very abstract concept of cultural processes. Teachers would rarely use the term "abstract" to describe the students who were abstract learners in our planning meetings. The course's focus on abstract concepts about culture was already aligned to the abstract learning style.

This emic typology of concrete and abstract student learning styles was such an important consideration in planning the instruction of this course that it struck me as possibly being a pivotal construct in these teachers' philosophies of teaching. Exploring teacher philosophies of teaching was beyond the scope of this study, so I shall not pursue the formulation of this categorization system from the teachers' perspective here. Rather, I will describe their categorization system and present its utility for understanding the growth and development of the students in this course.

With the course finished, I met with the teachers for a final session to wrap up loose ends in the research study. I asked my partnering teachers to help me diagram where the students were

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situated in their learning styles. The teachers conferred with each other to plot out where each student was situated on a ten-point continuum they constructed with 0 being a totally concrete learner and 10 being a totally abstract learner. Though each student's demonstrations of his or her learning and growth in this course undoubtedly influenced the teachers' understanding of the student's learning style preferences, the teachers seemed to consider students holistically based on knowing these youth for years. Teachers were thoughtful in determining how and where to plot out each student's abstract and concrete thinking style preferences. They neither split students by their academic achievement, of all honors students together, nor by their intellectual functioning levels, all learning support students together. Teachers easily reached agreement on where to situate each student on their continuum. They also agreed that one student, Kenzo, defied classification on this continuum. They placed Kenzo on a parallel line to signify that he was situated in his own unique system that might have spanned all points on the ten-point scale.

Where they placed students on the continuum was based upon Ms. Connolly's four years and Mr. Brodsky's one year of experience teaching these students. Students did not take any inventory or test measuring their learning styles that could be used to confirm this teacher-generated conceptualization about their students' preferred means of learning. Because of multiple validity concerns on developing instruments for youngsters (Gregorc, 2012; Reio & Wiswell, 2006; Smith, 2001), I do not believe a test has yet been developed to measure what these teachers observed as each student's preferred means of learning various academic subject areas and content taught using multiple instructional methods. The Challenge High teachers' emic categorization system for student learning styles was rooted in their practice. They embodied what Gregorc (2012) recommends, for teachers "to develop personal observational and interviewing skills" to use in the classroom, rather than relying upon test results for

understanding their students. I further situate the Challenge High teacher's concrete and abstract learning style categorization with students in the literature in Appendix D.

Structuring learning activities to align with each student's learning style is an important consideration in planning curriculum, but so too is offering enough variety in instruction to help students develop their non-preferred learning styles (Terry, 2002). The range and variety of learning activities teachers included in this course provided aspects that were comfortable, and others that were challenging, to every student. Throughout instruction for all learning activities, the Challenge High teachers made sure to provide plenty of tangible examples since both concrete and abstract learners like concrete examples when people are presenting new ideas (Wille, 2004). In this way, the teachers made sure their concrete students did not become overly frustrated by the conceptual focus of the course content.

4.2.6.2 Learning styles as analysis categories

This emic teacher categorization system for grouping these Challenge High students provided me with the tool I needed to examine more closely impactful folklife education learning with a broad diversity of learners. Experiencing impact from a folklife education course does not mean all students accessed equally all parts of the course. The variations between students in directions of their growth and development could be influenced by many factors.

In looking at the way the Challenge High teachers plotted the students on their Concrete Abstract continuum, I could operationalize it for analysis by dividing the continuum into five categories. *Concrete* category was situated from 0 to 3.5 on the continuum and had three students. *Balanced* category was situated from 4 to 6 and had four students. *Somewhat Abstract* had twelve students clumped at 7 to 7.5. *Abstract* was situated from 8 to 10 on the continuum and had four students. The student, Kenzo, that *Defies Classification* was alone in that category.

Table 12: Number of students in each learning style category who described awareness insights

N of students	Learning style continuum	Attending to the ordinary	Shifting points of view	Working with conceptual terms	Making meaning	Own biases	Equality of cultures	Uniqueness of groups	Uniqueness of individuals	Ubiquity of culture
3	Concrete 0-3.5	3	3	3	2	1	0	0	0	0
4	Balanced 4-6	4	4	4	4	4	2	1	1	0
12	Somewhat Abstract 7-7.5	12	12	12	12	10	5	6	3	1
4	Abstract 8-10	4	4	4	4	3	2		1	1
1	Defies Classification	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0

In Table 12, I examined how each learning style category intersected with each of the nine awareness insight codes. The numbers in each cell represent the numbers of students who described having insights in each code at any time throughout the course. The first pattern I noticed in this table is how all of the students, regardless of their learning style, experienced impactful growth in three codes: *Attending to the ordinary*, *Shifting points of view*, and *Working with conceptual terms.* I further see that the concrete learners discussed the fewest awareness insights beyond these basic three. The concrete learners' pattern of learning was useful to explore further for advancing my analysis of the process of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. Their pattern provides me, and folklife educators and teachers developing folklife education curriculum, with glimpses into the most likely areas of cultural awareness that all students could be expected to experience growth and development.

Mimi, Rebecca and Tara were clustered at the concrete end of the continuum. In Table 13, I examined each concrete student by her position on the continuum. Mimi was placed at 0 indicating that she is exclusively a concrete thinker. Rebecca is overwhelmingly a concrete thinker and Tara is predominantly concrete with a bit of abstract. In moving from most concrete thinker toward the more abstract of the concrete thinkers, not only did the number of insight codes increase, but also the numbers of references in the codes tended to increase. These

numbers are too small to make any conclusions, but this trend suggests that exploring concrete thinking students' comfort level with accessing abstract cultural process concepts might be a fruitful direction for future research.

Table 13: References within each awareness insight code made by concrete learners

	Awareness codes								
Concrete learning style category	Attending to the ordinary	Shifting points of view	Working with conceptual terms	Making meaning	Own biases	Equality of cultures	Uniqueness of groups	Uniqueness of individuals	Ubiquity of culture
0 - Mimi	9	4	5	0	0	0	0	0	0
2 - Rebecca	8	4	4	2	0	0	0	0	0
3.5 - Tara	13	6	8	6	1	0	0	0	0

To more fully understand the concrete students' experience in relationship to the more abstract categories of students, I compared average references made in each learning style continuum category. Table 14 depicts the average number of references made per student in each of the learning style categories in each of the three basic awareness insight codes all students discussed. Shading shows intensity within each column. In the *Attending to the ordinary* code, all categories of students in the course made roughly the same number of references on average. The concrete thinkers were thus comparable with everyone in the class in discussing this more concrete concept code.

Table 14: Average references per student in each learning style continuum category

Learning style continuum	Attending to the ordinary		Shifting points of view		Working with conceptual terms
Concrete 0-3.5	10		4.7		5.7
Balanced 4-6	9		5.8		5.8
Somewhat Abstract 7-7.5	10.7		9.8		9
Abstract 8-10	12.3		15		7.3
Defies Classification	10		7		3

In the *Shifting points of view* code in Table 14, the pattern is different from the pattern with *Attending to the ordinary*. The concrete thinkers make the fewest references and the numbers increases with each learning style category with the extremely abstract thinkers making the most references. The concrete thinkers also have the fewest number of references in this code compared to the other two codes. Perhaps concrete thinkers experienced *Shifting points of view* as a more abstract concept, nonetheless, they discussed their learning in this awareness insight as being impactful. I explore their experiences with this in greater depth in the next chapter. The *Working with conceptual terms* code has a less pronounced pattern across the learning style categories, but in general, greater comfort with abstract thinking seems to correlate with students making larger numbers of references.

When I considered the patterns within the numbers of references in both Table 13 and Table 14 together, I observed a general trend among students who had abstract thinking skills as making more cultural awareness insights in the course. These tables also provided me with evidences to demonstrate that strong abstract thinking skills were not a prerequisite for Developing the Capacity for Tolerance, for the concrete thinkers were solidly grounded in these concepts too.

Though almost all students in the course also discussed *Making meaning*, I interpreted the smaller total numbers and distribution of references in that code as important in making that code different from these three basic awareness codes discussed here. Averages in the *Making meaning* code followed a similar pattern to the *Shifting points of view* code. In *Making meaning*, the most concrete category student averaged about 2.5 references, balanced thinkers averaged 4, while the more abstract thinking categories averaged 5 or 6 respectively. Concrete thinking category student Tara, who is very close to membership in the balanced category, had 6, which

aligned her with abstract thinkers. But the lack of, or minimal, mention of *Making meaning* with the other most concrete thinker students indicates no, or much less, grounding in this concept. Thus, I excluded this code from consideration as a basic commonly-shared learning experience and placed *Making meaning* in my individually-referenced group of awareness codes with a recognition that I needed to examine its fit there more closely.

4.2.7 Separating the components into Basic and Advanced Levels

I found the learning style categories that teachers formulated from their extensive knowledge about these learners gained from instructing them over a multiple-year period had utility for me as a particularly perceptive tool useful for uncovering important patterns within student learning. By using this tool in analysis, I gained useful insights into how to conceive of levels within the process of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance.

My close examination of learning style diversity surrounding degrees of abstract thinking flexibility with these students helped me usefully distinguish between commonly-shared and individually-realized impactful learning experiences. This class contained a full range of student learning styles on the concrete to abstract continuum with students at both extremes. Learners in other schools would be expected to plot out along this continuum, even though the distribution of students at all points along the continuum would be expected to vary in other classrooms. Due to this overlap, my findings within this course can assume a degree of generalizability as to what students could be expected to learn in similar folklife education courses. All learners, including the most concrete, do well with commonly-shared basic folklife education concepts.

I have followed the lead of the Challenge High concrete learning category students and set their three awareness codes, *Attending to the ordinary*, *Shifting points of view*, and *Working*

with conceptual terms, as essential components in the Basic Level of the process toward Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. It is within these Basic Level components that teachers could expect growth and development for all students intensively studying folklife education content. In the next two chapters, I present my explorations of these Basic Level components as the Challenge High students discussed them to examine the components' nuances that include, and expand upon, their being very tangible and rooted in students' lived experiences. I also used my findings to set all the individually-realized cluster of awareness and action insight codes as the Advanced Level components of the process of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. These Advanced Level Awareness and Action components are not ones that teachers could expect all students to universally experience.

By determining the major distinction between the Basic Level and the Advanced Level of my model, I established a framework for additional explorations using my theoretical analytic sub-questions to build theoretical understanding about how the students Developed the Capacity for Tolerance. But I still needed one more analytic method to use with my data that could focus on and finely explore the process students experienced at both levels to reveal nuances and variations that are invaluable as recommendations for developing instruction that could assist other students in Developing the Capacity for Tolerance.

4.2.8   Examining the process of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance

Through my use of linguistic analysis and applied thematic analysis methods, I arrived at many important understandings about when students described their learning as impacting them in multiple ways and what the content of that learning contained, but these methods did not yield thick detail and nuance about the process these students experienced. With the additional analytic

method of microanalysis, I deepen my investigation into how students learned the content they identified as being impactful learning. Microanalysis helped me explore the complex relationships between the components and levels within the process of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. With this method, I carefully examined and triangulated multiple pieces of data within a learning event, activity or sequence to identify the processes that were occurring within individual student's experiences. Due to the extensive time required for conducting microanalysis, I carefully reviewed various learning situations that occurred in the course to select the ones most promising for revealing insights into the process of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance.

Engle, Conant, & Greeno (2007) developed a process of backward mapping that I used to help select points in the course for microanalysis. In their process, Engle, Conant & Greeno would identify a pivotal moment and using video-assisted microanalysis map backwards to trace the learning that led up to that pivotal moment. As the analysis I had already conducted showed, students pointed to synthesizing experiences as activities in the course that held great learning for them. From the students' perspective, they considered the midterm project and the field data collection week as two of their pivotal learning experiences. These synthesizing experiences solidified their learning through experiential application of their learning to that point. I traced backwards from both of these assignments to identify lessons where students acquired the learning they used in the synthesizing activities. I identified lessons where some aspect of their learning was "taking off"(Engle et al., 2007). In these lessons, there was a mix of some students developing new insight about a concept whilst others had not yet attained the same insight. I worked to make the learning process of selected students in these lessons more visible by

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mapping the trail of how they acquired their new insights backwards through close examination of their conversations, interactions with others and assignments.

One lesson I selected preceded the midterm project. The lesson involved a series of learning activities surrounding careful observations of the classroom space to investigate the cultural values of the class. Another lesson I selected preceded the field interviews and tours of public spaces with community members week. This lesson was the first fieldwork practice session with objective and subjective data collection within a public parklet. Though teachers had designed these lessons to teach isolated concepts, the learning experiences of the selected individual students I traced through microanalysis revealed much greater complexity in their learning process. With close analytic attention to the fine details in student learning, I was able to get the data I needed to provide thick, rich descriptions of student experiences. I represent their experiences in Chapters 6 and 7. Through my use of microanalysis methods, I obtained glimpses into how students developed their awareness insights and how these insights intertwined for them. This increased my understanding of how the components in Developing the Capacity for Tolerance are complexly interwoven.

4.3 CHAPTER SUMMARY OF METHODS FOR STUDYING HOW STUDENTS DEVELOP THE CAPACITY FOR TOLERANCE

My study investigated how students Developed the Capacity for Tolerance within a folklife education course. By pursuing inquiry into the complexities of capacity development from the students' perspective, I harnessed multiple qualitative research methods for the task, and developed new tools as I needed them. The learning naturally occurring in this folklife education

classroom environment comprised the data available for my inquiry. As an observant participant in the course, I extensively gathered the data by using ethnographic data collection methods. I maintained my focus in this dissertation on growth and learning from the students' perspective. Learning is a continually occurring and complex process, but I was interested in targeting students' own awareness of their learning. When students were aware of their learning, they could and did discuss it, particularly when engaged in reflective writing activities. Student reflective discussions confirmed that students learned a lot in the course and found value and utility in what they were learning. These discussions gave me insights into what students were learning and the ways what they were learning was impacting them. Not all students came into the course with the same learning styles nor did they follow the same processes when they learned.

To delve into the complexity of student experiences within this course and isolate aspects of their experience for productive analysis, I required multiple types of data. I used various technologies that greatly facilitated my collection of volumes of data from and with the students about their experiences in the classroom. I used NVivo computer assisted qualitative data analysis software to manage and facilitate analysis the large amount of data I amassed.

Describing how students Developed the Capacity for Tolerance within this complexity required that I explored my data using multiple analytic methods to isolate a productive corpus of data and triangulate my findings to increase the trustworthiness of my findings as portrayal of students' experiences. Before I could describe the process of *how* students developed this capacity, I had to determine *when* their learning was impacting them and *what* the content was that students considered so important. To answer *when*, I used linguistic analysis to isolate and investigate students' metacognitive awareness about different types of significant learning. My

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development of an analytic tool of marker phrases helped me privilege student perspectives and identify the corpus of data. I next used applied thematic analysis to answer *what* and identify in vivo codes for distinctive insights students discussed learning in the course. I began to query these content codes in NVivo to discern patterns within the student data coded to them and relationships between the codes. The patterning I found in the thematic analysis codes queried for frequency, distribution over time, distribution with individual students, and in relationship to marker phrase use, all began to shed light for me into understanding the process of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. Finding an overarching thematic clustering of codes into awareness and action groups helped me determine that these in vivo insight codes were productive components in my model of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. I converted teachers' emic categorization of students' learning styles on a concrete-to-abstract thinking continuum into an analytic tool that proved useful for exploring the awareness and action components and determining that the students' commonly-shared components were the Basic Level and their individually-realized components were the Advanced Level within my model.

Having developed my theoretical understanding to this level with linguistic and applied thematic analysis, I employed one more analytic method, microanalysis, to examine the process of *how*. Through my use of microanalysis, I pinpointed moments of student learning that revealed the complex interrelated nature of the elements involved in Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. All these layers of analyses prepared me to pursue my theoretical line of inquiry into the process of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. I applied my research sub-questions to my data in the next chapter and used them to build and describe the components and their interrelationships in my explanatory model. In the subsequent two chapters, I provide the thick, rich descriptions of the components in the Developing the Capacity for Tolerance model as the

students experienced them. Through my representation of student learning experiences in these chapters, I interpret the useful learning activities and processes that helped students develop both the Basic and Advanced Levels of my model for Developing the Capacity for Tolerance.

5.0   THE DEVELOPING THE CAPACITY FOR TOLERANCE MODEL

My overarching research question for this dissertation has been, **How does student learning about cultural processes via the *Standards for Folklife Education* develop their capacity for tolerance?**

To answer my question, I stayed rooted in student descriptions about learning they found impacted them in this course. Using linguistic marker phrases as pointers to evidence of what students perceived as impactful learning, my analysis of emergent themes and their patterns revealed useful components for understanding how students were Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. Engaging students in the study of culture via a folklife cultural process approach went beyond students gaining isolated knowledge and skills about culture and learning to use all they learned in synthesizing experiences of encountering new cultural situations. Student learning in this course also provided me with greater theoretical clarity on how the capacity for tolerance develops.

I have positioned this chapter here to present the model before presenting my data to help my readers stay oriented within my data chapters. The process of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance as evidenced by these students' experiences is complex. The model provides the big picture of the numerous components and complex interrelationships and makes it easier to situate each component's details and the students' stories. In the following chapters, I bring to life the components and the ways these components interrelate with illustrative evidences. The model

usefully addresses the need, particularly in the folklife education field, for advancing practice that is supported with theoretical clarity and well-grounded by research.

My model for Developing the Capacity for Tolerance furthers the understanding of the field about folklife education practice by addressing six of the areas in which less is known about teaching and learning in this approach to education.

1. What can students access when studying about cultural processes in folklife education? My model clarifies which components all students learned and which components only some students attained. This distinction clarifies the aspects of folklife education accessible to most students and indicates productive foci for intentional instruction for the broadest array of learners.

2. What is the sequence for folklife education instruction? My model organizes components to indicate a sequence for folklife education instruction based upon what these students indicated they were learning. Thus, I present the model diagrams in pieces that build upon each other. The components of the model cluster into two levels, Basic and Advanced, that are useful for designing practice.

3. How should folklife education instruction be oriented in regard to skills and knowledge building? Components in my model have different orientations for the students. Some components oriented to skill building and are what students engaged in doing in the course, some to what students came to know, and some to what students could do and be in the future. My model helps distinguish these orientations.

4. What is the balance of direct and indirect instruction? My model distinguishes between the inputs of what is taught by teachers and the outputs of what can be caught by students. This

distinction helps clarify where intentional instructional efforts are most usefully placed toward developing student capacities for tolerance.

5. How are aspects of folklife education interrelated? None of the individual components in my model represent discrete skills that stand alone. I depict many of the complex interrelationships between components and levels by showing how these influence, reinforce, or hold each other in productive tensions.

6. What is the set of cultural processes that folklife education is to teach? My model is designed to represent its own limitations of only depicting the insights that this group of students indicated that they found of greatest impact. I indicate where different insights into culture's workings that could be obtained in different folklife education courses might fit within the model. In this way, I provide for my model to be broadly applicable to other folklife education programs.

As I move through the analysis in this chapter, I will highlight details in each section that contribute to increasing what is known in all or some of these areas within folklife education teaching and learning.

My four guiding analysis questions for this study focus on identifying the Developing the Capacity for Tolerance process. I use these questions to organize this chapter. As I analyze each question, I focus on component parts of the model and introduce some of their complex interrelationships. The visual diagrams I present depict how these interrelated components build upon each other to better reveal the process these students experienced as they Developed their Capacity for Tolerance. These questions illuminate some of the lesser-known aspects of folklife education teaching and learning listed above as needed to advance the field.

5.1   BASIC LEVEL: THE ESSENTIAL CORE COMPONENTS WITHIN THE NUCLEUS

My first analysis question is: **What contributes to students grasping the fundamental dynamic between cultural similarities and differences?**

Developing students' capabilities to investigate the complexities of cultural similarities and differences is a core goal of folklife education. Folklife educators strive to guide students toward a fundamental understanding that cultural similarities and differences are not fixed features. Similarities and differences are complexly intertwined and when students explore these complexities, their efforts will yield deeper insights into their own culture and into the culture of others they encounter throughout life.

To examine what contributes to students grasping the fundamental dynamic, I first look at the degree of complexity about this dynamic that students could grasp. My gaze turns first to Rosalyn, an advanced teen practitioner who understands cultural similarities and differences in complex ways to see how she approached assignments in the course. Rosalyn used a mix of approaches such as attentive observation of others coupled with comparison with her personal experiences to find meanings about why people do things the way they do them. She would seek out particulars as examples that challenged generalizations and paid attention to language used by others that indicated bias rather than simply describing difference. She would tell stories about her experiences in East Africa that embedded the cultural processes that the class was studying and provided her classmates with her lived particulars about another culture for comparison to their lives.

Rosalyn had already undergone an explicitly inter-cultural process that started her well on the way of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance before she ever took this course. What

distinguished Rosalyn in this course was her reliance upon lived experiences and utilization of specific cultural examples to demonstrate a more savvy facility with cultural processes and non-biased thinking. The understanding of the fundamental dynamic between cultural similarities and differences that Rosalyn demonstrated was that there is an inherent similarity of purpose underlying parallel traditions, although the pathways each culture takes to achieve similar results are different. This course validated many of her lived approaches to cultural similarities and differences for her and helped her articulate them better.

No other student was as far along as Rosalyn with developing such depth of understanding about the fundamental dynamic between cultural similarities and differences, but all were making progress on developing their understandings in this direction. The folklife education approach teachers used in this course reinforced, strengthened and enabled all students, including Rosalyn, to further develop their understandings about the fundamental dynamic between cultural similarities and differences.

5.1.1 The separate components of the nucleus

Having looked briefly at the depth and complexities students could possibly develop, I now turn to discuss in greater depth the basics of the dynamic and the process of how to develop this direction. Initially the two halves of the nucleus are separate components. One component is simplistic notions about cultural similarities and the other component is simplistic notions about cultural differences. These initial, simplistic stereotyping ways of thinking about and interacting with others is a result of basic brainwave neurological patterning. These stem from the normal perceptual patterning our brain does for ordering the world for ease of functioning within it. Humans build upon our patterning capabilities with culturally learned information to help

"manage the complexities of one's environment by simplifying the social world" (Dovidio et al., 2004, p. 247). These notions about culture help us know who is like us and who is different, so are part of an us-them/friend-foe distinction useful for survival. This normal patterning function helps us distinguish our group from their group, but the criteria for who can be "us" and who remains different "them" are learned from our culture. Far too often these criteria are based on overgeneralizations rather than real similarities and differences. This simplistic notion, that all of us are the same and all of them are different from us, serves as an easy default or starting point for considering cultural differences and similarities between people when encountering someone new. The dynamic of this default position lies with these components being separated so I depict this simplistic notion in Figure 11 as two totally separated halves of the nucleus.

Figure 11: Simplistic notions of cultural Similarities and Differences

The simplistic notion is that all of "us" are the same and all of "them" are different from "us." Taking steps toward developing more complicated notions about similarities and differences is the beginnings of challenging preconceptions. Moving away from simplistic notions involves beginning to understand some of the complexities in intra-group and inter-group

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similarities and differences. A group is comprised of individuals who embody a wide range of differences outside of the common bonds that unify them into that group. A group shares a lot of common features with other groups despite the features that distinguish it from these groups. As long as simplistic notions about me situated in a group of those like me is held and maintained as being in stark opposition to a culturally different person situated in a group that has no similarities to me, then these two basic components remain disconnected. It is important in developing youngsters' capacity for social tolerance of culturally different people that youth begin to grasp more complicated understandings about *Similarities* and *Differences*. To get a change in thinking, it is important to "break down monolithic conceptions of out-groups, which leads to more differentiated perceptions of these groups and thereby reduces stereotypes" (Vogt, 2004a, p. 272).

5.1.2 How components join to form the nucleus

I visually depict the beginning of the process of moving from simplistic notions to more complex notions as the two separated halves of the nucleus moving toward each other to become joined (Figure 12). But there can be something interfering with the halves joining together.

Figure 12: Comfort zone of boundary maintenance

Culturally learned distinctions between "us" and "them" are imagined boundaries that are often comfortably familiar, and thus are routinely maintained. I envision these maintained boundaries as a buffer zone that lies between the simplistic understanding of *Similarities* and *Differences* and interferes with the process of them joining. This zone can have an emotional dimension to it that keeps the distance when interacting with culturally different others. Maintenance of known boundaries and patterns is comfortable, whilst challenging culturally learned distinctions between "us" and "them" as needed for crossing boundaries can have a degree of discomfort, or even fear involved. James-Edwards (1998) talked about this boundary that keeps someone from interacting with others who are different from themselves as a type of conflict aversion rooted in the ways a person was acculturated to avoid conflict. In creating a classroom environment where expressions of differences could occur, and where her students

could cross the boundary that prevent interaction, she realized she had to address this internal resistance to engaging with difference - since difference is oft associated with conflict.

Helping students through this emotional layer to override the discomfort and develop more complicating notions about cultural *Similarities* and *Differences* requires skilled teaching. When students first encounter information about culturally different others that is not in agreement with their preconceptions and established boundaries, the students can use the information to reinforce their existing boundaries and in so doing, keep their notions simplistic. Without guidance, students might simply use the new information gained from interacting with someone who is culturally different from them, as new ways that "they" are not like "us".

Comparison may be an easily accessible mode for students to use when figuring out what to do with new cultural information they encounter, but a danger can occur with a simplistic type of comparison - the danger of the students dismissing new evidence and affirming prior conceptions. The expectancy-confirming evidence process is easier for students to do than gathering disconfirming information and leads to confirming previously-held biases (Stephan & Banks, 1999). In simplistic comparing, students could affirm their simplistic notions about cultural difference and reinforce the boundary between themselves and the others they are encountering. When comparison results in boundary maintenance, no curiosity to learn more is triggered in the students and the possibility of them developing greater mental flexibility is diminished if not totally precluded. With boundary maintenance of simplistic us/them differences, the two halves of the nucleus components remain separate and the students do not engage in the process of developing more complex notions of cultural *Similarities* and *Differences*. Since the process of categorization is fundamental to intergroup bias, intentional instruction to alter student conceptualizations of in-group/out-group, such as through the

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processes of de-categorizing or re-categorizing of different others or them, better contributes to bias reduction and positive intercultural interaction (Dovidio et al., 2004). Guiding students in comparing broader and more nuanced information of different others can help students challenge these cognitive processes.

Intentional instruction in folklife education activities can diminish the intensity or threat of negotiating the conflict-avoidance discomfort barrier for students and help them with the cognitive processes of challenging prior expectations and engaging in re-categorizing. Folklife education helps students join the nucleus components by providing guided opportunities for youth to encounter evidence that can help them think about their own and/or others' culture in more complex ways. Folklife education to learn cultural processes begins by working with the familiar comfortable culture of the self as the starting point for exploration. Students initially explore the groups they have membership in, their folk groups (McNeill, 2013), in folklife education activities. Their understandings of culture's working in folklife education stem from their digging into their own experiences of complex cultural traditions. Since their culture is always familiar and so seems "right" to them, the workings of culture they begin to articulate are descriptions of the comfortable, even if these are previously implicit aspects of similarities and differences they discover within their own culture. This grounding of the self in cultural familiarity provides an emotionally safe beginning point for students when encountering culturally different others.

Encounters with cultural difference come quickly in folklife education as students share with their classmates. The differences are initially small scale, as well as within their "us" compartments, and thus more likely to avoid triggering discomfort or even be perceived of as boundaries. Folklife education activities that highlight students' folk group membership

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variations, or holiday celebration tradition variations, establish comfort with comparing across difference. These comparisons reveal interesting similar-but-different or different-but-similar patterning. Students know "everybody" celebrates Thanksgiving or Fourth of July in America but rarely, or never, are students outside of their own folk groups to experience how others do this celebrating. Having students share their variations on parallel traditions is a way for teachers to help students learn how to snap the core components of *Similarities* and *Differences* together. By shifting their understanding of what it means to be different from the simplistic us/them distinction to a focus on the nuances of variations that are alike in some fundamental ways, students can begin to develop more complex understandings about similarity and difference intra-group and inter-group. If we consider this instructional activity as working with the cognitive process of social categorization, by guiding the students to redefine difference as variation, teachers help students re-categorize the different others as being similar to themselves (Dovidio et al., 2004). Thus, a category can be altered to become *variations,* and this blurs the boundary, or makes it semi-permeable to use a biological metaphor, and becomes a more inclusive distinction. Variations as a concept maintains a recognition of the differences while allowing for the student to make a personal connection to others as being similar.

By connecting students to their own culture first, folklife education helps students figure out how the culture processes work in their own lives. Students can direct their attention into deeper explorations of their own traditions through comparing their cultural variations with their classmates. Students can then draw upon their deeper understandings about own personal cultural experiences for points to use in accessing other cultures they will encounter throughout life. Folklife education provides ways to both help students join the two components of the nucleus and, with the development of the other components, help keep them locked together.

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5.1.3 Nucleus components intertwined

Through this folklife education approach of using students' own and their classmates' cultures to shed light on culture writ large, students learn more about self while learning about others and use the exploration process to reconfigure their understanding of sameness and difference in more complex ways than they ever did before. The two halves of cultural *Similarities* and *Differences* are initially separate, based upon these notions being simplistic. The beginnings of complicating the notions occurs when students bridge the comfort zone that had kept "them" as different and "us" as same and snap these both together to form the nucleus. When snapped together as in Figure 13, cultural processes operating in their own culture and the culture of others can be explored simultaneously to reveal complexities and dynamics that were not possible when simplistic notions about same and different were maintained and stereotypes reinforced.

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Figure 13: Two-part nucleus beginning to complicate notions about cultural Similarities and Differences

The self as focus for cultural explorations in folklife education allows for the depth and nuance of lived personal experiences to become resources for exploration. With all students drawing from their own cultural experiences, they have rich data sources to work with and share. These experiences are accessible enough for teachers to use them as instructional resources for developing student inquiry skills of careful observation and respectful interviewing. Folklife education instruction starts inquiry into cultural processes students have experienced, which establishes for the students that they each possess a depth of personal cultural expertise at whatever age they begin. Students begin inquiry with self-discovery, often by remembering a lived experience or recalling a tradition they practiced. Students also investigate common

ordinary cultural practices that they are expert in. These starting points focus the definition of culture for students to a comfortable and accessible personal level: culture has routineness and sameness about it because it happens every day in ways that they and everyone experiences.

Folklife education allows for commonalities and differences to emerge within student inquiry when based on folk group level analysis. When students explore personal experiences or parallel traditions at the folk group level, cultural differences emerge as variations between groups stemming from common functions or similar cultural processes. As they study ordinary things and events, students become aware of the existence of dimensions within these familiar experiences that they never realized before. When students use such small-scale variations to consider cultural differences, they can learn to use the perspective shift that cross-cultural comparison can provide to direct their attention into deeper explorations of their own culture. Through the process of using their own cultural experiences to shed light on other's cultural experiences, students learn more about others while learning about self. Through the process of using other's cultural experiences to shed light on their own cultural experiences, students learn more about self while learning about others. When students explore particular cultural practices, they find there are many cultural *Similarities* and *Differences* to grasp, and the dynamic between them can become quite complex as well. Engaging in folklife education inquiry into ordinary experiences of their personal folk groups helps students cross the discomfort barrier and begin to reconfigure their notions about cultural *Similarities* and *Differences* in more complex ways than they ever did before.

The nucleus of the model, with the fundamental dynamic between cultural *Similarities* and *Differences*, is the most basic starting point for folklife education. But the nucleus is also the place where folklife education practice can be the most advanced with many cultural *Similarities*

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and *Differences* to grasp within cultural practices, and the dynamics between the two halves can become quite complex. Rosalyn, this course's student demonstrating the most advanced understanding of the relationships between cultural *Similarities* and *Differences*, takes cross-cultural comparison to a very complex and deeply intertwined level.

From the beginning of the course, Rosalyn already had the nucleus locked together. She demonstrated this with her use of complex comparison involving particulars rather than generalizations, her attentiveness to biased language, her drawing upon personal experience narration, and her basic awareness of possessing personal expertise as a cultural practitioner. Tolerance, as Rosalyn conceived it, involved taking a distanced perspective to, as she wrote, "at least, if nothing else, live and let live" rather than taking an overtly negative attitude toward others of "looking down on people for doing things differently." By course end, Rosalyn demonstrated her even deeper understandings of the nucleus components when she discussed wanting to investigate other cultures to discover aspects that work better for them than whatever methods her culture might be using to achieve similar ends. Rosalyn recognized that learning through intercultural inquiry was productive. She felt such investigations and their outcomes would result in her becoming a "better version" of herself.

5.1.4   Nucleus is central in folklife education

The nucleus of my model furthers my understanding in the six areas lesser-known about folklife education teaching and learning I listed at the beginning of this chapter. The separate components of the nucleus are inherently taught within each student's culture, most typically to define how members are similar to each other and are different from others who are not part of their culture. If casual intercultural encounters were enough to snap the two halves together, then

tolerance would already be a regular feature of society. Scholars examining contact hypothesis for promoting positive intergroup interaction assert that as important as contact is, the complexities of the nature and condition of the contact factor into its success with reducing bias and stereotypes (Allport, 1979; Hewstone & Brown, 1986; Stephan & Banks, 1999; Stephan & Vogt, 2004; Vogt, 1997, 2004b). Skilled teaching is needed to help students with whatever emotional discomfort there might be with crossing previously maintained us/them boundaries. Folklife education, through its initial focus on self and ordinary cultural experiences, engages students in an approach that can help them explore cultural *Similarities* and *Differences* and in so doing, provide all students with a readily accessible and comfortably familiar way to snap the nucleus together. Through folklife education activities that shift difference from being a barrier to being a variation, students can snap the two components of the nucleus together.

The model presents the nucleus as the core of the Basic Level. Helping students develop more complex understandings about how they are similar and different from others of various cultures is both the starting point for developing students' capacity for tolerance and the central focus of beginning or advanced folklife education practice.

The components of the nucleus are understandings that students come to know with increasing depth. There is much for students to learn about *Similarities* and *Differences* so the depth and complexities they can come to know is not able to be exhausted. A large part of the depth to which students can develop their understandings is based upon their developing facility with holding these two components together in productive tension of being distinct yet intertwined with each other. Exploring the complex dynamics of *Similarities* and *Differences* allows young investigators to learn more about themselves and about others and to gain new insights into how productive intercultural interaction can be for learning.

My model depicts the basic relationship of the locked together components of the nucleus, but it also adequately depicts the complexity that more advanced students who engage in folklife education learning activities can continue to develop. By using an image that suggests the interdependence of a yin and yang relationship, my graphic suggests the depth that Rosalyn attained in her understanding of *Similarities* and *Differences* in this course. My model simultaneously depicts the most basic and the variety of more complex understandings all students in this course demonstrated. In its simple portrayal of this core goal, the model establishes the core competencies that can lead to greater nuances and complexities in student understandings of the dynamics between *Similarities* and *Differences* that can be further developed via other folklife education courses.

5.2   BASIC LEVEL: THE FIRST RING COMPONENTS

My second analysis question is **What do students indicate is essential to initiate growth in recognizing abstract, intangible cultural manifestations?**

Culture is one of those very challenging terms to define. Yet studying culture is exactly the task we embark on in folklife education. Teachers and students may find this challenging to do since the nature of culture is such that they cannot be given concrete, defined parameters about culture, the focus of their inquiry. Though some cultural manifestations, traditions, may be quite tangible when they are enacted, much of culture is abstract and intangible, like rules, values, and worldview. Exploring the abstract aspects of culture such as cultural processes provides students with an understanding of the structural underpinnings of culture that shape the tangible and intangible cultural manifestations. Abstractions are hard to see and impossible for

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students to hold in their hands. But this type of ambiguity, where particulars are difficult to pin down, is exactly what students need to be able to work with to deepen their understandings about the complexities of how people are culturally similar and different from each other.

Not all students are comfortable with abstraction. The teachers in this course were acutely aware of the abstract thinking capabilities they perceived each of their students to currently possess. Teachers constantly sought ways to help their concrete thinking students to connect and engage with the abstractness of culture. My study's focus is not on their teaching, but on what the students learned. All students in this course developed their capacity for tolerance even though their thinking styles, as perceived by the teachers, ranged from fully concrete thinkers to fully abstract thinkers (See Table 12 in Chapter 4). Regardless of the degree of abstraction guiding student thinking, all students described some level of comprehension of many abstract, intangible cultural manifestations they were studying in this course. In addition, the student who exhibited the most advanced thinking about abstract cultural manifestations, Rosalyn, was not the most abstract thinker in the room according to the teachers' assessment of her learning style. Aspects of this folklife education approach were able to help all students initiate their growth in abstract cultural manifestations.

By examining closely what students discussed, three thematic coding categories of insights emerged in students' work and words as important to all their learning: *Attending to the ordinary*, *Shifting points of view*, and *Working with conceptual terms*. Because all students discussed these as important in their learning, I understand these three insight themes as essential components to initiate growth in all students' recognition of abstract cultural manifestations.

5.2.1 Basic Level ring components

Three components form the essential Basic Level ring in the Developing the Capacities for Tolerance model (see Figure 14). Here, I briefly summarize my findings, which are presented with more extensive detail in Chapter 6, about how the students understood each component.
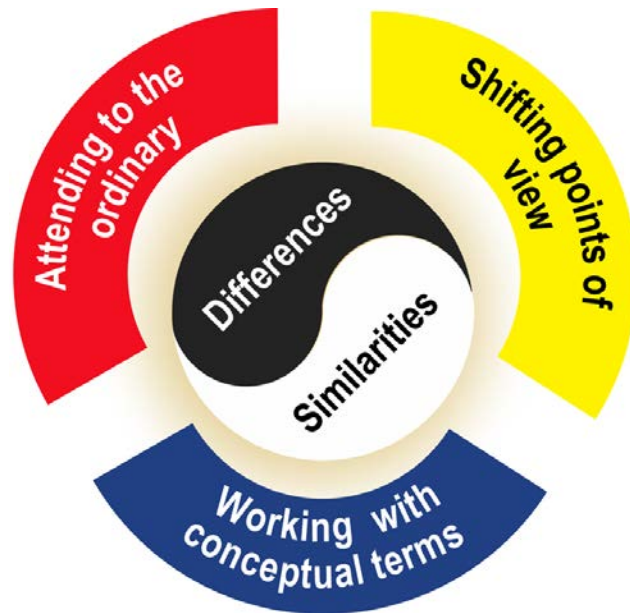
Figure 14: Three Basic Level ring components

5.2.1.1 *Attending to the ordinary*

The students developed skills in this type of deep noticing and gained an understanding about the importance of adopting *Attending to the ordinary* as a habit of mind. Teachers engaged students in a variety of assignments to attend to ordinary daily cultural occurrences, either by deeply noticing everything going on around them in the classroom, the school, and the community or through recalling memories of activities their families or other community-based folk groups have done. Students became aware of the pervasiveness and accessibility of culture. Though the focus of instruction was initially on the tangible visible cultural practices and artifacts, students

began to notice more deeply as they developed their observation skills. They learned about collecting objective and subjective data when they observed. As students practiced recording what they saw and their thoughts about what they saw, they developed hypotheses about cultural processes related to the everydayness of culture. Students described how ordinary occurrences contain layered depths of cultural information as they began to explore the extraordinary in the ordinary.

5.2.1.2 *Shifting points of view*

For the students, *Shifting points of view* happened in two concurrent realms, observing others and stepping back to observe self. Students described their developing awareness about how others have different perspectives and thus perceive the world differently than they do. Students strove to "see through other's eyes" so that they could better understand the perspectives of the community members whose cultural practices they were investigating. Students used their imaginations toward understanding others' experiences and thus began to develop the mental flexibility of shifting perspectives.

Another perspective shift students described as impacting their learning was stepping back from their own cultural traditions to investigate them, shifting from being a participant to a more distanced perspective so they could observe cultural details. Shifting to a metacognitive perspective allowed students to move to a dispassionate perspective and observe tangible details in cultural practices without as much emotional investment. Shifting perspectives provided students with a way to distance themselves from their own preconceptions about culture and examine and learn about and from them. Teachers used instructional activities like reflection throughout the course to help students develop shifting perspectives.

5.2.1.3 *Working with conceptual terms*

Teachers introduced a few basic conceptual terms in the first class session, but it took students a while of working with the terms until they began to discuss these concepts as impacting their learning. Students needed to experience the utility of and develop some basic competence with core concepts like folk groups, tangible and intangible traditions, and worldview before they began to describe them as impactful. Teachers did not provide ready definitions, rather they guided students to define a term through a process that mirrored folklore field data collection with the class generating examples and then work groups finding patterns within the examples and constructing the definition from the emerging patterns. Through this instructional approach for *Working with conceptual terms*, students practiced handling ambiguity, finding patterns and making meaning with the terms. Teachers thereby prepared students for the process of analyzing field data and of becoming comfortable with the many ambiguities in culture.

The students' understanding of the folklife education conceptual terms evolved throughout the course. For example, with the term folk group, students realized it was both a concrete way of labeling groups of people, and it provided a means for investigating and analyzing culture's visible and invisible aspects. Students understood folk groups as both tangible and accessible, and as sites embodying intangible aspects of culture. By using folk group as a unit of analysis, as many students did by the end of the course, many more aspects of how individuals embody culture and enact their folk groups' rules also became accessible to the students. The concept of folk groups came to provide a context for them where deeply noticed aspects of culture made sense. Teaching students to work with conceptual terms by discovering their utility through investigation methods was a successful strategy for developing and then

enhancing student learning. They learned ethnographic methods and realized that inquiry, aided by useful conceptual terms, could make abstract and invisible cultural aspects knowable.

Folklife education relies upon ethnographic methods to study culture. These Basic Level ring components in my model align with essential aspects of ethnography (Deafenbaugh, 2016, 2017a): close observation for rich data collection, shifting between emic and etic perspectives for a more comprehensive approach to interrogating data, and working with useful concepts that aid with data analysis (such as a unit of analysis, various concepts and framework, and triangulation of data to create/test hypotheses). Students pinpointed the importance of developing ethnographic skills when they discussed how ordinary occurrences contain layered depth of cultural information, how others have different perspectives and perceive of the world differently, and how folk groups are accessible and embody intangible aspects of culture. These three insight themes that all student discussed as being important in their learning are the ones I have clustered together to comprise the set of components central to folklife education and basic to developing students' capacity for tolerance.

5.2.2   Basic Level ring components interact and join together

Though students could discuss each of the Basic Level components as separate and distinct insights, practically speaking, these three components interrelate in folklife education teaching and learning. Instructional activities that emphasize student development of one component will also help students to develop the other two simultaneously. Assigned activities like observing an ordinary cultural practice in an urban public space to record objective and subjective field notes also helps students to shift between two perspectives of viewing the practice from within their cultural perspective (subjective) and from an external neutral point of view outside of their own

cultural perspective (objective). As students figured out what to focus on during this observation, they recorded the tangible and intangible traditions of the folk groups they saw in the space. In so doing, students also worked with several conceptual terms to understand the observed behaviors, the terms, and the complex cultural manifestations each signifies, more deeply.

As I noted in my summary discussion about each individual component above, all three Basic Level ring components are processes that the students actively engaged in doing during folklife education that developed skills coupled with understandings. *Attending to the ordinary* was the process of students being open to and then seeing the ordinary world differently by deep noticing. *Shifting points of view* was the process of students realizing that others perceived and experienced the world differently than they did, and that by moving between vantage points to see from multiple perspectives, they could begin to be aware of other's viewpoints. The *Working with conceptual term*s process was one of students developing their capacity to work with a set of conceptual terms that give names to the range of cultural building blocks students encounter. In the process of working with abstract conceptual terms students came to realize that terms both provided means for making meaning of and for initiating investigation into cultural manifestations.

All three components worked together to develop complexity in students' understanding of how culture is both visible and invisible. *Attending to the ordinary* involved noticing deeply to see the unseen aspects of culture. *Shifting points of view* to imaginatively investigate others' perspectives was a means of making the unknowable knowable. *Working with conceptual terms* to observe patterns in tangible aspects of culture made the concept of intangible aspects of culture accessible. All three connected concrete experiences of what students could observe and

perceive with the abstractness of cultural aspects that were beyond what they immediately were familiar with in their own worldview perspective.

These components worked together to develop complexity in students' mental flexibility. This included developing students' flexibility to observe more intently and notice more, their flexibility to suspend their own perceptions and try to see through someone else's eyes, and their flexibility to make connections between the concrete manifestations they were noticing and larger, abstract concepts about culture itself. When students approached the lesson activities in exploring culture with an open willingness to engage, they developed more mental flexibilities.
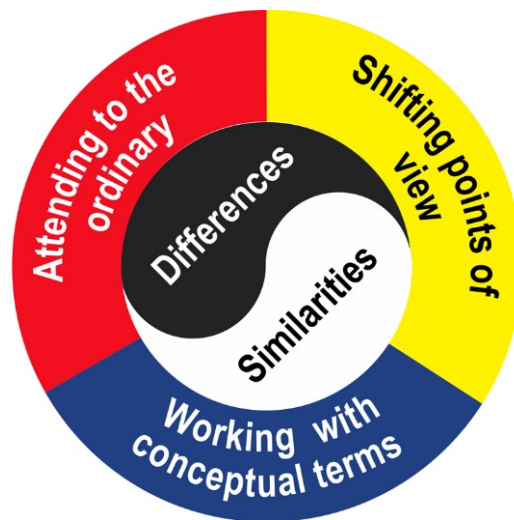
Figure 15: The Basic Level of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance

Basic Level ring components interrelate in the practice of conducting inquiry into culture and reinforce each other. As these three components work together, they stop being separate, isolated skills and snap together and interlock around the nucleus as depicted in Figure 15. The ring encircling the nucleus creates a solid core that together represents the Basic Level.

5.2.3   All Basic Level components interrelate

The interlocked three Basic Level ring components helped students investigate the intangible, ambiguous, and abstract aspects of culture and doing this helped them develop more complex understandings about cultural *Similarities* and *Differences* in the nucleus. The Basic Level ring both develops the nucleus core and holds it in place. As teachers provided students with robust, direct folklife education instruction throughout the course, their teaching reinforced students' Basic Level ring skills and understandings and deepened students' understanding of the nucleus components. In my examination of what the students discussed as impactful learning, I also highlighted the learning experiences and activities in this course that students indicated were most helpful for their learning of the Basic Level components. These instructional activities included reflection, objective and subjective data collection, collaborative learning, experiential activities, interactions within the community and with community members, interviewing, observation, conceptual mind mapping, and mapmaking. Students also found that their learning advanced when teachers provided coaching with starting points, probing for what was missing, and modeling in how to articulate cultural rules.

With these teaching and learning activities, and more, teachers began with what was most accessible for the students – students' own cultural experiences. These could be unique experiences students had as individuals in their own personal community-based folk groups or more collective experiences students had in school-based folk groups. Using such familiar and rich data sources, students began to define concepts, attain skills with methods of exploration, and gain insights into culture's workings as it applied to their own culture. Students began to compare their cultural experiences with differences in classmates' cultural experiences from the very first activities on personal folk groups. As the course progressed, teachers shifted to

activities that engaged students in exploring the culture of many different others from the community. The teachers tapped into and capitalized upon the students' own cultural experiences to achieve greater depth in student learning about culture in personally meaningful ways. Teachers also capitalized upon the resources of the inherent diversity of cultural experiences in any classroom of students (Erickson, 2007) and the inherent cultural diversity in the community (Deafenbaugh, 2015) to achieve greater depth in student learning about cultural variation, similarities and differences. As students learned about themselves, they had resources to draw upon and connect to for exploring other cultures. As students learned about others, they had resources to draw upon and compare with in exploring their own culture. As students developed their skills with observing, shifting perspectives, and working with abstract concepts they became more capable at investigating cultural similarities and differences. All five components of the Basic Level thus fit together as a unit.

5.2.4   Central to folklife education instruction

The Basic Level ring of three components in my model furthers my contribution to six areas lesser-known about folklife education. Students directed my attention to these insights as the components that were essential to their growth in recognizing abstract, intangible cultural manifestations. Though some aspects of culture are tangible, these visible traditions are integrally linked to the underlying, intangible manifestations of cultural worldviews, processes and structures. All students in this course, regardless of their abstract/concrete thinking style profile, developed their capabilities in *Attending to ordinary*, *Shifting points of view*, and *Working with conceptual terms*. These components were accessible to all students and were centrally important in how these students Developed the Capacity for Tolerance.

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Folklife education instruction can emphasize many aspects in the study of culture but these three Basic Level ring components should be the starting point for teaching beginning students the ethnographic skills of inquiry into culture. Teachers in this course taught all three of these Basic Level components and all students caught all of them. Certainly, the understandings and skills individual students developed in observation, shifting perspectives, and working with ambiguous conceptual terms were not identical, but all made progress and developed in their capabilities with these skills. These Basic Level skills are so important that teachers can continue to emphasize their students' development of these capabilities through intentional instruction in advanced folklife education courses too.

As students engaged in doing multiple folklife education learning activities of their own and others' culture, the repetition helped them develop their capabilities in the Basic Level components. These components not only developed skills, but developed what students knew about culture through the cultural process concepts each contained. Basic cultural processes revealed by the Basic Level ring components included: culture is embedded in everything surrounding us every day, others have different perspectives than we do, and conceptual terms about culture can both contain aspects of culture's ambiguities and be tools for exploring them. These Basic Level ring components can be taught as basic skills for exploring culture. As students developed their capabilities with these skills in exploring culture, they became excited by their discoveries and curious about other aspects of culture they could learn about. This led students to use these skills again and again as they engaged in further cultural explorations. By using the skills of the components, this provided an iterative means for students to develop their capabilities with the components even further.

These three components are separate skills and distinctive from each other, but in developing instruction for teaching them, the components can be taught as a set. Folklife education activities that may seem to focus on one of the components, like conducting an ethnographic observation, also require the student to engage in doing the other two components' processes, namely observing from different points of view and working with conceptual term(s) to help describe the observations. Not only do folklife education activities combine the three, but the components interrelate by developing each other. For example, developing greater capabilities to shift points of view to understand another's traditions helps students to develop greater understanding of the link between tangible and intangible traditions. The three basic components reinforce and advance each other, and together all develop student's more complex understanding of *Similarities* and *Differences* in the interlocked nucleus.

The skills of Basic Level components that are necessary for cultivating capacities, that is, habits of mind. Because of the potential for students to continue to develop increasingly deeper understandings and capability with these Basic Level components, these components cannot be thought of as simple skills to be mastered. By finding that students demonstrated curiosity and excitement in discovering new insights into how culture works in their own and other's lives, I realized that folklife education is doing more than just developing students' capabilities with a set of tools used for doing investigations in a course. Students were developing capacities in these Basic Level components, capacities that align with some of the Capacities for Imaginative Learning (Holzer, 2010). In the future whenever students encounter cultural situations they may wish to understand, students will have available to them their emerging capacities in Basic Level components to interact positively with culturally different others. Folklife education at the Basic

Level developed students' capabilities and capacities in these Basic Level components, which were central to the process of Developing their Capacity for Tolerance.

5.3   ADVANCED LEVEL: THE AWARENESS COMPONENTS RING

My third analysis question is **What effect does students' deepening awareness about cultural processes have on developing flexible tolerant thinking?**

Exploring cultural processes was focal in this folklife education course guided by the *Standards for Folklife Education* (Sidener, 1997). As students conducted inquiry into culture using the Basic Level skills, the information they gathered became their data for figuring out how culture works. As students grappled with the complexities of how cultural manifestations are similar and different, they gained insights into culture's workings and began to articulate these cultural processes.

Unlike the experience within the Basic Level where all students could develop skills in all components, what students experienced with Advanced Level components was a more individualized process. Almost all students gained insights into the workings of culture, but the cultural process insights each realized and articulated were not the same patterns of insights their classmates discussed. I found that students' Advanced Level insights did cluster into themes, which allowed me to discuss each insight theme as a component in my model. Despite finding themes that showed multiple students realized a shared insight into culture's workings, I did not find evidence that any two students deepened their awareness of all the same cultural processes. Some students discussed only a few awareness insights, others discussed many, but all deepened their awareness into culture's working in some way.

The Advanced Level components on the Awareness ring also differs from the Basic Level in that these are predominantly awarenesses – what students came to know about how culture works. The Basic Level ring components were predominantly skills - what students did when studying culture in a folklife education course. Student meta-cognitive articulations about their learning showed me glimpses into what they were learning about culture and their experiences in learning it at both Levels. Though folklife education instruction by their teachers was important for the students in developing cultural process awareness insights, instruction served a different role on the Advanced Level. Instruction focused on facilitating students' analytic processing of data gathered in Basic Level exploration activities rather than ensuring that they all got to the same points in the same way. The students' efforts toward realizing a new awareness and the content of each Advanced Level Awareness component were more individualized learning experiences. The Advanced Level is focused more on what students "caught" rather than on what teachers "taught" (Wolcott, 1997) and how the what and how of catching these awareness insights develops their flexible tolerant thinking.

5.3.1 The Advanced Level Awareness ring components

There are six clustered themes of insights that make up the components of the Advanced Level Awareness ring in my model as seen in Figure 16.

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Figure 16: Advanced Level ring of Awareness components

The overarching component of *Making meaning* is different from the other five components. It is a process students engaged in to develop their skill of making sense out of cultural data they gathered from their explorations. In the process of *Making meaning* students would organize their data, find patterns and relationships within it, and articulate their findings as what they were learning about culture based on these evidences. Their articulations were very often descriptions of cultural processes as they sorted out the points of similarities and differences and tried to make sense out of it. This process of *Making meaning* is aligned with the

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ethnographic skills of analysis and re-presentation. The other five components of *Equality of cultures, Own biases, Ubiquity of culture, Uniqueness of groups,* and *Uniqueness of individuals* are the content of various cultural process insights that students described. These cultural process components are aligned with big ideas or enduring understandings (Wiggins & McTighe, 2011) about the workings of culture. These could be part of the content of ethnographic re-presentation as cultural processes are often more generalizable statements that are based on descriptions of the findings of ethnographic analysis.

All students had to construct meaning from their cultural exploration data in this course and generated more cultural process statements than presented here. Students created presentations of their findings to complete several assignments, but in my study, I did not count mere examples of students having completed assignments as sufficient evidences of their developing capacity. Students described these six Advanced Awareness insights as ones that were particularly important in their learning.

With *Making meaning*, students discussed their developing awareness of their own thinking processes in puzzling out culture. Students tried to sort through what was helping them learn in this course and make sense out of their explorations into culture's workings. What students discussed in this component went beyond the processes they discussed doing on the Basic Level of *Attending to the ordinary*, *Shifting points of view* and *Working with conceptual terms* though they built upon one or more of these Basic Level skills. The range and individuality of meta-cognitive awareness insights students displayed into their own processes of developing their thinking highlights for me how individualized the Advanced Level of folklife education was for them. Through student descriptions, I found students articulated ten aspects of their *Making meaning* skill development experience: *Slow down*, *Look more deeply*, *Listen more*

deeply, *See patterns*, *Compare and contrast*, *Make use of metaphors*, *Use subjective observation*, *Synthesize and represent data*, *Name a cultural process*, and *Give feedback to each other*. I provide the details on each aspect to illustrate the depth and nuance of the *Making meaning* experience in Chapter 7. No one student experienced all ten aspects, but students found utility with this variety of methods for making sense out of cultural data. Zephira pointed to the process of articulating a cultural process as helping her understand and think more deeply. Other students discussed what they found challenging that they had to deal with as they made meaning of their data. Students pointed to instructional techniques that were most helpful in their changing sense-making thought-process, such as organizing data with popplets, discussing and sharing ideas with others, reflective writing, using metaphors and comparison, to name a few. Instruction served an important role in guiding students in *Making meaning*. These students pointed to a broad diversity of instructional techniques as being needed to help them each individually with developing this challenging skill.

Students created many cultural process statements as part of instructional activities in this course and stated one or more in their final project presentations. None of the cultural process Advanced Awareness components that I discuss next are ones that students used in their final projects. Instead these are all more overarching insights that students realized about how culture works that they gained from noticing emerging patterns from the series of folklife education explorations into culture they engaged in. I present these in alphabetical order though I acknowledge that with further analysis, I might be able to discover evidences of more nuanced relationships between them.

The first of the cultural process Awareness components on the Advanced Level Awareness ring is *Equality of cultures.* In this component, students discussed how other cultures

were as important as their own. These other cultures and their own culture were all somehow equal. Each person's culture was "right" for that person and not necessarily "right" for others. A student discussed how this cultural process awareness was liberating for it freed him from evaluating and ranking differences.

A deeper awareness of their *Own biases* is the next cultural process Advanced Level Awareness component. Students discussed how they were, or had been, judgmental in ways that showed they now recognized their own biases and prejudices more. Some students discussed this in relationship to a particular folk group that they investigated in this course, like homeless or other groups in the school. Others discussed this Advanced Awareness in terms of how their view was generally too often layered with judgment. Now they realized how that viewpoint was part of the cultural differences of folk groups. These students described that the way they could now see how their prejudices were shaping interaction with others was not a good thing.

The next cultural process Advanced Level Awareness component is *Ubiquity of culture*. Students discussed this cultural process as one in which they became aware of individuals or groups that they had never previously considered as being cultural as now possessing culture. For some, that awareness focused on homeless, for others it focused upon themselves. Recognizing that they had been restrictively considering only those they considered as exotic as possessing culture, but were now able to consider normative American dominant culture as culture too, was an insight some students discussed. Noticing and acknowledging everyone, not just certain groups, as having culture was an important realization to these students. They described how this previously invisible aspect of culture was now visible to them.

The next component on the Advanced Level Awareness ring, students' awareness of the *Uniqueness of groups,* was one of the few that several of the students who discussed it

referenced one particular learning activity, of analyzing how language can be used in different folk groups, as being important to their becoming aware of this cultural process. When these students engaged in a linguistic analysis learning activity, they noticed how multiple groups could use different words the same, or the same words differently. From their learning in this activity, some students were able to extend their understandings gained into an Advanced Level Awareness cultural process: that each group – regardless of how similar it might appear to other groups – is culturally unique. Other students talked about the variety of traditions within the groups in their own cultural experience and how each group was so unique. In each example, students discussed some of culture's tangible traditions which helped them to become aware of a more general invisible cultural process.

The alphabetically final Advanced Level Awareness component, *Uniqueness of individuals*, contains students' insights into the inherent cultural diversity within every individual. The unique profile of multiple folk group memberships each person has helps to shape each person as a multi-culturally constituted individual that is not duplicated by anyone else. Students recognized that each of the different folk groups someone belonged to enabled that person, along with the group's other members, to gain different perspectives and learn different things about each other and their surroundings. The students who discussed this realization were evenly split between using insights into this cultural process toward understanding themselves better or toward applying this concept to understanding others more deeply.

These Advanced Level Awareness components represent some of the many possible content insights about cultural processes that could be contained on this ring of the Advanced Level. Many more cultural processes were discussed in this course, and I am not trying to imply that students did not learn many more insights that could go on this level. These were simply the

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few cultural process awareness insights that students indicated were important and impacted their learning with some special degree of utility or relevance to them. These Advanced Level Awareness components were also ones that students undoubtedly became aware of because of the content and emphasis of this course. In another folklife education course, students might become aware of the same cultural process Advanced Level Awareness components as these students did, but probably will become aware of different cultural processes. Because of the many possible cultural processes that are possible for students to become aware of, I submit these five components as **examples** of what could be contained on this Advanced Level Awareness ring. But, the ring contains room to contain any number of cultural process Advanced Level Awareness components.

5.3.2 The interrelationships of the Advanced Level Awareness ring components

On my diagram of the Advanced Level Awareness ring (Figure 16), the *Making meaning* component is placed on the ring so that it permeates through all the other cultural process Awareness components. This visually depicts how students' use of the skills of data analysis and re-presentation in meaning making saturates all the cultural process Advanced Awareness components that are on the rest of the ring. Engaging in *Making meaning* yields cultural process awareness insights and figuring out a cultural process awareness reinforces the skills involved in *Making meaning*. I placed the other five individual cultural process Advanced Level Awareness components around the ring in no particular order as I did not find a definitive relationship between them with each other.

The components on this ring are primarily based in thought, though within each is a doing dimension. Students discussed their meta-cognitive awareness insights into *Making*

meaning, aware of how in some way this process was impacting the ways they think. Each of the cultural process Advanced Level Awareness components contained a degree of student awareness about how this understanding about culture's workings was reshaping something within their approach to the world. Within the components on this ring is where I found students discussed how becoming aware of these ways that culture worked helped them see more nuanced appreciations and respectful understandings about self and others.

The Advanced Level Awareness ring completely encircles the essential Basic Level core and is built out from it as shown in Figure 17. As students investigated more cultural situations with their Basic Level skills, they made meanings out of their inquiry findings and developed more awareness insights into cultural processes that could be added to the Advanced Level Awareness ring. In my model, I depict the Advanced Level Awareness ring as an expansive and less solid mix of colors pulled from the Basic Level (i.e. primary colors).

The Advanced Level uses, reinforces and strengthens the Basic Level components to gain deeper understandings of cultural processes and more cultural process realizations. The Advanced Level is where cultural identity work can become evident as students deepen their awareness insights about the working of their own culture. Nuanced understandings and respectful appreciations of other cultures also become more evident on the Advanced Level as students become aware of the cultural processes underlying other's traditions. This Advanced Level ring further strengthens the nucleus as the cultural process Awareness components can be used as a lens that helps students notice and realize increasingly complex notions about cultural *Similarities* and *Differences*.
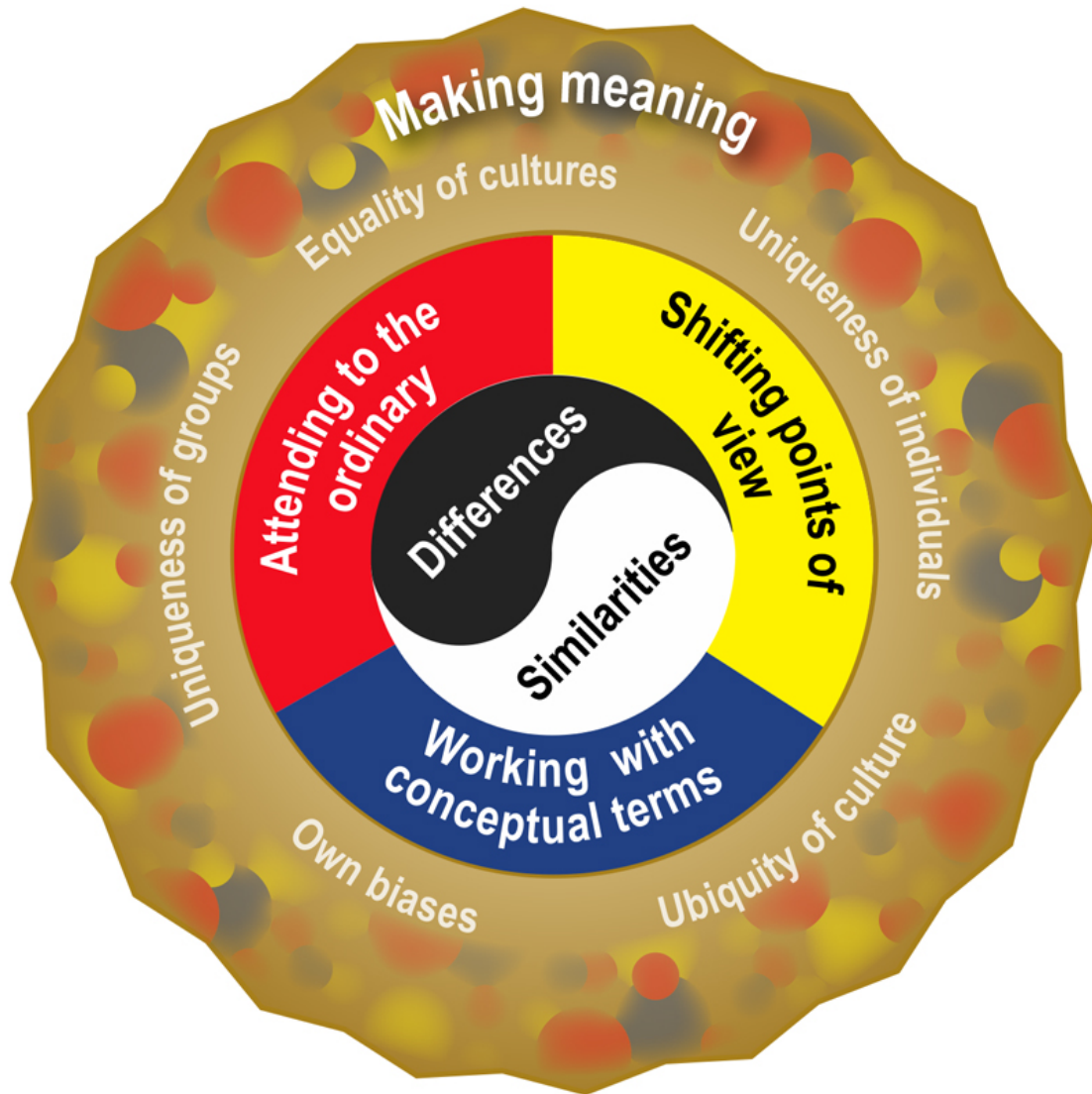
Figure 17: Advanced Level Awareness ring surrounding the Basic Level

Articulating cultural processes gives students a way to name the myriad of unseen aspects of culture that are going on. Cultural processes are dynamic, and so, what students name is not static. Discovering cultural processes is not like finding a fixed knowledge truth, since the workings of culture students figure out may be contextualized and not fully transferrable to all other contexts. Student insights into cultural processes align with hypotheses in scientific inquiry. Equipped with cultural process understandings, students were even more able to develop

their Basic Level skills by using these as entry points into inquiry and figuring out new cultural situations they encountered. Articulating a cultural process affirmed for students that they had found a way to see some of culture's invisible dimensions. Students found meaning making a challenging, but exciting, activity. On some level, they also found it transformative. Discovering an insightful cultural process that effectively makes meaning about their cultural data, showed students how they were developing an approach to exploring culture that could change how they understood culture to work and could impact how they think. As I saw with these students, the cultural process insights they discovered helped them to develop greater understanding about equality, suspending judgment, being open towards the unknown, being respectful, and considering themselves and others as more complexly constituted.

Meta-cognitive awareness about being investigators of cultural processes equips students with the potential for greater self-restraint. It helps them shift from reacting to culturally different others more automatically from judgmental points of view, to responding to others from a more gracious and generous stance rooted in the capacity to value both cultural differences and similarities. When students can take a receptive perspective, this shift provides them with the distance from their own worldview perspectives so that they can be open to, can look for, and can hold more variables. Having the mental flexibility to move into a meta-cognitive perspective allows students to develop their capacity for tolerant thinking even further through the positive reinforcements experienced with excitement through discovery of self and others' culture. The Advanced Level Awareness components these students articulated contributed much toward their Developing the Capacity for Tolerance.

5.3.3 Importance of cultural process awareness in folklife education

The Advanced Level Awareness ring of my model furthers my understanding about how students develop flexible tolerant thinking and about the six areas lesser-known about folklife education teaching and learning. It is the Advanced Level Awareness ring that really reinforces for students that culture is a process people participate in and not an entity people possess. The Basic Level sets the foundational skills and concepts and the Advanced Level shows what can happen when students engage in the struggle to find patterns and make meaning as the next added layer. When aspects of culture that were invisible or unknown to students become knowable through their meaning making efforts, their cultural process awareness insights help them remove prior conceptions about the strangeness of what others do. Pursuing and refining cultural processes helps students keep their minds open to notice how the particulars of one culture complexly compare to other cultural variations and to other cultural processes. The nuances, depth, and room for ambiguity within cultural processes gives a wide berth of flexibility that helps students resist considering a named cultural process they discovered as true in every cultural situation.

Though it may appear at first glance that asking students to articulate cultural processes is asking them to make generalizations, or stereotypic statements, about culture, the folklife education approach produces a different way of thinking than a stereotyping thinking process. These students' cultural process insights showed me how the Advanced Level Awareness ring components work against the stereotyping process. Stereotyping is a statement of a particularity that is generalized to include more than it does or should (Stephan & Banks, 1999). It is a categorizing way to "know" something about another without investigating. A stereotype solidifies the mind by creating or maintaining barriers and rules out being open to other

possibilities. Stereotypes provide ready "guidelines for interaction and explanations for the behavior of others" (Stephan & Stephan, 2001, p. 36). Investigating cultural processes in folklife education helps students articulate patterned findings as statements about the way culture functions, but these are meaning making articulations that are designed to be refined. This cultural process approach opens the possibility for students to replace simplistic judgment with a more complex understanding derived from inquiry that is accompanied by questions, curiosity and excitement to learn more. Regardless of the content of the cultural processes students discover, the greater realization that "we" are participants in cultural processes just like culturally different "they" are, carries great impact for students and, as they showed me, promotes equity, fairness, tolerant, respectful and flexible thinking. The folklife education approach combines many of the cognitive stereotyping reduction processes that social psychologists have found to be effective like creating superordinate groups and emphasizing multiple identities, using self-regulation, correcting misattributions, and differentiating the outgroup (Stephan & Stephan, 2001).

When I looked at the accessibility to students of the Advanced Level Awareness ring, the patterns within the components show me that this level differed from the Basic Level. Though all students were developing their skills in *Making meaning* as evidenced by all students successfully completing their final project and other assignments that had meaning making as a part of instruction, not all of them discussed *Making meaning* as an impactful learning experience, nor did they all arrive at the same cultural processes as meanings found. The variety of ways students discussed the process of *Making meaning* and the profile of each students' cultural process Advanced Level Awareness insights emphasized for me the individual nature of all the components on the Advanced Level. The Advanced Level was universally accessible to

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students, in the sense that they all made sense of cultural data in some way, but their experience at this level was very individualized. Only Rosalyn, the student most advanced in her previous cultural understandings, discussed every cultural process Advanced Level Awareness component. The progress that she made points me to consider if providing students with more opportunities in folklife education, perhaps integrated throughout the K-12 curriculum, might help students get to a more advanced positioning in their understanding, so that with a dedicated course like this one, they could access even more Advanced Level Awareness components, including ones not listed on my current diagram.

Even with the variety and diversity within students' experiences with *Making meaning*, the ethnographic skills within this component of data analysis and re-presentation are the place for instructional emphasis in folklife education courses. As students develop their capabilities with these skills, they will become aware of more cultural processes to populate onto this Advanced Level Awareness ring. Student discussion of helpful instruction also showed that a variety of teaching activities is needed toward helping more of them develop their *Making meaning* skills. Modeling the discovery of cultural processes was an important teaching technique for developing students' analytic skills, but these modeled classroom-generated cultural processes were not the ones that students discussed as most impactful to their learning. The cultural processes they struggled to identify in their own data were the ones that impacted them the most. In folklife education instruction, sufficient space must thus be allowed for students to find cultural processes themselves by guiding students toward discovery rather than directly teaching all the cultural processes they could possible find in their data. Not all students will find everything in their data, but the impact of those cultural processes they do find along with the excitement and curiosity the *Making meaning* struggle engenders is well worth it.

These cultural process Advanced Level components on this ring are awarenesses that come from the skills in meaning making and expand upon the skills and knowledge gained in the Basic Level. As far as my analysis has explored, I have found that each cultural process can stand on its own as unrelated to the others on the ring but, any and all cultural processes at the Advanced Level can feed back to the Basic Level to develop those basic components in greater depth. Within other folklife education courses, the Advanced Level Awareness ring would likely expand and contain a different configuration of cultural processes and those might reveal greater insights into the interrelationships of Advanced Level components.

Developing students' learning at the Advanced Level in this course was sequenced in that Basic Level data gathering occurred before meanings were made from it, but the sequencing between levels was only sequenced within an instructional set of activities rather than being separated into different level courses. Much progress can be made toward students Developing the Capacity for Tolerance by students' experience of the Basic Level in folklife education. But I now understand more deeply how students can productively develop their thinking at the Advanced Level Awareness ring toward Developing their Capacity for Tolerance even further.

5.4   ADVANCED LEVEL: THE ACTION COMPONENTS RING

My fourth analysis question is **How do students envision acting on their advanced awareness of cultural processes?**

One of the things the field of folklife education concerns itself with is equipping students with inquiry skills to use in various cultural contexts to attain deeper understandings of community cultural knowledge (Pryor, 2004). Inquiry relies upon the shift from assigning

meaning to curiously asking questions (Sidener, 1995). When open to learn more, curiosity, coupled with 1) observation skills necessary to deeply attend to the data that could answer the questions and 2) meaning making skills to figure out what the data holds in relationship to the questions, then students are better equipped to interact in positive ways with others they encounter in the future who are culturally different from themselves. Engaging in cultural inquiry is exciting, especially when the young investigator discovers ways that culture works. Cultural processes not only provide a student with a connection point to members of different cultural groups, but with new insights into the student's own culture. The excitement of gaining new awareness about cultures' workings can trigger curiosity to learn more, and so, new questions can emerge, and the inquiry process could begin again.

Folklife educators who engage students in ethnographic inquiry can expect to see high levels of excitement and curiosity. As the glue and the fuel of the inquiry process, excitement and curiosity would be indicators of engagement that could contribute to deeper learning and to learning beyond the boundaries of the defined folklife education activity.

In this study, I focused on the data from the students themselves about when they were engaged and elements that most impacted their development of new insights, skills, and habits of mind. I attended to students' use of language that indicated that the students themselves considered something to be important. I certainly observed classroom activities and discussions that excited me about their learning and made me curious, but my perceptions about classroom learning activities could not accurately tell me if they were feeling excited and curious. Only students themselves could share their feelings about what they were learning and if they ever were thinking about and/or applying what they were learning in situations outside of the classroom setting.

Through ongoing asides and informal interviews, these students shared data with me about their engagement in this course. I found evidence that the inquiry process was indeed fueling itself in a cyclical way that may predict students continuing to use what they were learning in future cultural situations. Evidences of their future intent to apply their insights comprise the Advanced Level Action ring. These components are not actions that students were doing as part of the course: they are predominantly imagined actions students stated they believed they might or would do in the future. Such future planning showed me these students were establishing skills and learning in this course as part of building new habits of mind. Through the skills students gained in folklife education, they began to Develop their Capacity for Tolerance. Through describing how they would continue to use these skills through planned future action, students demonstrated they were Developing their Capacity for Tolerance as a habit of mind for the future.

5.4.1 Advanced Level Action ring components

There are seven clustered themes of action insights that make up the seven components of the Advanced Level Action ring in my model as seen in Figure 18.
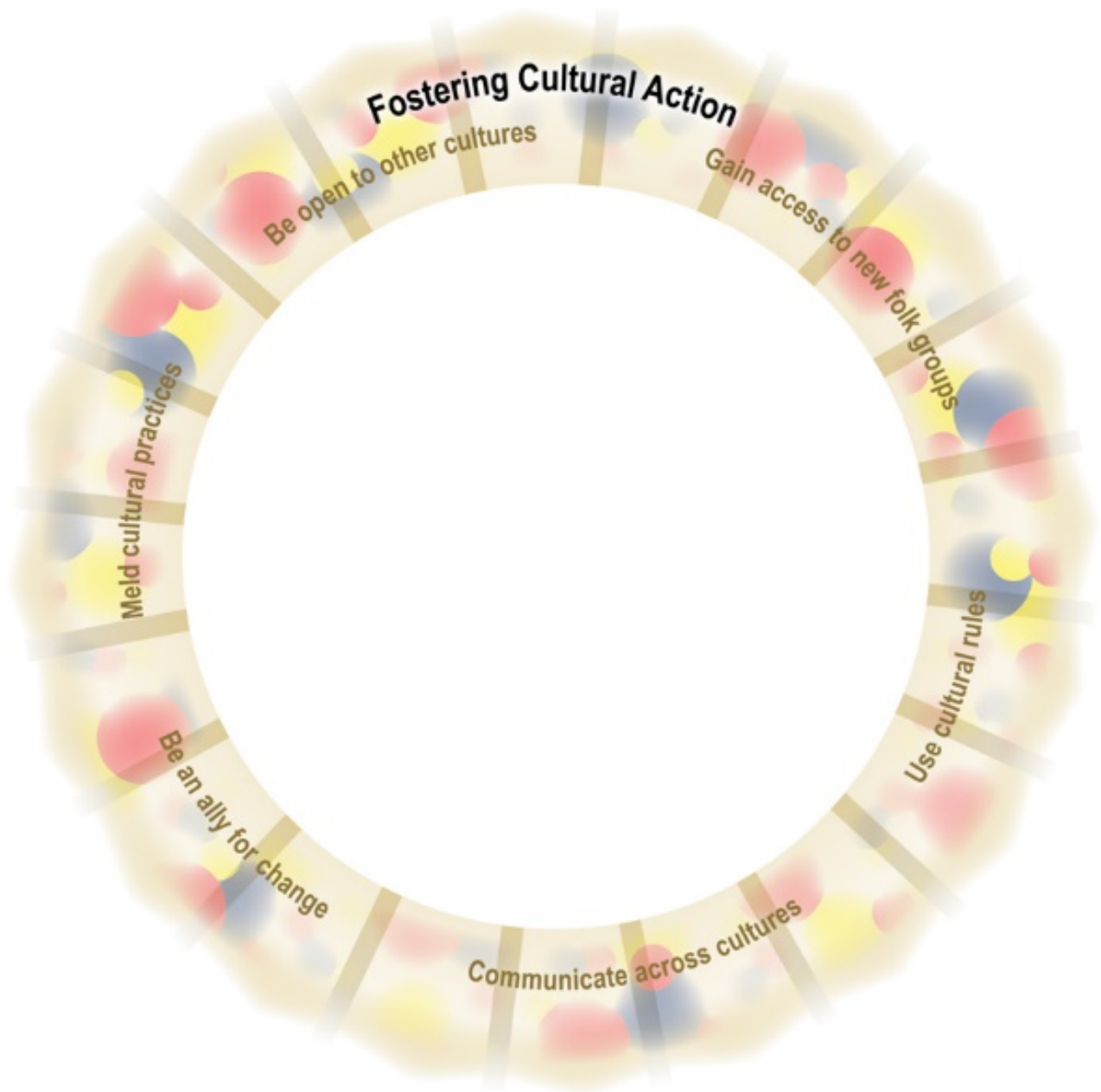
Figure 18: Advanced Level Action ring components

One of these components, *Fostering cultural action,* is different from the other six of *Be an ally for change*, *Be open to other cultures*, *Communicate across cultures*, *Gain access to new folk groups*, *Meld cultural practices*, and *Use cultural rules*. In the *Fostering cultural action* component, students discussed the skills they were developing in this course as being skills that

they felt proficient in doing and could use. Students recognized that because of this training, they could now productively study culture and see cultures' invisible aspects. They could do things others who had not taken a folklife education course could not do. Student discussions of their recognition of their mastery of the process of discerning cultural processes were not just statements of "Now I see and understand x." Insights such as those, that showed gained knowledge, not action, were components on the Advanced Level Awareness ring.

In this *Fostering cultural action* Advanced Level Action component, students discussed with detail the changes they were experiencing as learners, providing me with insights into important aspects of the process contained in this component. The four aspects of the process students described as most impacting their learning were how they could now: see what others cannot see about culture, connect with another person's experiences, explore cultural situations more systematically, and maintain greater self-control over their actions. These meta-insights showed students recognized the skill set it takes to do the action of seeing, in present or future settings. The aspects of the process in this Advanced Level component are actions as opposed to the insights students gained about cultural processes when they used the skills of ethnographic inquiry, which are awarenesses.

Almost all students were meta-cognitively aware that what they were learning in this course was changing them and becoming part of their way of being, hence, they were developing a new habit of mind (Gardner, 2006). Some students described the experience as "life changing" and "humbling." Students most often discussed the changes they were experiencing in their own reflective writing, but they would talk about it with others as part of group deliberations about shared experiences. In a blog discussion, for example, some students asked each other if the new knowledge they were gaining was going to change the way they behaved outside of class around

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others. They valued what they were learning to do and how accomplished it made them feel. At the same time, they knew that having this knowledge made them somewhat unique since so few other students had opportunities to gain it. They knew that what they were learning was something they could keep using and so discussed integrating the skills in *Fostering cultural action* and knowledge they were learning into their beings. As one of the students, Andrew, stated, "I'd like to think that my perspective as it is now will carry on to my later life." The *Fostering cultural action* component on the Advanced Level Action ring is a process: the process is one of self-awareness of developing capabilities and how developing these capabilities can be ongoing and useful for them.

The other six components on the ring are thematic clusters of anticipated, continuing Advanced Level Actions. Students' profiles of how many and which ones of these Advanced Level Action components they described were very individualized, just as students' profiles of cultural process components were on the Advanced Level Awareness ring. All students in the course discussed their intent to take one or more future actions on this ring, based on their meta-cognitive awareness of their new capacities. I describe the content of each of the other six Advanced Level Action components in alphabetical order and use verbs to title them in keeping with students' intentions to do these in the future.

The first of the Advanced Level Action components is *Be an ally for change.* In this component, students discussed how they could put their knowledge of how culture works to use to make positive changes within the community. This course's emphasis on the cultural aspects of public space provided a practical example, an opening for many of the community members when interviewed by students in the field research activities of the course, to share their perspectives on community problems and changes that had happened or needed to happen. By

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being introduced to community members' authentic opinions and approaches to solving life and society problems, students become aware of the resource of allies and the funds of knowledge held by others in the community (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992). Students discussed how change happens through change agents and cultural groups collectively addressing needed social change. Some students envisioned changes needed in their community. They discussed how it could be possible to form alliances with others whom they had not yet met, drawing on their insights about how culture worked via shared values holding folk groups together (Sims & Stephens, 2005). All they would need to do would be to find folk groups who wished to create the same social change they did. The students did not discuss specific actions they intend to take to make change in the community, just that they could imagine ways to work on change in the future. When students know whom to seek out and approach in the community and have the skills to investigate and attain knowledge from them, they feel confident in there always being allies who they can meet, learn from, align with, and act with in future situations.

Be open to other cultures is another Advanced Level Action component students discussed. In this component, most students focused on seeing cultural differences and being open to intercultural interactions. As Miles described his learning, this course had impacted him such that he felt it now was possible for him to "go into every situation with an open mind and experience new things without fear." Some students talked about how when they see different cultures, they would think about their differences more and not assume that they are all alike. They reported that they anticipated approaching new groups to try to understand them and to learn from them, because others have a depth of cultural knowledge that isn't initially apparent. Other students discussed how being open to other cultures would entail them setting aside their

own beliefs and judgments, so they could learn from culturally different others and grow from these interactions.

The next Advanced Level Action component is *Communicate across cultures.* Students described various strategies for improving communication with culturally different people who they expected to encounter in the future. Randall puzzled about the subtleties of privilege and how this can cause intercultural communication to fail. He discussed how his previous interaction strategy had been "wrong" and now he had learned how to interact appropriately with other cultures going forward. Most students in this component discussed specific strategies they would use to communicate with others that ranged from regulating aspects of their own attitudes and behaviors, like being more respectful or accepting and not looking down on others, to initiating interactions by breaking the tension when they anticipated being around folk groups in which they were not members. One student, Robb, discussed how this course was useful to him with the communication dynamics of his own family. He felt that knowing how culture was structured with tangible and intangible traditions and cultural processes had provided him with a framework for finding similarities that he could use to build a better relationship with his immigrant mother.

In the Advanced Level Action component of *Gain access to new folk groups,* students talked about how they knew they would be going into new situations as they graduated from high school, and thus, they would need to make new friends. In imagining their future workplaces, communities, or college settings, they discussed how they would identify folk groups and pick ones to join or avoid. Students talked about the importance of their learning to understand folk group dynamics and how to figure out the rules and traditions of the groups. They recognized the

utility of what they learned in this course toward becoming accepted by others in the next phase of their lives.

Meld cultural practices is an Advanced Level Action component that is very advanced. This component was only discussed by the student who was the most advanced in her understanding of culture and its dynamics. Rosalyn discussed intentionally seeking to learn from another culture to change herself in a way that differed from cultural appropriation. Rosalyn acknowledged that everything in her own culture was not inherently good, so learning how others addressed the same cultural issues could potentially help her improve. Her focus was to turn her analytic lens on herself first. She discussed appreciating aspects of other cultures and exploring how these aspects, perhaps if adapted and adopted in her own life, could help her become a "better version" of herself. This component contains the deepest level of respect and appreciation for other cultures I saw expressed in this course. Rosalyn understood that changing self was an important and useful action and deeply appreciating other cultural groups could aid her in doing this.

The alphabetically last component on the Advanced Level Action ring is *Use cultural rules.* Most of the students who discussed this component talked about their increased awareness about how their behaviors, feelings, and even ways of thinking were sometimes shaped by others who intentionally applied culture rules to influence them and their behaviors – not always for the good. They discussed how they anticipated continued increased awareness of these often-subliminal manipulations in both general situations, like in the design of public spaces and the power imbalances between cultural groups, as well as in specific situations, like a subtle proxemics detail of whether a door is left open or closed to engender feelings of warmth or tepid welcome. One student, Alice, also discussed how she felt she could use culture's proxemic rules

toward making others feel uncomfortable who might invade her cultural space. This intentional use of culture's rules points to the growing confidence that Alice, and others, felt with reading culture's complexities and participating more fully in the cultural world as they go forth in it. They were becoming articulate and competent cultural agents.

These components showed me evidences that these students had made progress in developing their potential for action. Their concrete ideas were ways of rehearsing or role playing for the future that further solidifies these skills as ones they will be able to use when they needed to in the future. Approaching inquiry into culture and building relationships across cultural differences was a way of seeing and doing students were learning in this folklife education course that was becoming internalized as a way of being. The Advanced Level Action components students described reinforced to me the importance of this ring in Developing the Capacity for Tolerance as a habit of mind students were likely to continue to do.

5.4.2   Interrelationships of Advanced Level Action ring components

The Advanced Level Action ring is depicted in my model as similarly structured to the Advanced Level Awareness ring. The process component of *Fostering cultural action* with students' meta-cognitive insights into how they are developing proficiency with these new skills and can imagine their future use permeates all the other components on the ring.

Figure 19: The Advanced Level of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance

The many components I was able to discern within their learning are only a few of the vast number possible. In this course, six Advanced Level Action components emerged, but were not directly dependent on each other. They were each related to *Fostering cultural action* in that

that process component expressed student awareness of their own competency with using skills of the course whereas the other six Advanced Level Action components represented specific areas students imagined the skills could be applied. There is plenty of room on the Advanced Level Action ring for more components when students in other folklife education courses come to name other cultural actions that they could take in the future.

The Advanced Level Action ring surrounds and attaches to the Advanced Level Awareness ring (Figure 19). These two rings together form the Advanced Level of my model. There is no direct causal link of specific cultural process Advanced Level Awareness insights resulting in specific Advanced Level Action components. Action ring components, like Awareness ring components, can be seen to contain a synthesis of the Basic Level components, and so, both these rings contain all the colors of the Basic Level intermingled. The two Advanced Level rings are interrelated in that they maintain a productive tension between thinking and doing. Students actively engaged in deeper meta-thinking into cultural processes on the Advanced Level Awareness ring and then imagined future applications for this knowledge on the Advanced Level Action ring. Students actively developed awareness of cultural processes and then became conscious of the many possibilities for taking cultural actions from these new understandings of how culture works.

Imagining future actions has a dimension of prediction to it. Imagining doing is part of a process Pink (2005) describes in designing a chair: the chair is fully designed in the mind before it is designed in practice. Pink contends that chairs cannot be physically built without having been imagined first: imagining is an essential step toward taking action. In applying this process to these students' experience, it follows that students will be more likely to reengage in doing Basic Level skills of inquiry into culture outside of the classroom and at future points in time if

they have imagined the cultural situations they might encounter where investigating culture would be useful.

The two levels in my Developing the Capacity for Tolerance model are structurally different in the ways the components of each level interact. Basic Level components on the Basic Level ring interlock and develop each other in complex ways, whereas Advanced Level components within both Advanced Level rings act more autonomously, at least so far as these data show. The Awareness and Action insight components on each Advanced Level ring stems from the process component on its' respective ring of *Making meaning* or *Fostering cultural actions*.

The Advanced Level Action components indicated the situations where the student may choose to use his or her ethnographic inquiry skills. The Advanced Level cultural process Awareness insights become available for students to use as starting points for conducting these additional ethnographic inquiries. Students could be confident that they possessed a degree of skill in exploring culture including making sense of the cultural data they gather when applying their skills in future settings. My model represents an outwardly radiating sequence students move through with each repeated use of this folklife education approach in cultural situations. The sequence may radiate outward from the middle, but it loops back from the farthest rings to start again at the center for another radiating sequence. The Advanced Level components build upon students' synthesized learning of the Basic Level components, strengthening and developing the basic core capabilities and complicating further the students' notions about cultural similarities and differences. The Advanced Level develops the complexity of the Basic Level, and the Basic Level develops the complexity of the Advanced Level. Both Levels work together to Develop students' Capacity for Tolerance.

5.4.3   Importance of potential actions to tolerance

The Advanced Level of my model enriches my understanding of what open-ended capacity building looks like when students study cultural processes, and of my working definition of tolerance. Capacity building as a process is open-ended, so I looked more closely at how the Advanced Level might ensure that students keep Developing their Capacity for Tolerance in the future. The open-endedness of capacity building was evident in what these students were realizing and imagining at the Advanced Level. Students expressed confidence in their growing capabilities through their experiences in investigating culture to understand cultural processes in this course. They explicitly strategized in class how to repeat the experience by coming up with additional situations where they could put their skills to use.

Being meta-cognitively aware of their own growing capacities was a positive experience for students. They could see how as they learned more about others, they also learned more about themselves. They realized their changing capabilities were impacting how they were going to approach and be in the world. Fortunately, doing ethnographic inquiry skills iteratively feeds its own development, making the students continually better at doing the skills by doing them. As students reflected more upon their learning from a meta-cognitive perspective to view their learning processes, the more capable they realized they were becoming. This insight into their growing capacities helped students feel empowered to imagine shaping and taking actions within future intercultural interactions.

Students who imagine scenarios in which they could use their skills are better preparing themselves to repeat using their skills, and so to continue to build their capacities and to experience gratification as they do. Though the limits of the course could not allow for me to definitively see how this would look in practice, I got insights into a possible direction that this

open-ended capacity building could take. Rosalyn showed the benefits and satisfaction of ongoing appreciation of interacting with many people of many different cultures. Other students did not express this in quite as clear a form, but maybe they could or would with more experiences. Nonetheless, the progress all the students made in developing their capacities for tolerance indicated they were each headed toward continuing to develop deeper levels of respect in individualized ways.

Because of the complexities of the cultural world we all inhabit, students will encounter many open-ended opportunities to increase their knowledge about culture and practice their skills throughout life. Every moment in cultural situations is a unique occurrence and each person acts within it. The students will need to draw upon all their resources of accumulated cultural knowledge and prior experiences to see which aspects of what they know and have experienced are applicable and can inform the choices that must be made in each context. It will be in the midst of the ever-changing interactional dynamics of the cultural world that each student will make decisions about how to interact with culturally different others. Individuals attempt to interpret situations in order to act (Geertz, 1973). One way to maximize tolerance in each unique cultural situation would be to improve each person's capabilities to assess each cultural context they find themselves in *and* improve their capabilities to tap into those skills that are most applicable in those moments. By utilizing the inquiry skills taught in folklife education, the students would become even more savvy data collectors, accessing both the visible and invisible cultural aspects that would be of most use to them at that time, able to make sense of their data by discerning cultural processes operating and to determine positive cultural actions they could take.

As students build their capacity for social tolerance, they become better and better prepared to be fully present, observant, openly neutral, and able to make use of ethnographic inquiry methods in every cultural situation. Every situation will require them to act – even inaction will be an action. The more habitual these ways of approaching cultural difference that they learned in this course can become for students, the more likely they are to make use of their capacities as part of their resources in future intercultural interactions. When students imagine future actions, and then begin to put those actions into practice, their skills will be ready and accessible.

What students described about their intercultural interactions, both experienced in this course and imagined in their future, helped me to think more deeply about what tolerance looks like in practice. Tolerance means looking for the many complex ways you both are similar and different, which is done through applying the skills of ethnographic inquiry. Tolerance means knowing there is an inherent equality between you and culturally different others, a knowing that comes from awareness of the structural similarities you both share when living out cultural processes.

Tolerance, as these students showed me, means being open to interacting with others without judging them, which is accomplished by suspending your beliefs through shifting your perspective so you are in a neutral place where objective observation is best accomplished. Neutrality and non-judgment of others is exactly what allows students to productively inquire even more about cultural processes. Being in the neutral place of tolerance is not passive. Shifting perspectives, observing, making meaning from data gathered, applying insights, and asking further questions, are all actions. These actions are cognizant of nuances in differences, seek to understand the differences, and are respectful of peoples' rights to be different.

Actively taking on a stance of receptivity and neutrality creates a space for tolerance and opens the possibility for establishing positive intercultural relationships through discovering common bonds. Actively taking a neutral stance toward being open and tolerant helps establish positive intercultural relationships from the start, so just being open is a strong beginning to form a positive relationship. I question how long anyone actively engaged in this inquiry process could maintain negative views about culturally different others when they are respectfully exploring their culture. Approaching others respectfully to learn more about them and the cultural processes in operation thus increases the possibility of positive interaction with culturally different others. The practice of tolerance as cultivated through the process of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance appears to me to contribute to developing the capacity for intercultural respect when enacted in daily life.

5.4.4   Importance of potential actions to folklife education

The Advanced Level of potential Actions provides me with greater insights into the six areas lesser-known within teaching and learning in folklife education. With this understanding I am better able to make recommendations for structuring intentional folklife education. All students experienced success imagining the usefulness of their developing skills and most were able to express meta-cognitive insights into how they were changing. They imagined using these skills in diverse situations, which was reflective of the individuality of the learning experience for students at the Advanced Level. Folklife educators can plan structured activities that help students to reflect upon their learning and imagine how they could use what they were learning outside of the classroom. Teachers should be cautioned against expecting all students to imagine the same application situations for their knowledge. As students personalize their learning, this

helps teachers to know that students are deepening their ownership of their learning, and it is the internalization of their capabilities in conducting inquiry into culture that is the predominant value of the final Action ring of the Advanced Level.

I did not find any indications in students' experiences in this course that teachers need to directly teach to the Advanced Level Action ring components beyond intentionally guiding students in their articulations about their developing capabilities. All Advanced Level Action components are "caught," so it is possible that directing students to imagine more, and with more detail, could foster their "catching" more components. The more Advanced Level Awareness and Advanced Level Action components they discover and imagine, the more useful they will be to them in engaging in independent outside-of-the-classroom use of their folklife education inquiry skills in the future.

The instructional sequence I recommend guides students through the Basic Level skills, through the Advanced Level skills of *Making meaning* and imagining *Fostering cultural action*, and cycles back to the nucleus to begin inquiry again. If folklife education lessons, units or courses had the time and flexibility to follow a sequence radiating out through the model from Basic through the rings of the Advanced Level several times, this would be the ideal sequence to follow. Repetition of the sequence would likely yield the greatest results toward making this approach habitual for most students. Repeating the Basic through Advanced sequence multiple times would also likely yield more depth within each component of the Basic Level and additional density of components on the Advanced Level rings.

In this course, some students imagined themselves as taking cultural action for social change in their communities. Folklife education is not intentionally a means of training activists, though those who wish to take action for social change or be activists can make good use of the

capacities folklife education develops. Folklife education does provide ways for educators to develop students' capacities for becoming engaged citizens who have concerns for the community, for dialoging across difference as democracy requires, and for building community and deepening the bonds within folk groups. This course intentionally encouraged students' belief that they were resources to improve the community. Because students developed cultural process insights in, and with the help of, the community, the students had little difficulty making the connection back to community contexts as the locus for their future actions.

This particular set of Advanced Level Action insights that emerged with this group is not surprising when I consider the point in life these high school senior students were at developmentally. The cultural processes they noticed and the uses they imagined, all relate closely to their stage in life of getting ready to leave high school and venture into the world of work and higher education. Developing folklife education skills helped prepare students for the moments in life in which they anticipated tolerant action will be required. Students discussed how they have now a strategy and a set of skills to use to demonstrate a respectful way of approaching culturally-different persons, groups, situations, and contexts that they know they will encounter. Folklife education helped to prepare these students for future cultural situations by making good progress toward Developing the Capacity for Tolerance as a habit of mind.

5.5   THE COMPLETED MODEL

My research question for this dissertation is, **How does student learning about cultural processes via the *Standards for Folklife Education* develop their capacity for tolerance?** My

completed model on Developing the Capacity for Tolerance (Figure 20) illustrates my learning about the components, their sequence, and their interrelationships.
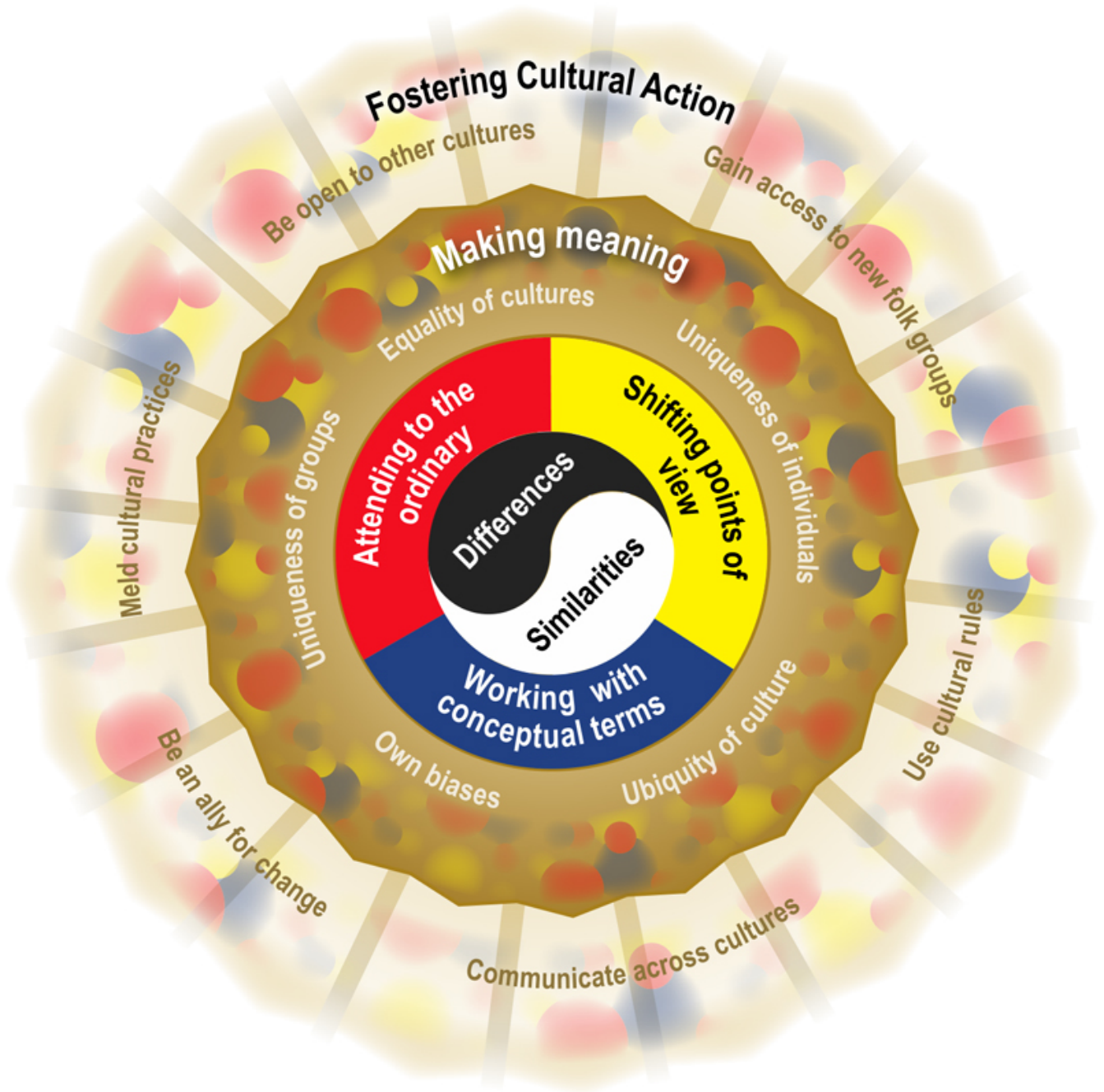
Figure 20: The Developing the Capacity for Tolerance model

The completed model as designed shows how the Advanced Level expands upon the skills learned in the Basic Level. Though the model appears to radiate outwards, it also contains an iterative cyclical dimension that occurs as students' Advanced Level imagining of situations to apply their developing knowledge and skills returns students back to the center and triggers the Basic Level inquiry process to begin again with even more complexity and nuance. Over time, and with the refinements that come with repeated use, this model's components lock tightly into place for the user. The model develops increasingly greater density and durability in its depiction of the process students can continue to use in the various cultural conditions they will encounter in the world throughout their lives.

I provide my model first before my data to keep my reader oriented through the next two chapters of selected data details that illustrate the components in the model in and their interrelationships. The illustrative stories of student learning in Chapter 6 highlight the Basic Level components and how intentional folklife education instruction helped students develop these components simultaneously. The stories in Chapter 7 highlight the Advanced Level. Educating students via a cultural process approach in folklife education went beyond students gaining isolated knowledge and skills about culture and coalesced into students Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. Student learning in this course provided me with greater theoretical clarity on how the capacity for tolerance develops and how folklife education can intentionally foster students' development of this capacity. I gather my set of conclusions in Chapter 8.

6.0 THE BASIC LEVEL OF DEVELOPING THE CAPACITY FOR TOLERANCE

This chapter, and the next one, contain student writing and exemplar stories that serve as evidences of the individual components and their interrelationships of my model for Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. Chapter 6 traces out the learning experiences that generally took place early in the course and illustrate the Basic Level. Chapter 7 focuses on student learning that occurred more in the second half of the course and illustrates the Advanced Level of my model. Stories in these chapters are organized to follow the same path I used to develop my model as I presented it in Chapter 5. Therefore, my headings in Chapters 6 and 7 provide a ready reference of where I am at in the model to help keep readers oriented.

Though I isolated components within students' learning to build the model, the learning experiences for students were layered with complexity and did not naturally or neatly compartmentalize into single separated components. Because of space limitations, I have selected a representative story or two to illustrate each component. The stories highlight my main points about a component, with enough detail to show the complexities of students' learning experiences. Readers are welcome to reference back to Chapter 4 to examine more closely the tables that show the amount and distribution of data in each given component, since sufficient and compelling evidence was my requirement for identifying components.

The overarching pattern within analysis showed that all Challenge High students developed unique understandings about culture yet held a commonly-shared set of impactful

learning experiences. These commonly-shared learnings become Basic Level components of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance with the insights into culture that were not shared by all students fitting into Advanced Level components. In this chapter, I focus on the shared learning and provide selected evidences for each Basic Level component in turn.

6.1 BASIC LEVEL: ESSENTIAL CORE COMPONENTS WITHIN THE NUCLEUS

All students discussed learning three Basic Level components of A*ttending to the ordinary*, *Shifting points of view*, and *Working with conceptual terms*. In addition, I found two other Basic Level components that were expressed by the students, but not quite in the same way. Cultural *Similarities* and *Differences* are central core elements in folklife education instruction. These two components were infused throughout the Challenge High curriculum and were foundational within most insights students discussed. The folklife education curriculum teachers taught in this course helped students move from simplistic to ever more complex insights into cultural *Similarities* and *Differences*. I begin at the core to examine the student's experience of developing this complexity of understanding.

6.1.1 Simplistic notions of cultural *Similarities* and *Differences*

The easy default for students, to hold simplistic notions about culture, was visible in this classroom. Simplistic notions help humans order the world by distinguishing who can be "us" and who would be "them" based on overgeneralizations rather than real similarities and differences. I share a segment of a whole class discussion from the beginning of the course that

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features Rosalyn, the student in the class who walked in the door with the most advanced-level understandings about culture. Her participation in the discussion served as sharp contrast to the simplistic notions that other students were expressing and helped to support the teacher who was also challenging the students to become aware of their simplistic default thinking.

This example occurred on the second day of class when the final sections of the *Everybody's Ethnic* video (LearningSeed, 2001) were shown and the whole class discussed points the video raised. The video presented language use in multi-lingual societies in a segment. In the discussion, some students raised points that voiced a pervasive English Only movement perspective frequently heard in the media (Barker et al., 2001; Rodríguez & Sundman, 2008). Kenzo opened this discussion by telling a story about visiting Puerto Rico once. He said that at the time, he made a comment of "Why can't they all just speak English like normal people." He assured the class it was a joke, but Akim replied, "It *would* be much easier to speak it, but everybody's gonna think their culture is the best." The room erupted with everyone talking at once. Daniel was arguing against the USA accommodating other language speakers. Rosalyn jumped into the discussion and offered counter examples of bilingual road signs in our country and language use practices in Amish communities. Daniel rejected her example because road signs in their city were not bilingual. The teacher explained that this was because their region did not have a large Spanish speaking population like other parts of the country has.

Miles then made a point that Americans should not consider others as doing things wrong because he thought that we are the ones doing things wrong. He asserted that the English structure for ordering parts of sentences is wrong. He warranted this assertion with his observation that all the other languages he has learned have a different grammatical structure. Rosalyn interjected, "It's just different." Miles did not accept her correction of his statement and

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went on to support his assertion by naming three other languages. The teacher echoed Rosalyn's comment and restated it by talking over Miles with a paraphrase of a line from the video they just watched "Not backwards, just different." This attempt by the teacher to turn the conversation back to the film was not successful at this point. Rosalyn asked Miles to say something in French, one of the languages he named. He said he couldn't say anything. Another student jumped in and made a statement in French. This evoked laughter when someone translated it as "cheese omelet" for those who did not understand the phrase. The teacher then succeeded at refocusing the group back to discussing the video.

Rosalyn understood the video's point about the importance of the perspective expressed in the words we choose to use to describe difference. Words can be purely descriptive of the difference or can reveal a bias perspective. She was willing to help Miles with this concept by offering a less value-laden word for him to use when describing various language grammar structures. When he did not accept her, and the teacher's, suggestion, she then challenged him to support his biased perspective with a concrete example. Rosalyn's challenge was an attempt to get her fellow students to use a technique for countering stereotypes: presenting a concrete exception that disproves the stereotype. Rosalyn had just demonstrated this technique to her classmates by her giving examples of bilingual road signs and Pennsylvania Dutch language usage in Amish communities. Rosalyn was willing to model and encourage others to use the techniques and skills she had developed for countering stereotypes. Doing so set her apart from the other students and highlighted their expressions of simplistic notions of cultural *Similarities* and *Differences*.

6.1.2   How components join to form the nucleus

The process of joining together the two components of the nucleus is one that takes place internally in a person's thinking, and this can be challenging for students. Students have a greater chance of successfully joining these components with skilled teaching, modeling of strategies, and instruction that is designed to intentionally help this process occur. My emphasis here is on examining the general process rather than following an individual in the process, so my example stories contain multiple students. I trace the process from students maintaining the separation that keeps cultural *Differences* distinct and unblurred by the acknowledgement of co-occurring cultural *Similarities*, to students successfully understanding the greater complexity of *Similarities* and *Differences* joined and interrelated.

6.1.2.1 Boundary maintained

Comfortably familiar, culturally learned distinctions between "us" and "them" were imagined boundaries that served as a buffer zone between simplistic notions of *Similarities* and *Differences* and interfered with the process of joining these components of the nucleus for some students. I saw boundary maintenance expressed in this classroom as dark or inappropriate humor. The experience of challenging these boundaries and of crossing them can have a degree of discomfort involved. I witnessed skilled teaching toward helping students through this emotional layer toward developing more complicating notions about cultural *Similarities* and *Differences*. Rosalyn again takes center stage with her previously-developed advanced expertise serving as contrast to other student's experiences. This example occurred at the end of Week 2 when the students were completing a multi-part lesson designed to help students cross this boundary by examining variations in parallel traditions of their family folk groups. Overall, the

lesson was progressing successfully with the students accomplishing this lesson objective. But then, when Rosalyn and Tara took the floor as the last presenters of their popplet assignment, Rosalyn's life experiences in Africa introduced a challenge to some of the students in the class in considering that what she was sharing was a parallel tradition because of how different her prior daily life was to theirs. Some students responded with boundary maintenance expressions.

Rosalyn and Tara's popplet (Figure 21) compared their families' Fourth of July traditions so they began their presentation by showing their many similarities. The teacher prompted the pair to share some of the differences between their folk groups. Tara described her family's tradition of capturing embarrassing video footage all day and showing these bloopers in the evening. Students were laughing heartily about this story as Rosalyn began to tell about her family's celebration of the Fourth of July over the past two years since her family had relocated back to the States. She mentioned how going to see the fireworks downtown was a new experience for her. This prompted an audible side comment from the back of the room, "You don't get fireworks in Africa?" Another student responded to him by cracking an under the breath joke that was not audible to the whole room. Students near that pair started laughing. This was not the first time I had seen students react in judgmental ways when Africa was discussed.

Rosalyn responded to the audible question by explaining why this common American tradition of watching fireworks was new to her. "Um yeah. I don't know. We didn't celebrate Fourth of July as part of our lives." The teacher revoiced and expanded Rosalyn's explanation by pointing out that Americans living in another country would not celebrate a uniquely American holiday with the nationals there who firstly, wouldn't know about it, and secondly, wouldn't care about it if they did know about it. "In Ethiopia" Rosalyn added, "It was just another work day." The teacher seized this opportunity to ask Rosalyn a question. She asked if Rosalyn's experience

illustrated a cultural process such as: specific knowledge about traditions residing within folk groups might not be shared with the knowledge of the broader society. Rosalyn agreed with the teacher's suggested cultural process explanation. Then the teacher, having just modeled respectful interviewing, opened the floor for students to ask questions of the presenters.

Daniel jumped right in with a great interview question, "Oh. While you were in East Africa, did they have their independence day?" Rosalyn began to answer his question by describing how fun the Ethiopian celebration was. But she was interrupted by Rebecca who asked her, "Didn't you get hit by fireworks or something?" Rebecca repeated her question as Rosalyn stood there puzzled not understanding what this question meant. Rebecca was trying to connect a previous lesson to this conversation, but no one got the connection. The earlier conversation Rebecca was attempting to reference had happened two weeks earlier. On that day, the class had discussed a tradition of throwing fireworks at people's feet on Christmas that Ms. Connolly experienced in Honduras and its variation of "just throwing fireworks around" that Victor experienced in Mexico. Unfortunately, neither Rosalyn nor anyone else in the class understood the connection Rebecca was trying to make. Other students misinterpreted Rebecca's question as connected to the side comment that created the humorous uproar earlier. Laughter resumed.

The teacher again restored the class' focus on Rosalyn's story by asking, "So what, um, for Ethiopia, what's Independence Day?" The class was now very focused on Rosalyn's description about the components of the week-long celebration. When Rosalyn described how this celebration was not a true independence day, but rather a celebration of successfully resisting being colonized (adding that the country she lived in was the only African nation never to be colonized) the students clapped. As Rosalyn's story unfolded, the memory became more

vivid for her. She was quite animated throughout the whole telling, but switched mid-story from using the pronoun "they" to using the pronoun "we." In this way, she was claiming the importance of her Ethiopian experiences to her own identity and asserting herself as the cultural expert she was in those experiences.

As Rosalyn and Tara disconnected their laptop from the projector and resumed their seats, the teacher again thanked Rosalyn for her explanation and reiterated the importance of the story as an illustration of a cultural process. Side conversations sprung up while the teacher connected her computer to the projector and got ready to move the class to the next activity in the lesson. In the front of the room, one student was asking the teacher if Cinco de Mayo, a celebration to honor the winning of a battle, would be considered an independence day celebration. Whilst in the back of the room, a group of students resumed that earlier side conversation about Africans using guns and grenades instead of firecrackers; a conversation complete with war zone sound effects that elicited laughter from their audience.

Though the students in the back of the room were not yet able to stop maintaining the boundary that was keeping their notions about African culture simplistic and situated in an "us/them" dichotomy, this lesson provided them with much to think about. Rosalyn had demonstrated her depth of understanding of culture's working as she shared her cross-cultural experience growing up in East Africa with the class through storytelling. Her stories were personal and authentic lived experiences that were specific examples about a real Africa that challenged stereotypes about a generalized and biased perception of Africa. Rosalyn's stories inherently embedded cultural processes and provided lived particulars about another culture that she made available to her classmates for them to use in making comparisons to their lives. Though the teachers did not go out of their way to single out Rosalyn, they did capitalize upon

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the times when Rosalyn shared her knowledge and experiences and used these moments to help further the instructional goals of the lessons.

Regardless of her reception from other students, Rosalyn continued to demonstrate her willingness to share her advanced cultural knowledge with the class during class discussions and in blog exchanges throughout the course. She recognized that her African experiences were not what other students wanted to/could easily hear about very often. Although it was her time in Africa that was critical for developing her expertise with cultural processes, it wasn't Africa that distinguished her as expert. Rosalyn demonstrated her cultural expertise by how she would tap into strategies like relying upon lived experiences and utilizing specific cultural examples. Her comfort with these strategies demonstrated a more savvy facility with cultural processes and non-bias thinking than most other students in the room exhibited early in the course. By course end, most students had made progress in developing these skills too. However, I noticed one student, Gary, continued to struggle with simplistic stereotyped thinking as he worked on his final project. With further analysis at some future point, Gary's experience is one that may provide deeper insights into the persistence and challenges involved in the default barrier that separates and maintains simplistic notions surrounding cultural *Similarities* and *Differences*.

6.1.2.2 Joining the halves of the nucleus

When teachers provided guided opportunities for youth to encounter evidences that could help them think about their own and/or others culture in more complex ways, folklife education instruction helped students with the joining of the two nucleus components. All the learning activities in the first half of this course focused upon the students staying grounded in their own cultural traditions. Students explored their own folk groups, their own traditions, their own folk group shared spaces, and their own school. By working with the familiar comfortable culture of

the self as the starting point for exploration, students had access to details and nuance that they shared with each other in the course activities. In my next illustrative story of students examining their differences in similar traditions, I look more closely at how the skilled instruction helped diminish the intensity of negotiating the discomfort barrier for students. Teachers guided students toward perceiving previously unseen similarities that once seen, took differences and resituate these as variations. Having students share their variations on the parallel traditions of holidays "everybody" in America celebrates was one way teachers helped students learn how to snap these components together.

The multi-part family celebrations lesson teachers taught at the end of Week 2 was designed for students to explore their own and their classmates' Fourth of July and Thanksgiving celebrations. Students typically celebrate these holidays within their family folk groups and so would not be likely to have experienced the ways others' families celebrate. The teachers began the lesson with assigning students to a work groups of four students. Groups decided which of their members would focus on each holiday so that the group had two members with each. The students first went to their blogs and wrote a reflection upon their own family traditions for their appointed holiday that contained as much detail as possible. Students next developed interview questions and practiced interviewing skills by asking their questions of another group member who focused on the holiday that was different from the one they did. This generated additional verbalized information about the traditions which the interviewer captured as field notes and shared with the interviewee to help him/her do the next activity.

After the interview, these interview pairs separated and repositioned themselves to sit next to the student in their work group who did the same holiday as they did. This new pair then compared their own folk groups' experiences with the celebration by consulting their blog, their

interviewer's field notes, and their memories, and together created a popplet. Students were charged with digging into their celebrations to look at the various roles folk group members played in the multiple components of the holiday festivities and to articulate the rules that governed the execution of these roles. Once student pairs had completed their popplets to a certain degree of complexity, the teachers moved the lesson to its next activity. Some of the pairs projected their popplets onto the front wall of the classroom and presented their findings. Teachers ended the lesson with a group discussion that generated cultural processes to add to the class' virtual wall of statements of how culture worked. Since teachers did not give a blog assignment at the end of this lesson, I do not have extensive insights into individual student's reflections upon the lesson and the specific of their experience within it. I examined students' assignments instead.
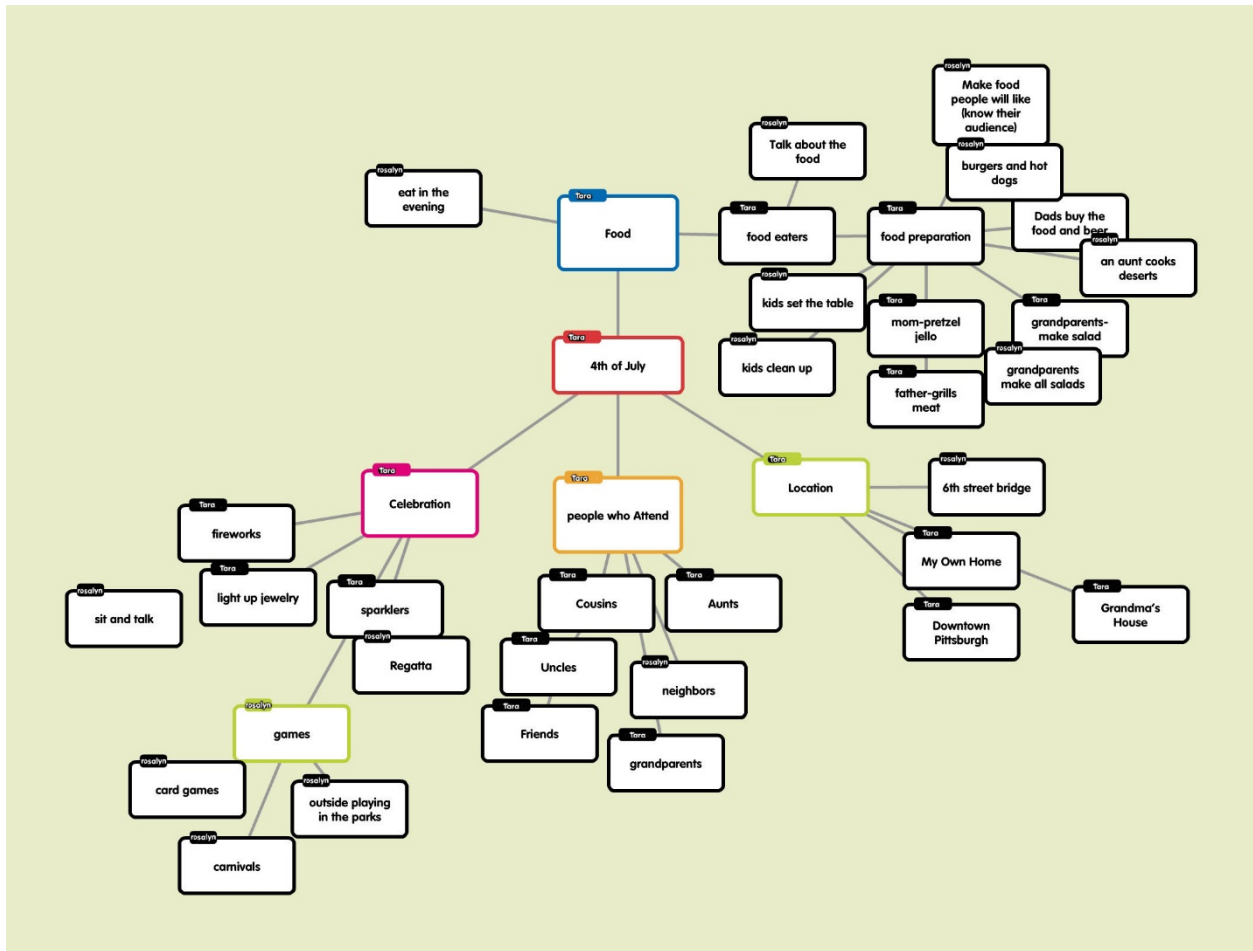
Figure 21: Rosalyn and Tara's Fourth of July popplet

The students' popplets showed how the pairs categorized aspects of their traditions for similarities and variations within the practices. Though all popplets in this assignment did this, I selected Rosalyn and Tara's popplet (Figure 21) and Zephira and Alice's popplet (Figure 22) because these pairs appeared to use the feature of the software that allowed them to both work simultaneously on creating the popplet from two computers. The software placed the name of the creator on each popple. I assume that each student entered her own traditions, but I cannot be sure that this was always so, or that they did not edit each other's entries. In many other groups, one student typed and entered what both were saying – making it harder for me to see which aspects of which traditions belonged to whom.

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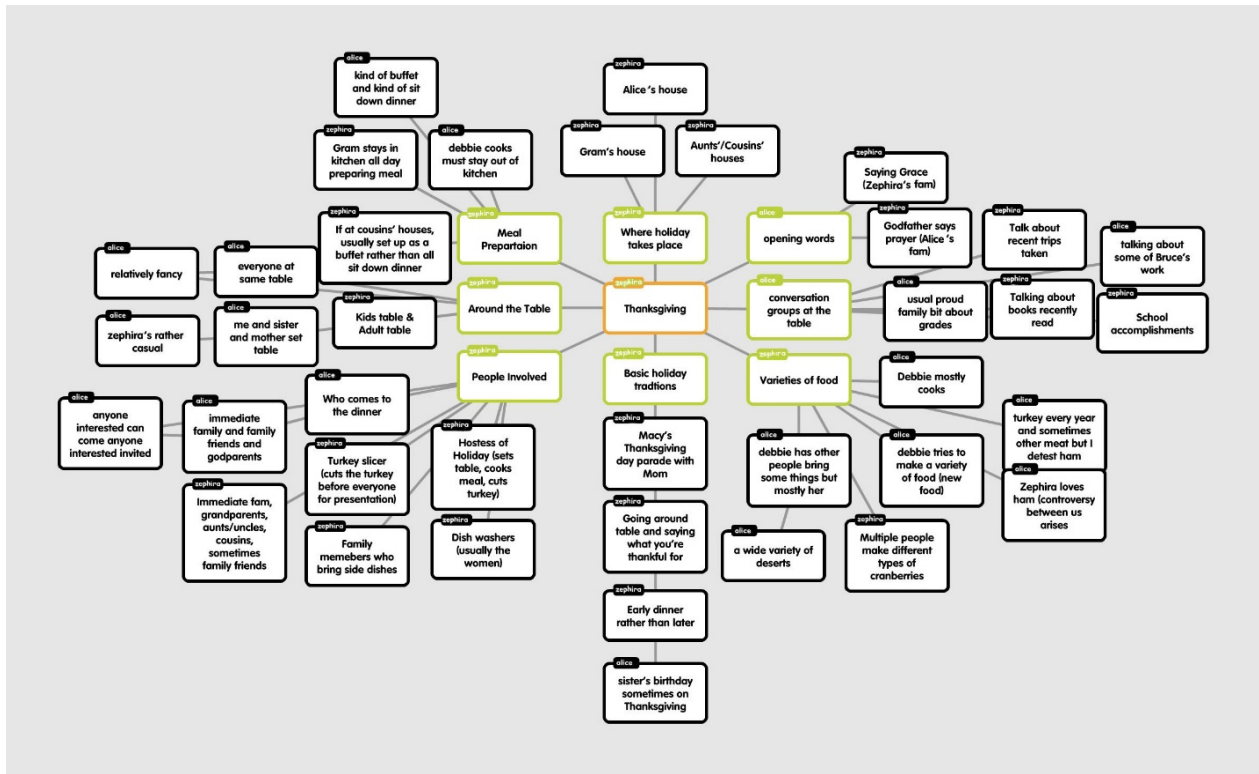
Figure 22: Zephira and Alice's Thanksgiving popplet

As these popplets show, both pairs clustered their folk group practices for the holiday they explored around organizing popples that they made different colors. These clusters of similar practices made it easier for them to look at their differences. In Zephira's popplet, the *Around the table* cluster of popples shows how systematic this pair was in recording the variations in their practices. As I listened to their audio recording of this group work, I heard that one variation, about ham, triggered a judgment discussion between them that Alice captured by creating a popple in their *Varieties of food* cluster.

Both pairs of students included some popples of roles and rules, but they discussed more than they typed in the limited time they were given for the assignment. At the time students were engaged in doing this lesson, I saw very few expressions by students indicating they considered

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the lesson as significantly impacting their learning. However later in the course, Tara was one of the students who discussed the lesson as particularly important to her learning.

The teachers and I had collaboratively designed this lesson as a building block to introduce and develop skills and provide practice for skills already introduced. We considered it important that the lesson not trigger the students to look shallowly at differences, but dig deeper into comfortable parallel traditions to find what was different within what was the same. As these popplet examples show, the students were experiencing the lesson as designed. This lesson provided students with practice in getting past the simplistic notions of cultural *Similarities* and *Differences* toward joining the two halves of the nucleus together and exploring the similarities and differences with greater nuance.

6.1.3   Nucleus components intertwined

When the two halves of the nucleus join together for students, they are not just realizing that similarities and differences are more complex, they also begin to gain insights into how the two components of the nucleus intertwine. Again, intentional instruction from teachers guiding students to explore their own traditions helps students realize some of the relationships between cultural *Similarities* and *Differences*. Through lessons focusing students to study ordinary experiences, objects and events, students became aware of the existence of dimensions within these familiar experiences that they never realized before.

By staying on the folk group level when students explore personal experiences and share them with their classmates, students can more easily recognize parallel traditions within which cultural differences emerge as variations stemming from common functions or similar cultural processes. It is the smallness of the scale of culture that helps students. Folk groups are the

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smallest shared-culture unit making it more possible for students to consider folk groups'
cultural differences as small-scale variations. *The intertwining of cultural Similarities and
Differences at the Basic Level occurs through the comparative process. When students use
other's cultural experiences to shed light on their own cultural experiences, students learned
more about self while learning about others. Without another as an essential comparison point,
they could not have learned as much about themselves.*

Immediately prior to the family celebrations lesson, students completed a lesson focused
on identifying traditions. In the middle of Week 2, after having individually generated a popplet
of the folk groups s/he claimed membership within and adding the traditions of these folk
groups, students then worked in groups to combine their traditions in a new popplet. In these
group popplets, students categorized the traditions and described what the similarities were that
caused them to cluster whatever they placed together. Students presented the group popplets to
the class.

Teachers led a whole-class discussion that started with these categories of similarities
with imbedded differences in them. Teachers helped the class generate statements that described
some of the many workings of folk groups by building off the categories. I helped teachers guide
students in this discussion as the youth refined their example descriptions and articulated
wording for how each exemplified some aspect of culture's workings. Ms. Connolly captured
these and recorded them as cultural process statements onto a virtual wall that all students had
access to electronically.

Next, Mr. Brodsky gave directions for their second blog, which students then commented
upon in their blog groups over the next few days. His verbal directions were, "Take one, or two,
of these cultural processes the class just generated and describe how this concept helps you

understand the folk groups you are in." I present Bryce's blog post 2 (Figure 23) in its entirety.

His reflection, pushed even further by the media-facilitated exchanges he had with Robb,

illustrates how students were beginning to realize the interactivity of cultural *Similarities* and

Differences. Their exchange illustrates what this looks like at the Basic Level.

Bryce Leader's blog post 2 May 5

The cultural process that we all share a common bond is important because that common bond is what makes a folk group a group. The common bond is different than just common interests it can range form common goals to common values. I think that common values, structured interaction, common identity, a regular meetings all play a part into the common bonds folk groups share.

The cultural concept about the coded language that folk groups share makes a folk group more private and exclusive. Sometimes this is what makes the common bond stronger within a a folk group. Coded language really becomes coded language whenever another folk group doesn't understand the language you are communicating. I think a good example of coded language is how maybe a group of basketball players who regularly play with each other might develop some sort of coded language. They might say "pass the rock" and that might be referring to the basketball, but to a group of geologists a rock may actually be understood in a different way and be interpreted as a actual geological rock. Both of these concepts can relate to my lunch table group. Like how we all share the common bond of eating and coded language might be some sort of slang. I also believe that coded language should include both non-verbal communication and verbal communication in order to strengthen the bond between members of a folk group.

Robb May 10
I think you hit the nail right on the head in terms of what a folk group is. It definitely has to do with the things that individuals of the group have in common. Without it, what point do they have to be together? Unless it's a group of everyone being different, in which case they all have something in common in that they are all different.

Bryce Leader May 12
Its true i never thought about it. What would a group be without everyone in the group having something in common

Figure 23: Bryce's blog post 2

When teachers introduced students to the activity of generating folk groups, I noticed

resistance with some students to considering themselves as anything other than unique

individuals. Bryce was amongst those students who had embraced this dominant American cultural value of individualism (Datesman, Crandall, & Kearny, 1997; Stewart & Bennett, 1991). The learning activities in the beginning of this course were causing him to rethink how culture worked. In his blog writing, Bryce described that he was seeing how important similarities are to binding a group together, and how these commonalities give the group a unique identity and differentiate it from other groups. By beginning to work out that a common bond was universally present across the broad diversity of folk groups, both Bryce and Robb were demonstrating how the two halves of the nucleus were intertwined and held in productive tension as being different in similarities and similar in differences. By embracing both *Similarities* and *Differences* as existing as a part of each other, these students were building a strong core toward Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. As these students and their classmates continued to work with cultural similarities and differences throughout the course, their understandings of the nucleus components became even more complex. In Chapter 7 when I describe the Advanced Level, I illustrate this complexity these students attained. But now, I illustrate the other Basic Level components by describing students' experiences of each to better understand how each contributes to students Developing the Capacity for Tolerance.

6.2   BASIC LEVEL: THE FIRST RING COMPONENTS

The Basic Level ring that encircles the nucleus is comprised of the three commonly-shared components of A*ttending to the ordinary*, *Shifting points of view*, and *Working with conceptual terms* discussed by all students. I present individual students' discussion of their insights and learning within each component to illustrate the range and nuance of the understanding they

developed about each in this course. I saw growth and development in all students in all three of these components, but I have selected just a few student spokespersons to define each Basic Level component and show how these components represent both insights students gained about culture and skills students developed to investigate culture. Teachers intentionally taught these components within this folklife education course with learning activities rooted in students lived experiences.

6.2.1   *Attending to the ordinary*

In this course, teachers engaged students in a variety of assignments to attend to ordinary daily cultural occurrences, either by deeply noticing everything going on around them in the classroom, the school, and the community or through recalling memories of activities their families or other community-based folk groups have done. Through these assignments, students became aware of the pervasiveness and accessibility of culture. Though teachers initially kept the focus of instruction on the tangible visible cultural practices and artifacts, students began to notice more deeply as they developed their observation skills to collect objective and subjective data. Students began to describe how ordinary occurrences contain layered depth of cultural information as they began to explore the extraordinary in the ordinary.

The processes working inside of culture are encoded into all types of cultural practices, including the simplest and most mundane daily habits. But seeing them takes some work. Habitual and typical culture-laden actions often turn into routinized norms, require little thought, and thus become invisible as sites of culture's workings to those doing them. For example, students ride public buses to school every day. They walk along the city streets to get to where they need to go without considering that the businessmen, office workers, senior citizen and

homeless walking next to them might be having an experience of the city that is rather different from their own. I found it exciting to see what happens when the students focused on studying the ordinarily overlooked cultural practices of themselves and others for a whole term. What I saw is the essence of the Basic Level component of *Attending to the ordinary*.

6.2.1.1 Defining *Attending to the ordinary*

To examine the definition of this component, I return to the illuminating conversation I had with Miles I presented earlier in earlier chapters. In this exchange, Miles also provided an insightful description of his complexly nuanced experience involved in *Attending to the ordinary*. He described this process as, "I have been looking at things totally differently." Our conversation had occurred at the end of a Week 5 tour of downtown by an office worker who worked at a job he did not love. The guide's experience of downtown that he shared with students was focused on the mundaneness of work with disregard for anything else the city had to offer. He had no desire to be involved in anything in the city that might keep him away from his family and activities in his home community.

When the teachers and I planned the course, we sought to include a broad diversity of perspectives that would challenge the students to consider culture in expansive ways. The day before the office worker tour, the teens had listened to multiple memories of exciting downtown experiences from senior citizen interviewees. The teachers and I assumed that the students had encountered senior citizens and people who worked to provide necessary support to their families before, so we anticipated the perspectives of the first two days would have been experienced by students as familiar and ordinary: a good starting point for the week. Teachers provided students with a diversity of perspectives though our selection of the guides who would give students walking tours of the same downtown area. As it turned out, these first two days of

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interviews stood in stark contrast to each other and presented points of view we had not anticipated. This office worker offered a perspective that students were not expecting – someone who didn't love downtown nor his job. Right away, students had to grapple with a perspective that wasn't aligned with comfortably familiar points of view. The week of interviews was off to a surprising start.

My conversation with Miles began when he approached me to ask technical questions about the audio recorder he was using to record the tour. Once our technology conversation was finished, I asked him, "So how was it?" with the 'it' creating an opening for him to discuss either the tour content and/or the data collection experience. His reply, "It was good. I liked it. It was really, really nice," provided me with markers of value without any references to what he found enjoyable. We walked by a flock of pigeons and our conversation shifted to discussing these namesakes of the slang name the students used for that park, Pigeon Park. I returned to the topic of the tour experience by putting forth a statement about how the content of this tour was not exciting, which is turn 1 in the transcript (Table 15). In turn 2, Miles begins to open up with a descriptive word about what he was seeing and experiencing that he continues to describe throughout this discussion with me. Miles' turns are marked in blue, Speakers are indicated in the right-hand column.

Table 15: Attending to the ordinary defined by Miles

Turn	Content	Speaker
1	Yeah, I mean the ah data isn't particularly, like, exciting. It's pretty ordinary	Ms. D
2	Obvious	Miles
3	Ordinary sort of stuff, obvious sort of stuff, but yet ... yet not	Ms. D
4	I think it is exciting. I like it	Miles
5	You think what?	Ms. D
6	I think it's exciting	Miles
7	Yeah? Why?	Ms. D
8	I like studying people and things like that. Figuring out how where, things started. Who started the tradition and things like that	Miles

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Table 15 continued

9	Yeah, yeah, yeah, yeah. Awesome. Awesome. Yeah. To me, you know I hear people say they're bored	Ms. D
10	Yeah, I'm like how are you bored?	Miles
11	How can you be bored? There's like... subtle variations of this and that and trying to figure it out, and ... constant, constant, constant.	Ms. D
12	Ever since I've been taking this class I have been looking at things totally differently.	Miles
13	Really?	Ms. D
14	Like getting on the bus. Just small things like getting on the bus, going to work.	Miles
15	Yeah? What have you noticed that's different?	Ms. D
16	I mean it's like things that people do that I just always took as normal	Miles
17	Okay?	Ms. D
18	Like people getting on the bus, like how they get on the bus, when they get on the bus, when people get up, when people sit down	Miles
19	Right	Ms. D
20	Things like that	Miles
21	Yeah, yeah. So what have you noticed different?	Ms. D
22	Um. I think it's not really so much different, just that I've paid more attention to it,	Miles
23	Ok	Ms. D
24	Like you hear of people always, not always, but mostly get up for elderly people	Miles
25	Yeah isn't that great	Ms. D
26	Yeah. Then they usually let women get on first. Sometimes. Sometimes the opposite. And I'm like "Oh, oh that's different"	Miles
27	Right, right, right. Yeah and I just love it on the bus when people start talking about how when someone else violated a rule.	Ms. D
28	Yeah, I haven't come across that so much, but my dad's a bus driver and he tells me about things all the time	Miles
29	Oh really (ha,ha,ha)	Ms. D
30	Yeah, he said he's seen some crazy things	Miles
31	Oh, yeah I bet. What's his normal route?	Ms. D

Miles' impactful learning statement about the process of *Attending to the ordinary*, "I have been looking at things totally differently" is turn 12. By extracting elements out of Miles' other turns and reordering them, I present more succinct insights into the three parts of his impact statement: *looking, things* and *totally differently*. I reference the turns in parentheses right after the words I extract.

Table 16: Miles' definition of looking at things totally differently

Looking:	"Looking" to Miles is when he has "paid more attention" (turn 22) to the "how" (turn 18), "where" (turn 8) and "when" (turn 18) micro details of what is "obvious" (turn 2).
Things:	The "things" Miles looks at open to further and further layers of details as he pays "more attention" (turn 22). Generally, he looks at the "obvious" (turn 2) or "things that people do that [he] just always took as normal" (turn 16). His looking then focuses in on "just small things like getting on the bus, going to work" (turn 14). Then he pays particular attention to "how they get on the bus, when they get on the bus, when people get up, when people sit down" (turn 18).
Totally differently:	The "totally differently" for Miles is the sense making that he does when he is "looking" at "things." When he is focused in on the micro details of the "obvious" (turn 2) "things that people do" (turn 16), Miles is seeing patterns in bus behaviors like how "women get on first. Sometimes. Sometimes the opposite." (turn 26). He is comparing that against what he "just always took as normal" (turn 16), such as, "they usually let women get on first" (turn 26) or "people always" "get up for elderly people" (turn 24). He makes mental notations about what he is seeing like "people always, not always, but mostly" (turn 24) or "oh, oh that's different" (turn 26). These observations then help him evolve new meanings for "normal" (turn 16). He also describes this "totally differently" (turn 12) way of "looking at things" (turn 12) as really enjoyable, "I think it is exciting. I like it" (turn 4).

Miles described his new skills as a process for engaging with the cultural world around him: doing a familiar and commonplace activity of looking at familiar and commonplace things but doing so in an unfamiliar and totally different way. For Miles, *Attending to the ordinary* was not just a class activity: he was practicing and continuing to develop the skills in this pivotal process outside of class. As he described it, "I like studying people and things like that. Figuring out how where, things started. Who started the tradition and things like that" (turn 8). Developing the skill for "looking at things totally differently" (turn 12) was helping Miles to study the people he encountered.

Miles was not alone, other students mirrored his experience and also described seeing the ordinary in new ways. When Miles' classmates focused on describing the new things they were seeing in detail, their developing skill with the process of *Attending to the ordinary* was apparent

to me as an observer. However, when students exhibited metacognitive awareness of their developing this skill and discussed the process, their developing skill and the impact of learning it was evident to them.

6.2.1.2 The experience of *Attending to the ordinary*

Students talked about their developing skills of attending to details that they normally would have overlooked or ignored and looking deeper to see the familiar in a new light. Though teachers taught observation skill development in this class from the very first lesson, these students showed me that it takes time for them to develop solid skills in deeply noticing the cultural world and that there are many learning pathways that students use in developing their skills. Fortunately, the accessibility of cultural information to observe in every ordinary daily occurrence provided ample opportunities for teachers to teach the skills and for students to practice them as they developed and deepened their attention to the cultural world. *All students made progress in developing these skills, but they did not all develop them at the same time nor in the same way. Many students found looking more deeply or differently at their familiar cultural surroundings was challenging, but all eventually figured out ways to do it.*

The largest concentration of students describing their learning in this Basic Level component took place with a lesson in Week 4. By examining the process of *Attending to the ordinary* that these students experienced in that lesson, I explore the challenges students faced when developing this skill and three starting points students followed to get beyond the challenges.

The teachers planned the Week 4 parklet lesson to reinforce students' developing skills with the research techniques of observation and interviewing accompanied by careful recording of objective and subjective data in two-column field notes. Students had already been introduced

to all these skills in prior lessons. In this lesson, students went to an actual public space field site, a parklet, and had to apply these skills to conducting field research and gather data there. The class was split in two with each half going to a different parklet. Each student was required to independently observe ordinary everyday cultural phenomena that were occurring there, document at least one cultural phenomenon with a video camera, interview at least one person within the parklet, and take extensive handwritten objective and subjective field notes. The form teachers developed for students to collect field notes provided spaces to record objective notes about what they were seeing and subjective notes about what they thought about what they were seeing. In prior instruction about subjective data, teachers had alerted students to the importance of recording their wonderings and prior conceptions and experiences in the subjective observation note column. These subjective musings could all become starting points for future analysis. Though two teachers accompanied each group of students to their respective parklet and circulated among the students offering guidance if needed, the students had to make their own decisions about how to approach this assignment.

At the end of the field observation, the students returned to the classroom, wrote a blog posting, and handed it in with their written field notes. The reflective writing prompt teachers gave students for this blog post was: "How do people move and use public space? What did you find most challenging in observing and gathering data today?" By looking at students' fieldnotes and their blogs, I gained useful insights into how they developed their noticing capabilities.

Some students described working through frustration. In Harris' blog post, he candidly reflected, "I think that the thing that I found most challenging was probably having to watch so many people and not really knowing what to watch and what to really do. It's really awkward to sit here and watch someone random and that was probably my main challenge I guess was

getting past the awkwardness." Harris' parklet day field notes show he was able to record objective data adequately, but his subjective data were not well developed. An excerpt from his subjective notes, "this is what usually happens at bus stops," illustrates that he lacked a starting point for engaging in the process of *Attending to the ordinary* on that day. There was no reason for him to look deeper at those waiting on a bus as there was nothing he was seeing that captivated his curiosity or triggered him to access some starting point for wondering questions. Based on his membership in this course, Harris had available to him the same starting points that other students used, but for whatever reason, it was difficult for him to be open to making a connection to any of them. Without a starting point for his noticing, his observations lacked depth.

Harris was a very verbal student and often at the social center in the classroom. Perhaps Harris was afflicted by a touch of "senioritis" the day of the parklet learning activity, but I suspect his struggles had more to do with overcoming the teen discomfort around doing something that might make him stand out as a bit odd. It's easy to assume that teens are seasoned people watchers, but for Harris, having a clipboard in his hand and just observing people to see their cultural patterns emerge was a challenge. By Week 8, Harris' description of impactful learning in this course matched the *Attending to the ordinary* process other students described. He wrote, "It's cause me to be more detail oriented and to look at the little things and think about how and why they are what they are. Like the invisible rules and things like that." Harris never discussed the starting point or points he found most useful for engaging in the process of *Attending to the ordinary*, so I have little insight into his process and what starting point was most useful to him.

I did not find that any single learning activity assigning students to look more closely at ordinary cultural occurrences produced instantaneous results of them seeing more or differently. *What I found was that the time needed for students to struggle with figuring out how to apply the basic observation skills they had already learned was an important part of the students' experience. The turning point in this struggle for students that I observed was for them to get to a point of openness or curiosity. From there, they could access a starting point for deepening their observations.* The process of *Attending to the ordinary* appears to need to have a starting point to shift students' noticing of the cultural world from ways they are used to seeing into ways of seeing that are more likely to reveal patterns and invisible culture features.

In the students' writing on the parklet observation day, I saw students use one of two starting points: their own prior knowledge, or, experiences with culture or concepts about culture introduced to them in the classroom. In a later assignment, I noticed a third starting point in students' observations - concepts about cultural processes introduced by community members. Curiosity stemming from these starting points propelled students to notice more deeply and differently. I noticed the starting points sometimes would direct students toward where to start with making objective and subjective observations, while at other times, the objective observations of what was occurring in the parklet activated the starting points. Either way, the starting points seemed to be useful for the students - for both triggering deeper iteratively-linked objective and subjective observations, and for moving their explorations forward toward future meaning making.

Erik provides a typical example of the use of a cultural process concept he learned in class as a starting point for his observations in the parklet. Erik used the cultural process concept about rule breaking. In class discussions, the teachers and I had discussed with the students how

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incidences of cultural rule breaking revealed the existence of a rule. When rules were broken, people's reaction to the rule breaker would often reveal the rule. For example, people could articulate the rule in expressing disapproval of the rule breaker or they could articulate the rule in trying to teach the rule breaker culturally proper behaviors. People's reactions were often guided by their assessment of whether the person should or shouldn't have known the rule. In the parklet, Erik looked for incidences he perceived as rule violations. He attended to the reactions of those around the rule breaker. He dug deeper by conducting an interview of one of community members to confirm or disconfirm his perceptions about the rule breaking he observed.

Erik blogged (Figure 24) about four incidences of rule breaking he observed in the parklet. The first three observations Erik presented in his blog - vet student group [students from a technical trade school] excluding another student while on break, daycare children running around the parklet as if it was a playground, and man walking down the middle of a busy city street - show that Erik was trying to see if he could notice rule breaking. He looked deeply at the two situations of vet students and daycare children and determined that within their folk group contexts, no rule was actually being broken. Erik determined that the man in the middle of the street was breaking a rule because enough other people were reacting to the man in disapproving ways to verify for Erik that his perception of a rule being broken was indeed supported by the data. Erik's field notes indicate that car drivers were also expressing their disapproval.

> **Blog 7 from Erik's blog May 20**
> Some things I saw in Eye Ball park were 2 socially ok things and 2 not.
> I noticed through an interview with some vet school students that they don't hang with a certain kind of people because they weren't 'cool'
> I also saw something that was bad but in this case was good, children running and playing in eye ball park
> it was ok because they were in a group of people.
> two things i saw were bad
> I noticed a man walking into the street and he was walking in the middle of the street. it was rule broken because everyone looked at her and wondered why he was in the street, more and more people stated to look at the man and it was obvious that he was breaking a rule.
> another rule being broken was when a man was talking on the phone within someones personal bubble. He was at bus stop which leads to what I learned to day...
>
> I learned that we value the personal space we feel we are givin. we don't like people in our bubbles but will make eception because it's public space. But things like touching and talking within it is still taboo.
>
> It's funny we think tag is a game that little kids play as a game were we come together but the act of the game is actually a game of running away which is amazing when u think about it

Figure 24: Erik's blog post 7

In his final observation of the cell phone user at the bus stop, Erik not only established that a rule was being broken but he began to attempt to figure out what the cultural rule being violated might be. His field notes contained a very detailed observation of the body language communicative sequence of the cell phone user and the others whose space bubble he was violating. Erik had gathered solid objective data to support his subjective observations and help him with subsequent cultural process hypothesis generation. Erik ended his blog with a subjective wondering about the deep culture meanings in a children's game. He displayed curiosity to learn more about how culture works.

In this class, students were excited by their new observations and realizations and they shared their findings with each other. Students' excitement thus became available to be converted by classmates into curiosity. Their findings were available to other classmates to use

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as starting points for subsequent observations. It took time for teachers to build this collaborative learning environment within the classroom learning environment. By the parklet observation lesson, the students' skills in Attending to the ordinary were to the point that they recognized the importance of their new capabilities.

In Week 5, students engaged in authentic experiential learning opportunities with community members who pointed out their visible culture and described aspects of their invisible culture as applied to the same familiar downtown spaces students moved through every day. The community members spurred more curiosity in students and provided the third starting point I saw students use for initiating subsequent observation sessions.

Observing cultural occurrences in their authentic settings provided the ideal environment for students to develop ethnographic observation skills. Their very surroundings of downtown places provided students with ready access to investigating deep cultural rules, structures and worldviews embedded in ordinary cultural phenomena. The depth, complexity and variation occurring in the cultural ordinary were rich resources for developing students' understandings about cultural processes. By teaching observation skills in the familiar, accessible spaces in students' lives, students began to realize the many ways the ordinary was important in the study of culture. Engaging students in the study of their own familiar ordinary made it extraordinary. Studying the ordinary also provided a way to de-eroticize culturally different others since others' ordinary daily culture could be investigated with the same observation skills students were using to investigate their own culture. The Basic Level component of *Attending to the ordinary* involved "looking at things completely differently" and it took students time to learn how to do this. The three starting points students accessed to initiate observations of 1. drawing from their own prior experiences, 2. beginning with a cultural process learned in class, and 3. beginning

with a cultural process learned from a community member, helped them tap into curiosity and overcome challenges inherent in the process of attending to their ordinary surroundings and see them in ways that revealed new information. Developing the skills of *Attending to the ordinary* helped students see the cultural details that surround them, an essential basic step toward Developing the Capacity for Tolerance.

6.2.2   *Shifting points of view*

Shifting points of view was the alphabetically second Basic Level component that students both developed skills in and gained deeper understandings about in the process of doing it. Throughout the course, teachers included activities within lessons that helped students explore culture from various points of view such as: different methods of sharing and comparing their cultural experiences with classmates, interviewing, and prompted reflective writing. In my examination of student learning in this component, I observed that students were developing mental flexibility, imagination, and ways to connect to the experiences of others. Stepping outside of their own worldview perspectives required students to use their imaginations toward understanding the experiences of others.

Students discussed nuances within their learning of this component's skills, including developing greater awareness of the many vantage points they could use to gain different perspectives during their explorations of culture. Students described their developing awareness about how others have different perspectives and thus perceive of the world differently than they do. Students actively strove to shift to an emic ethnographic point of view of "seeing through other's eyes" so that they could better understand the perspectives of the community members whose cultural practices they were investigating. Another perspective shift students described as

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impacting their learning was to step back from their own cultural traditions to investigate them without as much emotional investment. They did this by shifting from a participant to a more distanced metacognitive perspective, so they could observe greater cultural details and examine and learn about and from their own preconceptions about culture.

With all the students describing their increasing awareness about how others think and view the world differently than they do, I gained some interesting insights into the process students experience as they develop their skills with *Shifting points of view*. Realizing that others view the world differently is an oft overlooked rudimentary first step that precedes shifting perspectives to better explore the different perspectives others have. Shifting to a meta-perspective allows for a suspension of some aspects of the student's customary perspective and this openness provides for the exploration of self and other's deep culture. Each shift from their own customary point of view involves entering another less-judgmental space where students are better able to try to discern their own and others' culture-based behaviors and reasons for doing them.

The students considered by the teachers to be the most *Concrete* thinking students (see Chapter 4 for an explanation of this emic continuum of thinking styles) lead my exploration of this Basic Level component. Though I primarily present the *Concrete* thinkers as the exemplary stories to illustrate the component, all students described insights coded to *Shifting points of view,* thus I include a few other students to flesh out nuances within the process.

6.2.2.1 Mimi realizes others think differently than she does

In response to a reflection question on the final exam, Mimi described becoming more respectful of entering others' personal space bubble in close proxemics distances in particular contexts because of this course. She added, "Many people find that to be uncomfortable and get nervous."

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Her reasoning indicates that she realized that other people might not welcome her entering their various proxemics space distances because they may think about space differently than she does.

In the *Everybody's Ethnic* video (LearningSeed, 2001) shown in Week 1, teachers introduced the topic of proxemics. Later, as part of the *Cultural nature of space* lesson in Week 4, teachers engaged students in further exploring this topic with several proxemics experiential observation activities accompanied by another Learning Seed video, *Body Language II* (Ryan, Schrank, & Gallagher, 2008). Proxemics, and other deep culture structural features in communication, are rarely discussed within a culture, yet these structural features often aid or hamper intercultural communication.

Mimi's reflection references back to the *Cultural nature of space* lesson's experiential observation activities on proxemics. In one activity, teachers divided students into two groups. Half the room became observers to write field notes on a worksheet with sensory-based observation prompts. Teachers divided the other group again, with these students standing at opposite ends of the classroom facing a partner who was clear across the room. Standing students stated a random sentence on any topic to their partner noticing how they projected their voices, how much of their partner's body they could see in clear focus, if they could potentially touch or even smell their partner. They wrote field notes about this sensory data and their feelings of comfort interacting at this public distance. The partners repeated the activity by moving into social, personal and intimate distances (Hall, 1980). Then the watchers became the doers so all students could gather both the sensory data they were externally observing and internally experiencing.

The subsequent whole class discussion invited students to voice their different perceptions of which space was comfortable and uncomfortable in this context and imagine other

contexts in which comfort levels would change. Some students voiced surprise in that discussion when they discovered all their fellow classmates did not share their own perceptions on comfortable distances.

Mimi's reflection on the final exam spoke of others' reactions of "get nervous" and their reasoning for that reaction based on their cultural norm "find that to be uncomfortable." She discussed her new awareness of others having perceptions that were different from hers in ways that were both simplistic and complex. The simplistic dimension was an awareness that others think and perceive differently than she does, which is almost developmental in nature. Such awareness might be considered an extension of becoming cognizant of the distinctions between self and other. The complexity dimension was awareness that these differences are rooted in very deep cultural structures that are so ingrained and pervasive that they operate beyond conscious understanding.

I do not want to give an impression that *Concrete* thinkers lack some developmentally maturity, so I will present a couple of other students' descriptions that make the same point. Bryce, a *Somewhat Abstract* honors student, reflected "I learned that many different people have many different views on the public spaces that are around us." Akim, another *Somewhat Abstract* student, wrote "My project focuses in on how downtown is perceived by different people. Different people look at downtown in a different way. The project is helping to do understand different people better and know that everyone doesn't look at something the same way." *For students to acknowledge their awareness that others perceive the world differently than they do, was a rudimentary, but important, part of students developing the skill of Shifting points of view.*

6.2.2.2 Rebecca compares worldviews and begins to develop shifting viewpoints

Rebecca wrote in her final project reflection, "Mr. Gregory and I have different views on public space and folk groups. He really enjoy his own space. at times i do but i cant really imagine not sharing space with others." Rebecca's final project was a case study of one of the community members who took the students on a tour of his downtown. She was attempting to present his views from his perspective in her project. In her reflection, she compared her perspectives with his to discuss how he views things very differently than she does. By doing this, she demonstrated how she was taking steps toward developing her skills in shifting out of her own perspective: she was viewing from a position different from the one that she customary uses to see the world.

The process Rebecca used to do this was to first recognize that others perceive the world differently than she does. Then she used comparison to clarify the points of similarity and difference. By using herself as one of the perspectives in the comparison, she had to shift to a meta-perspective to perceive her own perspective. In ethnography, the next shift would be to "see" the world through Mr. Gregory's eyes which means comprehending his cultural processes and structures well enough to imagine using them to perceive the world. The limited interaction Rebecca had with Mr. Gregory's worldview would not allow for her to "see" through his eyes, but she was attempting to develop the ability to do so.

Rebecca was doing what the teachers and I had hoped the students would learn to do when we planned for the students to interview and tour with so many community members to gather multiple perspectives on the public spaces of downtown. We designed the course so that students would have opportunities to connect with some of the many points of view that surround them every day and define these familiar spaces differently.

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The concept that the multitudes of people sharing the city sidewalks with them did not view public space the same as they did was an insight with impact for many students. Avery reflected in a blog post, "it was very cool to have the senior citizens come in and talk to us because it gave us a different view of downtown and allowed us to see downtown from another person's eyes who had a completely different view." Avery attempted to see through the senior citizens' eyes as the elders described the bustling downtown of their youth and compared it with the much changed downtown they experienced today. Avery and her classmates needed to suspend their own viewpoints to imagine the senior citizens' perspectives and experiences of then and now.

The elders and other community members who shared their view of downtown daily in Week 5 exposed the students to so many viewpoints. The blogs students wrote at the end of each day of fieldwork provided opportunity for them to reflect upon the different perspectives. Students used this daily reflective writing assignment to discuss their developing awareness of multiple perspectives and their need to be open and receptive to gather these perspectives. Like Rebecca did, other students would sometimes use comparison to help them shift from their own viewpoints. Using comparison provided the students with a means of examining at least two perspectives and helped them develop their skills in flexibly shifting between multiple perspectives.

Akim moved to a more distanced meta-cognitive perspective to observe process in addition to content when he reflected upon his interview of the elders. He described how the senior citizen were flexibly shifting between multiple perspectives. "That they view downtown more in a compare and contrast kind of way. They notice how things have changed from the time they were young and how things have improved. They also notice the theme of downtown has

changed from back in the day." As he took his fieldwork data and created his final project to include several perspectives, Akim also began to develop these point-of-view shifting skills he had seen modeled by the elders.

Comparison is an important part of the process of developing the Basic Level skills of *Shifting points of view*. Learning to compare different people's perspectives helped students develop the flexibility to connect to another's cultural experience. Comparison also helped students learn the skills of shifting to a meta-cognitive perspective, particularly when one of the perspectives was the student's own point of view. As these students' descriptions of their learning experiences illustrate, comparison usefully helped them step out of their own perspective to see another's and to step even further out to see their own perspective from a different vantage point.

6.2.2.3 Tara describes others different perspectives by delving into deep cultural structures

When asked on the final exam to reflect upon anything this course caused her to think more or differently about in regard to other people's cultures, Tara reached back to the classroom activity they did six weeks earlier. In Week 2, students compared their own family holiday traditions, an instructional lesson I described earlier in this chapter that involved students creating popplets comparing their family's Fourth of July or Thanksgiving holiday traditions and presenting them to the class.

Interestingly, the whole-class discussion in that lesson focused upon patterns within the variations throughout the room on who does the cooking for the holidays. Tara had not participated as a speaker in that discussion, but clearly the various perceptions and interpretations of other classmates about cultural rules surrounding food preparation roles impressed her. As Tara described it, "From hearing about my fellow classmate's traditions in life, to me there isn't

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much difference. I heard some families prefer to go out of town and celebrate, while others stay at home and invite family, friends, associates (lol) to come along and celebrate a holiday with them. Really in my eyes, there wasn't much I was differently. But I will say, that most of the students mentioned how the women usually cook everything. Other students families either had assigned roles to what is needed to be brought, and who cooks, and cleans what. So this was actually the one thing I noticed, but everything else, was pretty much the same."

Tara pushed beyond straightforward description of different cultural practices to try to describe the thinking behind the differences. First, she described types of rule structures. She contrasted flexible rules about the celebration location, where individual choice operated when families "prefer" to go out of town or stay home, with inflexible rules about who cooks. She dug deeper into different perceptions as she described two contrasting rules within the inflexible rule type about who cooks, i.e. "women usually cook everything" or both male and female members "had assigned roles" surrounding cooking. Tara used the phrase "this was actually the one thing I noticed" to mark her realization that others do not view things the same as she does.

Upon close examination of the pair popplets presentations on holiday traditions that Tara's reflection inter-textually references, I noticed that presenters were asked questions by the audience of classmates. These questions included "what if" probes asking presenters to imagine what if the grillers or turkey cookers did something different. These questions helped presenters articulate the rules structuring the cooks' roles in their families. The fixed nature of the cooks' role rule within each respective family struck students in the whole-class discussion as being attached to deep cultural worldviews and they discussed this as an intangible cultural rule. Tara used her final reflection to make connections between others' cultural beliefs and her own experiences of celebration traditions. She rooted her reflection in very concrete tangible

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examples, but through them she illustrated intangible cultural aspects like structural rules and group differences in similar rules. Tara was growing in her understanding of how everyone does not think the same or view things the same in the cultural world. Tara illustrates how *part of the skills of Shifting points of view involves shifting enough to see the viewpoints that reveal cultures' intangible beliefs and structures.*

6.2.2.4 Others view them from a perspective different from their own

Another insight students gained in the *Shifting points of view* component was a new sense of how others perceived them. As students developed their skills with observation and with shifting perspectives about what they were seeing, they began to imagine that others might be observing them in ways that were like what they were doing. In a blog discussion with Zephira, Harris wrote, "You start to look more around you when we're in a group because of what we know about how others are looking at us. Just like the security guard eye balled us when we toured with Mr. Gregory it was the same case with the hotel staff. It was just an eye opener." Harris was describing an interesting dimension to the increased awareness of others having different perceptions that Mimi illustrated above. Harris described perceiving the perception of others who perceived him.

Several students described this same experience in their blogs. Avery tried to imagine the perspective of those watching them. "It was interesting because everyone felt the eyes looking at us when we entered his building w[h]ere we clearly were not a part of the folk group that belonged there." Avery expressed an experience of discomfort she and several of her classmates felt stemming from the reactions of others to them. Avery tapped into the concept of membership in folk groups that she now had available to her to make sense of the perspectives of others. She shifted to a perspective that distanced her from her own discomfort point of view to try to discern

the cultural reasons underlying the behaviors of this reaction to her and her classmates. By going to a distanced etic position outside of herself, she opened the possibility to explore the worldview perspectives underlying other's actions.

That others think differently is something I would think humans grasp when we realize we are separate autonomous individuals early in life. Yet the Challenge High students seemed to be telling me that separateness of individuals can be learned again, in a cultural way: others don't share the way I think, their experiences and perspectives are different. The students pointed me toward noticing a close attachment of this realization to developing flexibility for shifting their perspective to a more distant, or etic, viewpoint that opened the possibility for investigating the perspectives of others. By assuming this etic, or meta, perspective, the students could suspend some of their own worldview perspectives that might be clouding their deep noticing with ready judgments about what they were observing. Students thus were more able to connect with others who were culturally different.

The curriculum was structured to intentionally engage students with multiple perspectives. By working first with their own culture and that of their classmates, the Challenge High students could explore cultural traditions and the different worldview perspectives that shaped them in depth. As Tara and Mimi illustrated, learning activities that provided opportunities for students to engage with multiple perspectives use comparison were quite impactful: students were still thinking about these activities and discussing their learnings from them weeks later. In this curriculum, teachers also provided students with access to authentic culture bearers from a range of perspectives during field data collection week to offer students further opportunity for investigating worldview differences. As Rebecca and her classmates showed, students found the learning activities with community members greatly impact their

learning about many perspectives and helped them develop nuanced skills within the Basic Level component of *Shifting points of view*. Developing these skills better equipped students for relating to others who did not share their perspective and for forming positive intercultural relationships as they explored culture, important Basic Level skills in Developing the Capacity for Tolerance.

6.2.3   *Working with conceptual terms*

Working with conceptual terms is the alphabetically last component on the Basic Level ring, though it was the first of these three components introduced by the teachers. Students discussed how they both developed skills in and gained deeper understandings about conceptual terms in the process of working with them throughout the course. *Teachers introduced a few basic conceptual terms in the first class session, but it took students a while of working with them until the students began to discuss these concepts as impactful learning. Students needed to first experience the utility of core concepts like folk groups, tangible and intangible traditions, and worldview to aiding their understanding of culture, before they began to realize the that these terms were important concepts.* The teachers used a different instructional approach for teaching conceptual terms that stood in stark contrast to more standard methods of teaching new vocabulary of presenting a word and its definition. These teachers combined the instruction of inquiry methods with introducing the conceptual terms and had the students explore cultural phenomenon for which they needed a term to aid them in discussing. *Teachers did not just teach terminology; they helped students explore these conceptual terms to arrive at a definition themselves and to figure out how these terms could be used in discussing, revealing and investigating cultural processes.* Through this instructional method, students learned

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ethnographic methods and realized that inquiry, aided by useful conceptual terms, could make abstract and invisible cultural aspects knowable.

Teachers began instruction in Week 1 by having students identify their membership in folk groups, a core concept, and engage in reflective writing about these groups. Students wrote about their folk groups and traditions as descriptions of the familiar without indications that they were noticing this ordinary in new or deeper ways. They mostly wrote about how a few of their folk groups were important to them but most of their groups were not important. Some students really struggled with identifying their own folk groups. My own field reflection from the end of Week 1 focused on the students struggles with the concept of folk groups. I wrote, "The way these kids see the world is not through groups. They are individuating and breaking from groups to determine who they are separate from their groups. They still do not have the concept so much yet. Interesting how few thought they had choice in their groups. They feel their lives have been so controlled by others, family I suppose. By the end of next week, when we finish up the study of groups, then we shall see. See what they think about groups."

Indeed, students' thinking about folk groups and their importance did not remain static. Nor did students' thinking remain static throughout the course about the cultural information they could gain by looking deeper into these familiar folk groups. As students engaged in further investigative study of their own folk groups and traditions in Week 2, a few students began to describe noticing new or different things about what they had thought they knew. By Week 3, most of the students discussed the process of seeing the familiar differently as they engaged in the midterm project learning activities of investigating and mapping the cultural groups and spaces in the school. Teachers designed the midterm project as an opportunity for students to apply and synthesize their learning about the concepts of folk groups, traditions, and cultural

processes. To investigate the process students experienced in *Working with conceptual terms* I examined their changing understandings of the terms and their utility. I trace the changes in students' understanding and use of the concept of folk group to illustrate this process.

6.2.3.1 Students' initial definition of folk group

The first abstract concept that students investigated at the very beginning of the course through generating concrete examples of groups in their own lives was the term "folk group." After completing activities of identifying and categorizing multiple personal and brainstormed examples of folk groups, teachers deemed students ready to come up with the group definition of the conceptual term folk group at the beginning of Week 2. Students worked as a class to articulate a definition of folk group that had to incorporate the patterns they noticed emerged during categorization. Their collaboratively developed definition was:

> "A folk group is a group of people who interact regularly and who share: beliefs, goals, interests, political views, social status, food, traditions, race, property, social activities, games, personal narrative stories, clothing, objects, music, texting, emails, gestures, folk tales, physical activities, celebrations, dancing, vocabulary/slang, club notes, family trees, photos, family heirlooms/special objects, songs, tattoos, rituals, superstitions, values, rules, coded language, and jokes."

As the class discussed the definition with guidance by the teachers and myself, students refined the core characteristics of the term folk group. The first characteristic was the size of the group: folk groups can be comprised of 2 to about 80 people typically, although membership may be fluid. The characteristics of time and space were accounted for with the words "interact" and "regularly" which means members repeatedly connecting with each other in substantial ways, be that in face-to-face or media assisted contexts. The final characteristic involved the

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common bonds of the folk groups that occur through some configuration of shared knowledge and practices. The student brainstormed list of what folk groups share included a mix of common demographic-type features, tangible and intangible traditions, and practices that might be found in most groups or only in a few specific groups.

Teachers guided the students' emerging definition so it would be applicable to folk groups broadly and reflective of terminology used in the field of folklore. This guidance, by teachers or myself as anthropologist-in-residence, involved us sometimes revoicing students' contributions like "the hand-shakes we use to greet each other" was revoiced as "gestures." Adults rejected a few of the students' suggestions for the "things folk groups shared" list, but always with an accompanying explanation as to why that suggestion did not fit. For example, when Akim suggested "love" as something to add to the list, I explained that emotions belonged to individuals not to groups and gave the example of two individuals being part of the same folk group doing the same activity, but one individual hated it and one individual loved it. This example illustrated that individuals do not necessarily share the same emotion, though they might share the same experience. Students used the accepted and rejected suggestions toward refining this growing list of shared features, traditions and practices and formulating their ideas about the boundaries, limitations and possibilities of the folk group concept.

With this collaborative definition for folk group as a starting point, teachers next guided students to explore other closely related conceptual terms stemming from the workings of folk groups using the same discovery method. Students worked in groups to categorize the items on their list of "what folk groups share" list into tangible and intangible traditions and expand the lists. They investigated roles folk group members enact in traditions as well as rules governing both the roles and other complex aspects of the traditions. Exploring these conceptual terms with

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the concrete examples of the practices of their own folk groups helped students see distinctions between the deep culture aspects that folk group members might easily talk about, like rules, and those members might not ever feel the need to articulate, like worldview. This instructional method helped make all these challenging conceptual terms concrete by connecting them to multiple richly complex examples. Articulating concepts in their own words based upon their observations prepared students to articulate for themselves other workings of culture they observed while investigating their folk groups. Throughout these learning activities, teachers led students in collaboratively developing a list of cultural processes that they encountered as they attended more closely to folk groups and their workings.

In course activities and reflective assignments in the first weeks, students used the folklife conceptual terms in discussing the cultural traditions of their own and their classmate's folk groups. Though they used the terms in their speaking and writing, I found almost no indicators that the students considered these concepts particularly important when they were first working with them. These conceptual terms were novel, and the students were figuring them out.

It was not until students engaged in synthesizing learning activities that required them to pull from what they had learned and apply it to investigate new cultural contexts, that these concepts acquired new worth to the students in investigating culture and discerning cultural processes. Many students began to discuss folk groups and other conceptual terms as important to them and their learning in their first major synthesizing activity - the midterm project. Students again discussed this component a lot in the other major synthesizing learning activities, the final project and final exam. When students applied these conceptual terms to new contexts, they gained new insights into the terms. By *Working with conceptual terms* to explore and

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understand the complexity of culture, students refined the terms' definitions throughout the course.

6.2.3.2 Students' end of course definitions of folk group

I examine how the conceptual term of folk group evolved for students by pulling from the reflective writings at the end of the course. The overlap in students' discussions showed me a collective understanding whilst each student highlighted different nuanced aspects of the term. Victor directly articulated his personalized definition of the folk group concept that, interestingly, captured the essence of the concept without using the term. He described the concept as the existence of "many groups of people and many things that go into those groups" such as "rules they go by or what traditions are set in those groups" that were responsible for the "many reasons why people act the way they do." Neither Victor nor the other students felt the need at course's end to rearticulate all the core characteristics of the term as they had collectively done when they created it many weeks earlier. Victor, and other students, used the conceptual term folk group with the confidence that everyone in this classroom understood their collective definition of it.

Robb described the ability to identify folk groups as something "my mind will do it subconsciously." Robb's statement highlights how he had internalized this concept was an Advanced Level skill. But I include him here to illustrate how the definition of the cluster of core features that could determine which group was or was not functioning as a folk group, had become usefully clear as a regular feature of his, and many of his classmates', observations of the cultural landscape.

Students discussed how folk groups shaped their observations to look for shared practices that varied from folk group to folk group. Aaron described them as "these individual folk groups

that had their own traditions and rules." Alice and Robb discussed more nuanced distinctions they looked for of the visible traditions of the "physical or tangible aspects" or "objective observations that everyone can make and obvious things that you can see" and the invisible traditions of the "rules, worldviews, beliefs and values that you cannot see just by looking."

Students placed quite a bit of importance on gaining insights into and understanding of a folk group's intangible traditions. Alice stated it as "the roots of the group and the depth behind the group." Students also recognized that this was not the easiest of things to do. Robb pointed out that non-members could learn some of the intangible aspects of a folk group but not all of them since "one aspect, worldview, might never be completely understood, as this is part of the conclusion of all other parts of the culture." Geno focused on the process he used for getting at the intangibles of folk groups with observations designed for "picking up any patterns" such as "how these spaces are set up and the different behaviors that are taking place." When Alice stated, "some things are on the surface but the real meat and understanding one has to have of the group is underneath the surface and cannot be understood at first glance," she reinforced the time and effort needed to investigate intangible traditions since some workings of folk groups were easily accessible and others were not.

The understanding students developed about the core conceptual terminology shifted during the course from a focus on figuring out definitions for the concepts to a focus on figuring out what the concepts could help them to explore and investigate. By course end, I noticed that for students, it was not simply enough to use a set of criteria to identify folk groups. Students expressed how it was more important that they could explore how a folk group contained a wealth of cultural knowledge and complex cultural processes within it.

Students had learned about folk groups and related concepts by envisioning and working with their own physical folk groups. However, when students did field investigations as part of this course, they found that folk groups were not always as easily visible. People could physically be within a folk group while in public space or people could be within public space as individuals. By exploring their own experiences, students grew to realize that the ways individuals thought about and interacted within public space was in some way shaped by or connected back to those individuals' membership in folk groups, whether or not they were physically in their folk groups at the moment.

Aaron used the pronoun *we* to refer to people as members of folk groups as he describes how interesting it was for him to see "how we react to certain situations while in a certain space. I'm learning about how these different folk groups act and react while in certain space." With the pronoun *we*, Aaron articulated a connection of how he and others individually house the knowledge of the group. Akim also directly discussed how an individual's worldview in various public spaces was shaped by their groups. He described the complex workings as, "Through this project I learned a lot about cultural, life experience, folk groups and area space and how it could shape people's perception of the world. Different cultural up bringing could alter how you view something." "Cultural upbringing" is Akim's way of describing how a folk group's knowledge is transmitted to its members. The individual housed the knowledge of their folk group and used it to interact with public spaces even when they were not with their group. The workings of folk groups could thereby be investigated through individual members even when groups were not available to observe.

Though the clear majority of the students shared such an overlapping understanding of folk groups and related concepts, this understanding was not universally held in the class. Gary's

folk group concept was not fully aligned with the rest of his classmates as evidenced by how he wanted to treat social class demographic categories as synonymous with folk groups in his final project. But even in his different interpretation, Gary was demonstrating that he found analytic utility in the concept.

Investigating the culture of public space as we did in this class, rather than the culture of a particular folk group or cluster of folk groups in a community as folklife education programs are often designed to do, added the complex dimension of observing individuals outside of their folk groups. But as Rebecca stated at course end, "if you look around you there are folk groups every where." She and other students could investigate the complex field situations of public space through the centrality of the folk group concept. During field work, for example, students met individuals who were homeless, but did not directly observe them in their folk groups with other homeless people. Students learned about the traditions of folk groups of homeless through the descriptions given to them by homeless service providers whom they interviewed and accompanied on tours. Robb stated, "The homeless, being their own folk group, have their own values and beliefs. According to MacMahon, they follow a 180 degree rule. They sit or stand with their back against the walls." Daniel also noted, "homeless are in a exclusive folk group… They do communicate with people who they have relationships with." Daniel recognized that he was an outsider to the homeless and as such would not have easy access to their folk groups. However, through the homeless providers and their established relationships with the homeless, he and the rest of the students could tap into a level of insider cultural knowledge through skillful questioning. Indeed, public space presented students with many folk group interactions to observe, but it also contained many opportunities for students to develop more advanced inquiry skills, such as tracing back the rules of interactions to folk groups.

By course end, students used and discussed the term folk group in ways that showed that this core concept was many things simultaneously for them. It was a conceptual term that was easily accessible through its many examples. Students understood folk group as a category of groups in their own and in others' lives. They realized it was an important site for containing each group's knowledge and practices and teaching these to individual members. Since individuals held the knowledge of folk groups, and interacted with the world based upon such knowledge, much could be learned about the workings of folk groups through each individual. Furthermore, students understood folk groups as a place for investigating the working of culture that could also serve as a unit of analysis in cultural investigations. Many students used the concept of folk groups to focus their inquiry in their final projects by describing cultural practices of a folk group or making comparisons between different folk groups. The multifaceted understanding of the concept folk group these students evolved proved useful to them by providing them with an easily accessible means of exploring related cultural concepts and investigating cultural processes. By using a set of conceptual terms to explore the complex workings of folk groups, the students also gained greater complexity in their understanding of the concepts themselves. In the process of working with abstract conceptual terms students come to realize that these terms both provide means for making meaning of and for initiating investigation into cultural manifestations.

In the *Working with conceptual terms* component, the folklore terms become useful tools for students to use in exploring and understanding cultural differences and explaining the structure of cultural processes in others' lives. The students in this course gave me insights into how developing a deep understanding of challenging conceptual terms and the skills of using terms as tools was essential to the Basic Level of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance.

6.3 BASIC LEVEL RING COMPONENTS INTERRELATE AND JOIN TOGETHER

The Basic Level ring components of A*ttending to the ordinary*, *Shifting points of view*, and *Working with conceptual terms* work together to help students learn about how culture works in complex and nuanced ways. All three components are joined and interrelate so when student learning deepens in one, their learning in the other components will often deepen too. All three components are processes that student actively engage in doing to develop the skills of each component. With repeated folklife education learning activities to learn and do these skills, the more capable they become in doing them.

The folklife education instruction teachers provided in this course was full of richly layered learning. Even when teachers focused upon developing one Basic Level component in a lesson, the skills of the other two components were interrelated in the instructional activity and the lessons simultaneously helped students to develop all three. To illustrate how student learning about each Basic Level skill was advanced through this instructional complexity, I present one particularly densely packed learning experience from the first half of the course.

6.3.1 Reading a classroom lesson

Though they had been studying folk groups and their workings for two and a half weeks, I noticed it was the *Reading a classroom* lesson of Week 3 that students found particularly impactful for their learning about this topic. Students indicated that this lesson advanced far more than their understandings about folk groups. In reviewing the videos documenting the course, I determined that this lesson was the critical tipping point in the course when the content of this course clicked for many students and their learning took off (Engle et al., 2007). I noticed

as the students worked through the lesson's sequence of activities, they became more excited and invested learners. Using a micro-analytic process, I trace out only one student's learning experience through this lesson to illustrate the complex interactions within her learning about all the Basic Level components. Avery serves as my exemplar of how the Basic Level components are joined and interrelated.

Teachers started the *Reading a classroom* lesson toward the end of day 2 in Week 3 with the students independently and silently hand drawing a map of the classroom space of the folk group they were in in this class and jotting down notes on their maps of the cultural information they observed in this very ordinary and accessible place. Avery's map (Figure 25) focused on capturing the setup of the room. Avery depicted the tables and placed Xs for the assigned seat locations of all the student and teacher members of the class. In so doing, she recorded her subjective insider knowledge of where every member was supposed to be rather than attentively and objectively capturing where each member was at the time she made the map. Avery placed quite a bit of subjective information on her map. She identified herself in her map by labeling her place in the room as "Cool Kids :D." She identified some of the other students as "texters" or "emailers" but did not provide further information to explain what these labels might mean since cell phones for texting was prohibited from use in the classroom and students were not supposed to check their email during class time. These labels were not descriptive of the room at the time since no students used any technologies during the map making activity. In contrast to Avery's map, Fiona's map (Figure 26) diligently records and identified the students in the room, and in so doing, captured a factual detail - two of their classmates were absent that day so she did not label where they usually sat.

The lesson continued the next day with teachers directing students to attend to their fellow students' observations and perspectives about the cultural space of the folk group. Teachers asked students to be in small groups of three or four and silently pass around their maps to each other. Teachers asked students to continue to work independently to complete a worksheet on which they recorded objective and subjective observations about each map and wrote some questions to the mapmakers to gain even more information. Avery worked in a small group with three other students - Fiona, Tara and Randall. Randall's map focused on the placement of the tables in the room and Tara's map focused on the items hanging on the wall. Neither of these students indicated any people in the room on their maps.
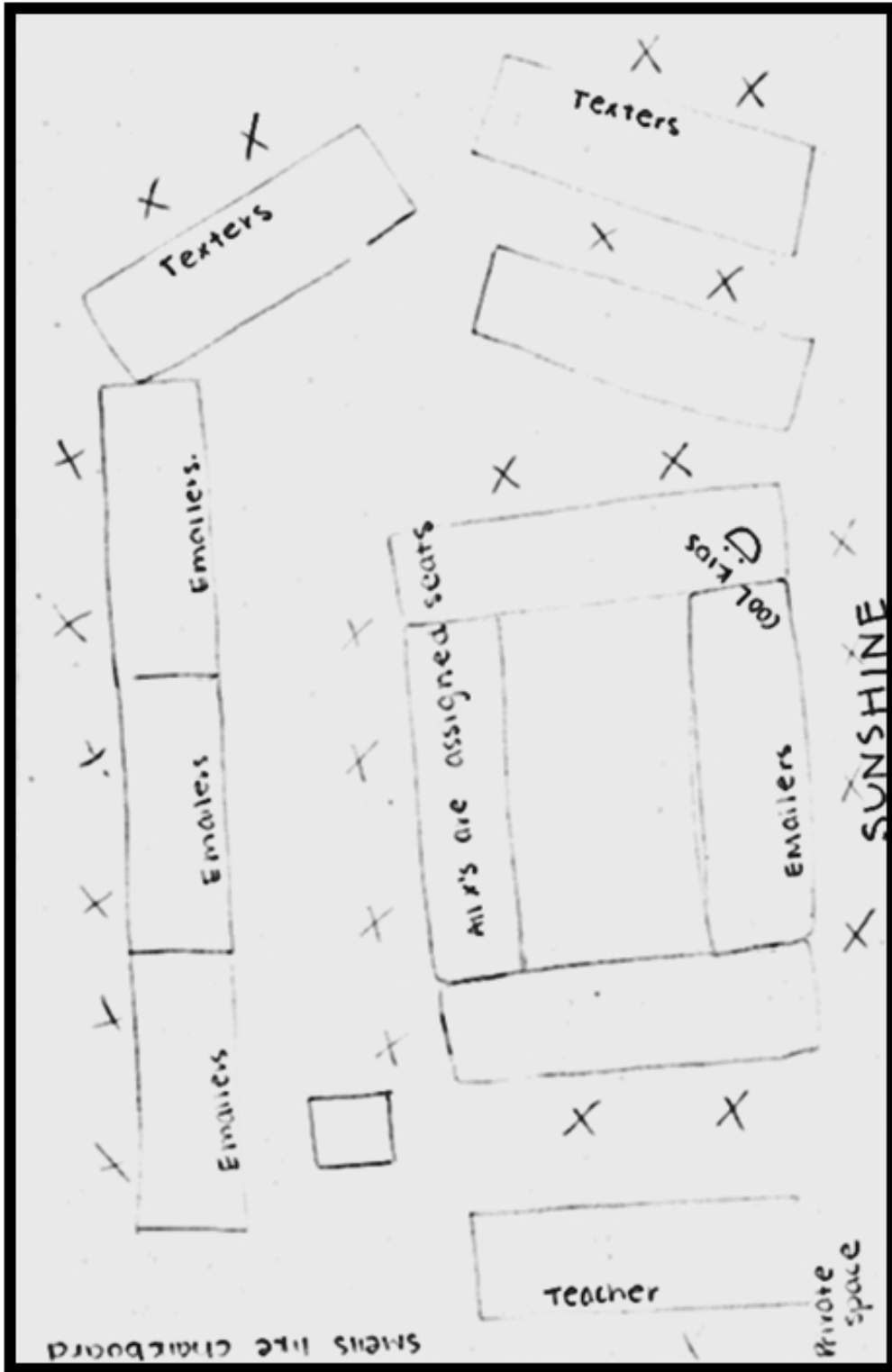
Figure 25: Avery's map of the classroom
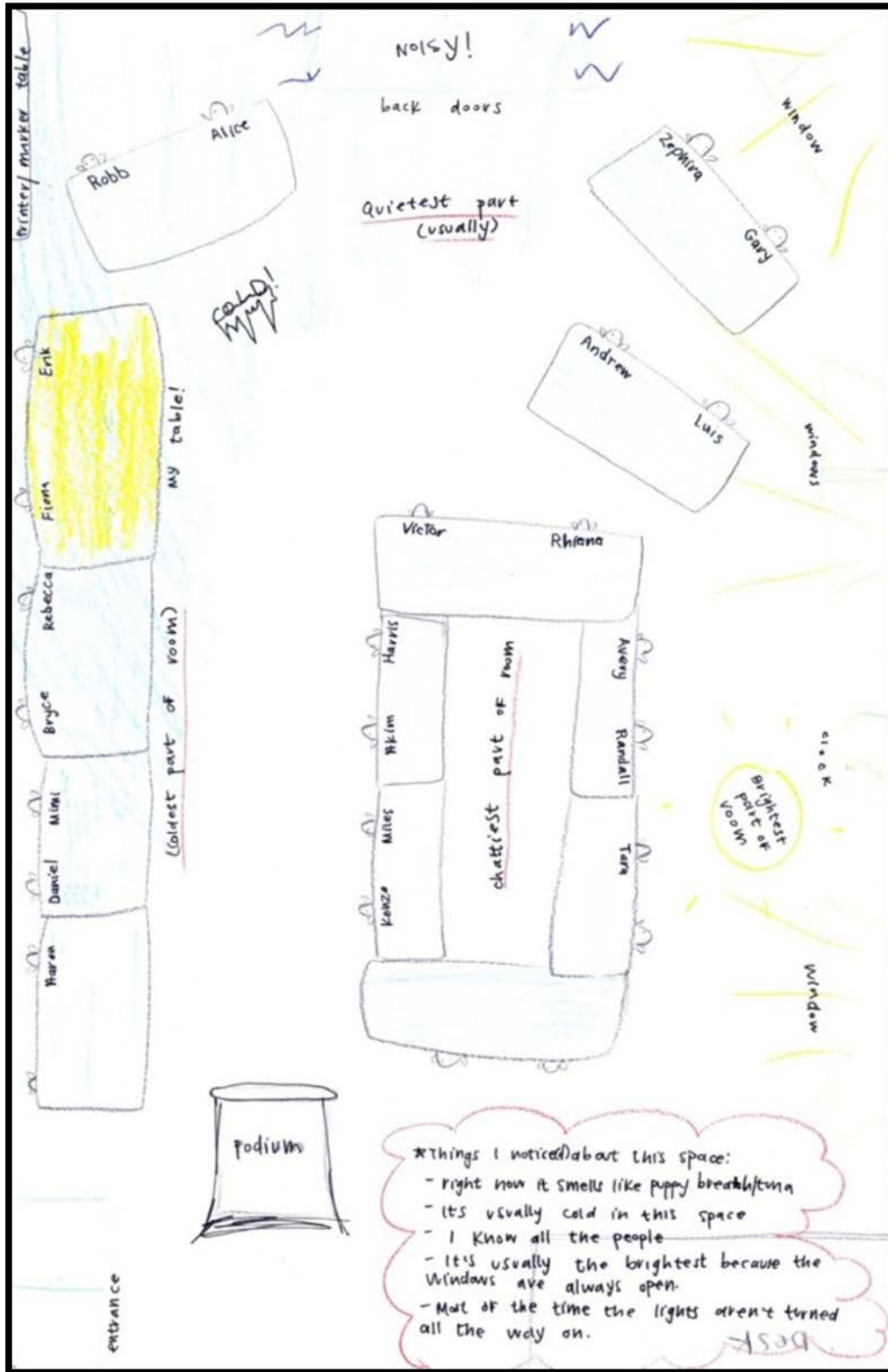
Figure 26: Fiona's map of the classroom

Though she wrote about all her group members' maps, I focus here on Avery's writing about Fiona's map. Avery noted that Fiona indicated actions of people in various locations in the room, not just placement of people, in her map. Avery used the phrase "it is unique" as a linguistic marker to indicate how Fiona's capturing the uses of spaces wasn't something Avery saw in the other maps she looked at. Uses of spaces also wasn't something Avery seemed to feel she had been able to capture in her own map. Avery further emphasized the novelty by her subtle contrasting of her own approach to the map making, "see where everyone sits," with her observation that Fiona accomplished that and more. Avery wrote that Fiona's map "allows the viewer to not only see where everyone sits, but also what goes on in each area." Fiona's map appeared to introduce Avery to the notion of observing the actions of those in the spaces to help determine the functions of those spaces.

Having an opportunity to see others' points of view was an important source of learning for Avery. She found an item on Randall's map that affirmed her own observation about teacher space being private space. She used the subjective notes section of her worksheet to elaborate further on the connection she was making between the tangible traditions of students not often going behind the teacher's desk with the intangible rule of that space being considered by the group as private space.

Because Avery never returned to discuss further her drawing labels of "texters" and "emailers," I believe she abandoned that idea as a failed attempt to accurately observe what students were doing in the classroom space. Avery might well have been recording member knowledge about the tradition of student resistance to school rules governing the use of technology in the classroom, but her writings about other students' maps indicate that this probably was not what she was trying to accomplish with her map. When Avery saw Fiona's

map, she realized something about how to make observations of what was being done in a space that would directly tie to the function of the space. Having just gained this new insight into observation skills, her own labels that arbitrarily indicated prohibited texting and emailing no longer made as much sense to her as solid examples of tangible observations linked to the folk group's intangible workings.

For the next activity in the *Reading a classroom* lesson, teachers divided students into groups of two-three students to discuss their observations about the classroom. Avery and Randall worked together to complete the two-column worksheet on reading a space. The assignment directions teachers gave asked students to clearly make the link between the deep culture intangible values and the observable tangible traditions within the space. The worksheet directions encouraged students to think about everything as serving some function in the culture of the classroom folk group and provided some strategies that students could use to look deeper.

Avery and Randall got straight to work on this assignment and worked diligently at it for about 11 minutes. They both put ideas into their discussion and helped each other refine them. Avery did the typing capturing the pair's ideas on the worksheet. She remained fairly accurate in writing down Randall's ideas, so made few alterations to them while she typed. I noticed that students typing in other groups were editing and altering group members' ideas quite a bit when they wrote them down.

Randall's use of a word "atmosphere" to describe less tangible elements of the space in the evidence column was a new approach to this assignment for Avery. As she was typing his contribution, she uttered her compliment about them using big words in this assignment which Randall extended by calling such words "hard" (meaning impressive) and playfully stating he never heard these words before. Avery began this activity by making very concrete connections

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of stating values that closely resembled the traditions she was describing before she branched out into more abstract values of "community and friendships" linked to the types of furniture the students use. Interestingly, she attached her abstract value to something that was missing in the room, individual desks for students. There was only one individual desk in the room, the teacher's, as Avery had noted on her map. At this point in the lesson, Avery does not overtly connect that she may have made an analogy between teacher and student furniture and private and community space to create that entry on the worksheet. For now, it appeared to me as Avery was making just another isolated observation, though one that had made a leap forward from being fully tangible to being a mix of tangible and intangible. As the two students kept working, Avery herself clearly recognized the importance of looking deeper to see what was not there as a method to get to these deeper values. As she was typing their fifth row, Randall was stating the next idea to add to their list. Avery jumped in and asked "What else don't we have?" But her question went unanswered since Randall was on a roll of ideas and quickly contributed two more abstract values and their associated evidences. Avery was clearly impressed by Randall's new contributions for she voiced another compliment of their team "ooh, man. We're killing it today." To which Randall replied "I know. I thought we weren't even going to get this far. I definitely didn't think we were going to finish."

Avery then seized upon their momentum and again asked her question, "What else we don't have?" This time her question triggered them to brainstorm a list of tangible items missing in the room that they mostly rejected as evidences of anything since associated intangible values were not readily apparent to them. Avery stayed with this line of inquiry, repeating her question multiple times till Randall declared, "I think it's just the desks." Avery then abandoned this line of inquiry and returned to things she could observe, the ethnic and racial diversity of the students

in the class. Randall kept thinking about what was missing but could not come up with any more ideas. When the pair engaged in conversation with a nearby team to ask them how many value/evidence pairs they had come up with, the conversation quickly moved off topic and did not return to the worksheet.

In small group discussions, students typically turned on the audio recorders on their computer. At the end of each small group work session, students reflected upon and verbally summarized their learning right before they turned the recorders off. It didn't often or always happen, but this time it did, at least on Avery's computer. Randall's recorder malfunctioned. Avery stated, "Well, I think that the most important thing that I learned is that space really can tell you a lot about about um space can tell you a lot about the values of the folk group that's in it. You don't realize how much that you actually think about it and you don't realize the values. But if you actually take your time and you look, then you really can. It's good stuff."

In doing the small group worksheet, Avery clearly had developed many more insights into culture than she had on her map and she was excited by them. She found the points of view shifting designed into the activities, first, of students sharing their different points of view with each other and, then, of the worksheet requiring them to shift between objective and subjective perspectives in conducting observations, helped her in developing these new insights. Avery developed her ability to gain new insights into her anthropology class folk group from attending more deeply to the ordinary classroom she sat in every day. She realized there were methods she could use to see the invisible workings of folk groups and learn more about her own culture.

Avery was actively engaged in developing her skills in all three Basic Level components at the same time in this lesson. She deepened her skills in noticing and began to see her ordinary classroom differently. By working with classmates, she both realized that others perceived and

experienced the world differently than she did and, that if she shifted vantage points, she could begin to perceive other's perceptions. With Randall's help, Avery began to work with some of the abstract conceptual terms to realize the relationships between tangible and intangible traditions of her folk group.

All three components interrelated to help Avery learn about how culture works. All three components worked together to help her understand how culture is both visible and invisible. When she used the skill of *Attending to the ordinary,* she noticed deeply to see the unseen aspects of culture. When she was *Shifting points of view* to imagine other's perspectives in their observations, she developed her skills in making the unknowable knowable. When she was *Working with conceptual terms* and trying to make inroads into the concept of intangible aspects of culture, she observed patterns in the accessible tangible aspects of culture. Avery engaged in developing all three components to connect concrete experiences of what she and her classmates could observe and perceive with the abstractness of cultural aspects that lie beyond what they knew.

These three Basic Level ring components all worked together to develop Avery's mental flexibility. This included her flexibility to observe more intently and notice more, her flexibility to suspend her own perceptions and try to see through someone else's eyes, and her flexibility to make connections between what she was noticing and abstract concepts about culture. Avery approached this lesson with an open willingness to explore and she became ever more deeply engaged and developed her skills as the lesson progressed.

The *Reading a classroom* lesson had several more activities which continued to guide Avery and the other students to develop their skills in exploring culture. The teachers turned their attention next to intentional instruction in making meaning from the data the students gathered in

the lesson. I share the remainder of this lesson in Chapter 7 for it illustrates Advanced Level components and how they interrelate with each other and with the Basic Level.

6.3.2   Recommendations overall about the Basic Level components

The Basic Level develops four overarching capacities: the core capacity for understanding greater nuance within the interlocked complexity of *Similarities* and *Differences* in student's own and other's cultures, and the three Basic Level ring capacities for observing culture by *Attending to the ordinary,* seeing other perspectives by *Shifting points of view,* and understanding some of the basic structures of culture by *Working with conceptual terms.* The three Basic Level ring components interlock around the central core with the skills students learn in each of these components helping them to develop their understandings about the *Similarities* and *Differences* in culture. Developing students' capacities within the Basic Level ring components makes it more possible for students to move beyond simplistic notions of *Similarities* and *Differences* that can be kept separate by a conceptual boundary separating "us" from "them." Students found direct instruction in folklife education was invaluable for their developing these Basic Level capacities.

The Basic Level capacities provide students with the basics for Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. Developing the Capacity for Tolerance of culturally different others entails an individual developing a set of skills they can use to encounter and explore cultural situations toward forming positive intercultural interactions and relationships. The mental flexibility the Basic Level ring components help develop in students holds promise to help students maintain the curiosity and openness that will keep them exploring cultural situations beyond the course. As students continued to develop the Basic Level skills throughout the course, I could see that

the skills in all these components deepened, and would be likely to continue to deepen if the students were to continue to develop them after the course. But none of the skills on the Basic Level directly transitioned students into self-directed learning to assure me that students would keep Developing their Capacity for Tolerance on this level when the course was over. However, instruction at the Advanced Level as presented in Chapter 7 built upon the Basic Level and addressed deepening student understanding of culture and how students could make the use of the skills learned in this class routine when interacting in future cultural situations.

7.0   THE ADVANCED LEVEL OF DEVELOPING THE CAPACITY FOR

TOLERANCE

The Advanced Level of my Developing the Capacity for Tolerance model is fundamentally different from the model's Basic Level. The Advanced Level differs in three ways. First, in the approach to instruction. Teachers shifted to be more indirect teaching with ample opportunities for students to think reflectively as they conducted analysis. This enabled more individualization in the learning experience. Secondly, in how students expanded upon teacher-determined goals and activities and took control and responsibility for their learning. Third and finally, in how students improved in their capacity to generate awarenesses about how culture works and imagine actions they could take within cultural situations toward increased tolerance. To highlight this difference, the stories I tell in this Advanced Level chapter illustrate individualized and differentiated outcomes students express around common patterns, the meta-cognition that students are learning and developing, and what students describe in their experience as being helpful toward them developing the capacity to be and become more tolerant in their interactions with culturally-different others.

Whereas the Basic Level components were shared insights learned by every student in the course, the Advanced Level is comprised of insights gained by individual students as they developed knowledge and skills that are clustered into Advanced Level Awareness and Advanced Level Actions components. Students made personal connections within their learning

experience in the course resulting in individualized realizations about culture and how culture works, and the impact this had on what they could do in their lives. I have clustered these individual realizations into more generalizable components on the Advanced Level of my model. No one student described all the Advanced Level components that I found when I examined the totality of student work. Instead, each student discussed insights and impacts upon their learning that formed a profile of components unique to them. Therefore, I present the Advanced Level components as a set that was fully visible to me as a compilation of the students' insights. The contents of the Advanced Level Awareness and Advanced Level Action components are student generated rather than directly tied to teacher-determined cultural content goals within instructional activities.

The Advanced Level involves teachers intentionally providing students with more individualized learning experiences than they do when teaching the Basic Level. I extracted from student descriptions of their learning experiences insights into the pedagogical sets and sequences that helped them make these links and present these as a different type of component that occurs at the Advanced Level: a process component. In process component clusters of insights, students described aspects of their learning experiences, aspects that again, all students did not experience uniformly. The Advanced Level process components highlight aspects of the Advanced Level folklife education instruction students actively engage in doing, and in developing their skills with doing better, that students considered most important to their learning. One process component, *Making meaning*, created openings for students to gain insights into knowledge or awareness of understandings about how culture works. The other process component, *Fostering cultural actions*, created openings for students to gain insights into actions they could take.

Advanced Level content and process components interrelate in ways that are different from the ways Basic Level components interrelate within my model of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. I split the Advanced Level of my model onto two rings, one with several components for developing the capacity to be aware and the other with several components for developing the capacity to act, each anchored with a process component: *Making meaning* on the Advanced Level Awareness ring and *Fostering cultural action* on the Advanced Level Action ring. To help keep readers oriented, my headings reference where I am at in my model as I move through Advanced Level Awareness and then Advanced Level Action components.

7.1   ADVANCED PROCESS OF DEVELOPING THE CAPACITY TO BE AWARE

The capacity to be aware is to recognize and articulate an understanding of something fundamental about culture itself. Culture as a process is inherently complex, nuanced and contextualized. Becoming aware of how culture works in one situation does not mean it will work exactly the same in another context. Students, having gathered cultural data using Basic Level component skills, then applied Advanced Level skills of meaning making to their data to analyze it. When students doing analysis become aware that a cultural process is occurring and could articulate it, they attained a deeper level of understanding about culture's workings and meanings. These understandings can serve as hypotheses and starting points for additional inquiry using Basic Level skills into a cultural event or inter-cultural encounter. In a cyclical dynamic, the Advanced Level Awareness ring built upon the Basic Level components as prerequisites, and has the potential to feed back into the Basic Level as starting points.

Making meaning is the process component of the Advanced Level Awareness ring, and as such can be considered as an input with the other five Advanced Level Awareness ring components considered as outputs from the meaning making process. Students reflected upon and identified the aspects within their *Making meaning* learning experience that helped them the most. The pedagogical strategies students identified as most productive for going beyond the Basic Level for gaining meaningful insights, I present as aspects of the *Making meaning* process. These aspects have utility as recommendations for effective Advanced Level instructional practice. The cultural processes students articulated resulting from engaging with these effective pedagogical strategies and making meaning of their data, are their content insights, or outputs as awarenesses about culture. The five content components I present in alphabetical order from these students' insights into culture represent a few of the possible demonstrations of Advanced Level awarenesses. I draw from the students' discussion of each component to describe and explain it. To illustrate the complexity of teaching and learning in the Advanced Level Awareness ring components, I continue the illustrative story on the *Reading a classroom* lesson from the previous chapter.

7.1.1   Defining the process of *Making meaning*

The first component of the Advanced Level Awareness ring is the process of learning the skill of *Making meaning*. Teachers intentionally taught students how to examine their data to find patterns and make meanings about their findings. Through my focus on student learning, my presentation of the aspects of developing the skill of meaning making point to effective instructional activities and how students were expanding upon them as they took control of their own learning.

With *Making meaning*, almost all the students in the course, (22 out of 24) discussed their developing awareness of the impacts this course was having on their own thinking processes in puzzling out and understanding culture. In this component, students were trying to articulate what was helping them make sense out of the new information they were encountering in their explorations into culture's workings. What students discussed about the ways the course was changing how they thought, built upon, but went beyond, the Basic Level skills they developed of observing and *Attending to the ordinary*, *Shifting points of view* and *Working with conceptual terms*. In this Advanced Level component, I examine the patterns within students' meta-cognitive awareness comments to help me better understand what *Making meaning* is as the students' experience it and how this component is a critical dynamics of the Advanced Level.

Reflecting upon what changes were happening to their ways of thinking appeared in students' writing throughout the course, from week 1 through week 8. As they sought to make meaning out of their explorations into culture and its working, students realized there were changes happening within their own approaches to thinking. As previously described in this study, Miles articulated the change as "looking at things totally differently," and this sense of seeing, thinking and understanding in new ways was echoed by many others. Miles attributed this change in his "looking at things" to his efforts to try to "figure it out." When Miles stated, "Figuring out how, where things started. Who started the tradition and things like that," he articulated his experience of *Making meaning*. In the rich data students provided as they tried to figure out how their thinking was changing through making meaning of the cultural information within their investigations, I found students articulated aspects of their *Making meaning* skill development experience that were often shared by a few classmates. Though no single student described all the ten aspects I present here that were articulated by the totality of students

throughout the course, considering all the aspects together gives a broader and more complete understanding of this Advanced Level Awareness ring process component of *Making meaning* and points to what could be included in effective instructional practice.

7.1.1.1 Slow down

Though there isn't any particular order to the aspects of the skill of *Making meaning* that I have isolated, I describe first the aspect of S*low down*. Harris discussed this going slower as, "mainly because of the fact that we never take time to consider okay this …" Luis described how he experienced a need to go slower to "take the time to learn about new cultures and evaluate them." Avery echoed the time needed when she stated, "if you simply take the time to look more deeply into it." No student discussed time for *Making meaning* in terms of the amount of instructional time it took for them to learn the skill. Instead, students point out that it takes time to figure out meanings when they are engaged in doing meaning making. They experienced that the process requires them to slow down or to commit the time needed to do the skill.

7.1.1.2 Look more deeply

Avery introduced another aspect of *Making meaning*, to "look more deeply." She stated that aspect of *Making meaning* in Week 3 and added to her thinking about this at the end of the course by describing how it is possible to "separate and look at more cultures" inside a culture. This *Look more deeply* aspect is not simply about observing and gathering data, but about gathering or examining data more purposefully toward discovering meaning. What Avery articulated as to "separate," Rhiana described more clearly as "take things apart" when she described how the course "has caused me to think more and differently by breaking things down

and really looking at the details. Before, I would simply analyze things as whole, but now I really take things apart and try to figure it out."

In Week 4 when Bryce was describing how challenging simple observation was because of the many things happening within each social-cultural interaction, he added to his list of observable details some interesting complexity useful in *Making meaning*. He stated, "You can really write a lot about different scenes and events from what they are doing to how they are doing it. You can even write about something when there isn't an actual activity in front of the person or group. Interactions between people are much more complicated that other people may see. Also people don't usually exercise the part of their brain that uses memory and observation and these are important elements to exercise." For him, observing the intangible and linking memory to observation gives him greater details to use for discovering meaning. Gino too articulated the depth of looking needed for *Making meaning* when he described what he does as, "Observing the area around it and what effect it has on that area, thinking why it's happening and then pointing up the facts of what I see." All these students point to an advanced type of deep looking that helps them figure out what the meanings might be in what they see.

7.1.1.3 Listen more deeply

The next aspect of *Making meaning* that students discussed was one I will call *Listen more deeply*. This deep listening was similar to the deep observing just described, but involved the interviews that occurred with the senior citizens and those who took the students on tours of downtown. Gary described it simply as "It was an eye opening interview." Harris echoed Gary's sentiment, "I feel as though what really changed my thinking were the tours… made me just be aware of how impactful some things can be." As Robb described it, tours "revealed a culture that I didn't expect." Nine students specifically discussed the importance of the interviews to the

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Making meaning process for them. For Gary, Harris and Robb depth of listening occurred in the interview experience itself, but Zephira discussed the importance for her of listening to the recordings of the interviews again. As a blog group classmate observed of Zephira's meaning making, "I think that your take is interesting too, mine was kind of different it was just kind of being appreciative and yours was that there's more than what we think there is Kudos !" Tara, Avery, and Rebecca connected meaning making process to figuring out their interviewees' perspective. Tara stated, "I get to listen and understand from another person's experience of how they either accomplished and or has changed over the course of their past." For Avery, it was in seeing "from another persons eyes who had a different perspective" or as Rebecca called "imaging" another's perspective. The aspect of *Listen more deeply* involved figuring out the meanings in other people's cultural experiences through the window into these experiences that interviews provided to the students.

7.1.1.4 See patterns

Another aspect of *Making meaning* students discussed was to S*ee patterns*. Seeing patterns was the way three students found was useful toward figuring out meaning. Robb described his patterns as linear lists of relationships, traditions and values. He described the process as, "In my head, I've tried to list them and understand how and why they are there." In a whole class discussion, Erik described how the shapes of two classmates' popplets about their folk groups helped him discover important meanings about the role of hierarchical leadership structures in each group. He stated, "The drama one [popplet] looked more square and my friend one looked more starry. Which is kinda like the cultural differences cause drama's more structured (garbled) and a lot of my friends are less structured (garbled)." Geno discussed seeking patterns of similarities and differences as an important skill he had developed for use when organizing the

data he had collected. "Learning how people from different folk groups or even the same folk groups use these spaces for their own personal use then picking up any patterns as I learn more in depth about this topic. Patterns such as how these spaces are set up and the different behaviors that are taking place." By seeing patterns, all three of these students was better able to discover some of the meanings within their data about culture and how it works.

7.1.1.5 Compare and contrast

A useful skill for finding meaning in data that four students discussed was an aspect that I shall call *Compare and contrast*. Comparing and contrasting is a standard analytic tool that the teachers assigned students to use when examining their folk groups and traditions early in the course. In the popplets Erik discussed above that were made collaboratively by pairs of students, the students drew upon their data to compare and contrast roles and rules within their folk groups and then use these similarities and differences to identify cultural processes. Some students described how useful comparing continued to be for them when they were independently identifying meanings in data like Bryce did in the synthesizing mid-term project. As he said, "I learned mostly from the comparison of the café 18 from the lunch cafeteria group. This is because I noticed there are a lot of things that are in common between the two groups and differences… If you really look at all of the extra activities that are available through challenge charter high school it allows for intermingling between grades… Not everyone sees these connections because we often think that we are really segregated between floors." Rosalyn affirms the importance of this aspect in developing the skill of meaning making, "comparing and contrasting between what I do and what they do. I am always trying to understand why I do the things I do and why other people do things the way they do it." The aspect of *Compare and*

contrast may be a common instructional task, but the students identified it as useful toward developing their skill of *Making meaning* of cultural data.

7.1.1.6 Make use of metaphors

Another aspect of *Making meaning* I noticed was *Make use of metaphors*. Two students discussed how a metaphor about culture's workings that was presented in the course, an iceberg image with tangible culture labeled as being above the water and intangible culture below the surface, helped them with *Making meaning*. For both of them, they described the image as confirming how they were approaching meaning making. Zephira described the metaphor's importance to her as, "This picture helps me to understand cultural process so much more than I would have before. It shows that a very small amount of someone's culture actually shows, and that most is hidden. This makes complete and total sense because I would say things definitely are that way. Before I never would have thought so deeply into certain things. I would have just glanced at something and wouldn't have thought much about it. Now, I have a whole new perspective on the world around me. People surrounding me were just people, but now I am able to examine them more to see how they really take on the world and what their personal roles are." Making use of a metaphor presented in class, helped her deepen her focus when discovering meanings and affirmed for her that she was on the right track.

7.1.1.7 Use subjective observations

Making meaning was a process that presented some challenges to students. It is through the students articulating their struggles that some interesting aspects of *Making meaning* emerged. The very things they struggled with turned out to be what they identified as important to developing the skills they needed. Three students described the difficulties of subjective

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observation in relationship to meaning making, so I call this aspect *Use subjective observations*. I discussed on the Basic Level the initial challenges of the task of splitting field observations into two columns to record objective and subjective data separately, but here on the Advanced Level, students discussed the recording of subjective observations as important to their development of the skill of *Making meaning*.

Fiona described the connection to meaning making as, "The most challenging part for me was thinking of why they were doing this for the subjective part of my field notes. I couldn't really find a reason for everything I was seeing, but I tried to make the most out of it that I possibly could." Victor and Geno echoed how hard it was "figuring out" what people they were observing were trying to do. Students were not trying to assign meanings for the sake of writing down something to complete the assignment. Like the other students, Fiona's example of subjective observation notes is full of wonderings and questions speculating what she was seeing could possibly mean, speculations she went on to use in her final project.

Geno definitely made progress with figuring out how to make subjective observations and attributed it as one of the most important aspects of meaning making for him. He described the importance as "Subjective and objective thoughts, I say this because well that's one of the skills that I understand the most, and it surprisingly helps me. It helps me think about situations in a more clear way for me to understand. What I think that is going to happen vs. what the straight facts are, what I see, and I think that this is a very helpful skill for me to use further." Learning to make Basic level subjective observations was of further use within the Advanced Level process of *Making meaning* because of how it advances students' skill of figuring out the meanings within culture.

7.1.1.8 Synthesize and represent data

Four students admitted that they had thought the synthesizing final project was going to be easy, but found that they had some struggles with figuring out what the meanings were in culture. Harris described the challenges this way, "When I first started this whole project I was just confused and it took a while for me to figure out everything. To this minute i'm not sure if I'm right or not but it seems right to me and I guess that's reallly what matters." *Making meaning* is about figuring out things that do not have known, right answers and this can be uncomfortable for some students. Engaging in the struggle was worth it as Gary, another who struggled, affirmed, "This final project has culminated everything we've learned." Harris felt that the project helped him develop a new way of thinking, of "looking at the outside from the inside" as he reflected further upon the progress of his project. The other two who described their struggles with meaning making within the assignment also persisted and successfully completed the assignment and finding meaning in their data. The importance of this synthesizing activity requiring students to analyze their data and present their findings to developing meaning making skills cannot be understated as an aspect of *Making meaning*. I will call this aspect *Synthesize and represent data*. As Andrew, a student who did not discuss the project as being a struggle at all, wrote about the value it had for assisting him with meaning making, "My project makes it a lot easier for me to understand how people view the same places differently, by showing examples from two completely opposite views." The parameters of the project, to present their data and the cultural processes they discovered within it in a powerpoint presentation was an assignment that students voiced as important to developing their skills in *Making meaning*.

7.1.1.9 Name a cultural process

All students identified cultural processes within their data and included these in their final project. Zephira discussed this as important to her developing meaning making skills. In my role as a consultant on culture to the students, I would talk with some of them about their data and the meanings they were finding within it. Zephira was one the teachers asked me to speak with because she was struggling with this task. Zephira later wrote in her blog, "I figured out my cultural process with Ms. D and and I feel as though it really connects to my project perfectly. My cultural process really helped me to understand and think more deeply into this project, to understand why …" This aspect of *Making meaning* I will call *Name a cultural process*. The identifying and naming of cultural processes in the data was an assignment designed to help further students' abilities in meaning making, that teachers started teaching the class how to do early in the course so they would be prepared to do it themselves by course end. Since a student discussed this activity's importance to her learning meaning making, it can be included as an aspect of this Advanced Level component.

7.1.1.10   Give feedback to each other

Zephira had identified her interactions with me as useful to her developing skill, and she was not alone in identifying the role of interacting with others in furthering her skill development. The next aspect I will call G*ive feedback to each other*. Because of the way student blogs had been set up by the teachers, students were required to post in response to prompts and were required to comment upon the posts of their blog group members. One of the useful forms of response I noticed in these blog groups was when students would make comments to a blog group member that were designed to spur them to look deeper at their data and identify more meanings within it or state the meanings they were finding more clearly. An example of this aspect is when a

student wrote to a classmate, "But you didn't give detailed information on the progress of your project and how it has helped you see things now that you didn't see before." And "I think you could have gone into more detail about things you've learned instead of just saying, 'I am learning many things from this project.'" This peer feedback helped students to further their skills of *Making meaning* by urging them to try again to articulate the meanings they were finding.

In summary, I found ten aspects students discussed as important to their learning of the skills of the Advanced Level Awareness component *Making meaning*. Together these aspects present a more comprehensive understanding of the complexity of what is involved in the teaching and learning of this Advanced Level process skill. The aspects of *Slow down, Look more deeply, Listen more deeply, See patterns, Compare and contrast, Make use of metaphors, Use subjective observations, Synthesize and represent data, Name a cultural process,* and *Give feedback to each other* are aspects the students individually found of use. When taken collectively, these ten aspects give insights into what students found important toward developing the different ways of thinking, seeing and understanding that were involved in the process of meaning making for them. I cannot assert that these ten aspects are the complete set of aspects, but the students' meta-cognitive reflections upon this process, and the changes they were experiencing within it, provide at least these insights into this Advanced Level component.

Aspects utilized to develop the skill within the *Making meaning* component provided an individualized learning experience for each student. The resulting ability of "looking at things totally differently" by "figuring out how, where…,who…, things like that" as Miles described this component, is a skill that the teachers of this course intentionally taught, and taught as a tool set rather than just one way to explore cultural data for the meanings it contained. Instruction

plays an important role in guiding students in *Making meaning* and these students pointed to a broad diversity of instructional techniques as being needed to help them each individually with developing this challenging skill. Though meaning making is a skill and a process that was, and can be, taught, the teachers of this course allowed the space for students to discover what their cultural data held and find meanings that included gaining insights into how culture works that could go beyond the teachers' understanding of the cultural dimensions at play. Students created many cultural processes as part of instructional activities in this course. All the other Advanced Level Awareness components that follow are the insights into how culture works that students discussed that resulted from their meaning making discoveries. The *Making meaning* component was intentionally taught, while the next set of Advanced Level Awareness components were the understandings about culture that students caught. The illustrative story in the section about the relationships of the Advanced Level Awareness components shows the complexities of what was taught and how it was caught by a student.

7.1.2   Awareness content components

I present Advanced Level Awareness content components that each focus on a fundamental understanding of culture in alphabetical order.

7.1.2.1 *Equality of cultures*

The first Advanced Level Awareness component is *Equality of cultures*. The students who described this meaning realization all discussed how other cultures were as important as their own, though each student expressed this insight in his/her own way.

Most of the ten students that discussed the equality of cultures did so in the reflections written in the final exam. In these final reflection questions, students were asked to reflect back upon their learning in the whole course and nine students discussed cultural equality then. Robb was the only student to discuss his insights into cultural equality earlier in the course. As a result of his work on the midterm project, Robb found evidence in the cultural spaces of the school to suggest that equality of all individuals and folk groups within the school was a strong value held by school administration. Robb pointed to data on practices, spatial use and spatial arrangement features that he felt triangulated a cultural value of equality within the school. His close observations of school culture demonstrated his growing proficiency with the basic level capacity of finding patterns within data to support his cultural process hypotheses. The insight he discussed attaining within his mid-term project cultural investigation was that all cultural groups were considered and treated as equal.

At the end of the course, a few students like Harris and Zephira connected their insights about equality into a general awareness about others' cultures. The way they discussed this insight was to treat it as a generalizable universal to guide everyone's understanding that all people are equally both the same and different from everyone else. Kenzo's insights in his final reflection started out as a general statement about all other cultures as being undifferentiated whole, but he also connected it to his own experience. For Kenzo the course "did help me to look at the big picture and see that other cultures were just as important as my own. I believe the one that will be most useful is realizing that what I as a person does is not 'right' rather it is only one method of living." Kenzo, like the majority of students who discussed cultural equality focused on his personal experience of the relationship between his own culture and his perception of other cultures.

Students Aaron and Luis discussed equality as being personally relevant with statements about how their culture and other cultures were somehow equal. Through this class, Aaron learned to take each different culture "into consideration as important as my own culture." Luis echoed Aaron's insight as he described how the course caused him to "not put mine over theirs."

Erik and Rosalyn spoke of the insight of cultural equality as leading them to valuing difference. Erik discussed how he had considered others as "weird" before, but now with his new insights into difference he could "value the differences." Rosalyn spoke of the desirability that this insight of cultural equality might lead to everyone simply tolerating difference. She wrote, "We each have our different ways of doing things and instead of looking down on people for doing things differently we should take care to at least, if nothing else, live and let live."

Miles shared Rosalyn's making a connection between equality and inequality. His discussion shed more light into the personal thinking shifts that happen with this insight. He wrote, "I have come to realize that my cultures are may be right to me but to others I can be completely wrong. While the previous statement is true it does not mean that someone from a different culture is bad or any less interesting." What Miles showed in his thinking was that he first considered how his culture is right for him and stated this conception as a cultural process. His basis for cultural equality was based on him conceptually applying this cultural process hypothesis more broadly: each person's culture is right for that person. With such an approach to thinking about cultural equality, Miles has liberated himself from needing to evaluate anyone else's culture as "right" or "wrong." His culture is "right" for him and "wrong" for others and their culture is "right" for them and "wrong" for him. Miles insight has left him free to tolerate or even appreciate other cultures. His realization about cultures being equal centers on difference, with equality being absent when differences are not valued.

Andrew discussed the thinking shift to equality he experienced. His insight reshaped how he approaches difference so that he had begun "to think why we do things differently, instead of which way is better." Since none of the differences are better, they are all equal. With this thinking shift, Andrew freed himself from evaluating and ranking difference. He made it possible for himself to remain open to exploring the cultural processes that help explain why cultural groups do things differently.

7.1.2.2 *Ubiquity of culture*

The next Advanced Level Awareness ring component is *Ubiquity of culture*. Two students, Fiona and Rosalyn, discussed this insight as one in which they became aware of individuals or groups that they had never previously considered as being cultural as now possessing culture. Fiona discussed this insight early in the course, in her reflective writing about investigating the cultural spaces of the school project in week 3. Rosalyn discussed this insight a bit later during data collection and continued to discuss it at the end of the course.

When the course began, I noted in my field notes of class discussions that Fiona was someone who voiced the belief that everyone was an individual. Culture as the complexity of shared aspects within groups of people was not a concept she accepted. But her thinking appeared to change through the process of gathering evidence about the culture of the folk groups she had membership within, and by using folk groups as a tool when investigating the spaces within the school. Through these learning activities Fiona gained new insights into how everyone had culture. As Fiona stated, "The space in Challenge High has taught me that we are all different and we all have our own cultures, whether it be different cliques of people or just different people individually... Also all of our styles that we have are different and that correlates with some of the different cultures within Challenge High… If it weren't for school I wouldn't

notice these different cultures, I might on the street, but I see these cultures every day." The shift in thinking Fiona was making was to realize that it was *culture* that shaped what she had previously believed were all just unique individuals. She began to understand that by looking closely at the patterns of behaviors, she could now see evidences of cultural groups. Culture was becoming a concept that could help her see patterns within difference because everyone had culture.

Rosalyn discussed how everyone has culture in several different ways. She first discussed her insights about this component during Week 5 - data collection. She wrote in one of her reflections that week about how she was now considering the homeless living on urban streets as members of a cultural group. Rosalyn wrote, "It was interesting how the homeless people stuck together and had their own culture. To an outsider looking in, it just looks like a way of life that is dirty and doesn't actually have a culture. But the homeless do have a way of living. I wonder if their spacial rules are more or less than the rest of the population. Do they have a different code of conduct than most? I think it would be interesting to find out." By Rosalyn gaining insights into homeless as having culture, she was able to open herself to exploring and learning about that culture and its traditions.

At the end of the course, Rosalyn continued to discuss her developing insights into how everyone has culture by examining this in another way – as a broader societal dynamic. She considered the notion of dominant White American culture being unaware of their own culture as a culture. Though she does not directly reference her personal experience growing up in East Africa in this reflection, I could imagine that she may have had many exposures to the idea of culture as exotic tourism when she talked to Americans about her experiences in Ethiopia. Rosalyn wrote, "This class made me realize that I did have a culture. Not only do people in the

rainforests have culture but people sitting in an air conditioned house all have cultures. They are a lot easier to look over because when you tell a story about sitting in a room watching TV, eating dinner in a air conditioned house it isn't as interesting as someone who painted their faces and danced around a bonfire in celebration of new crops growing. That culture is much more interesting and so it gets most of the attention and other cultures mostly the American gets pushed to the side and it is not recognized as a culture by ordinary people. I know that in other cultures they emphasize their selves to have a culture and that is another reason why Americans as a whole don't think we don't have a culture, we don't emphasize our own culture as a culture. When people from one culture don't even recognize they have a culture how can anyone else acknowledge that it is a culture. But that thought process of not thinking we have a culture is part of the culture itself. Anthropology has caused me to think in very frustrating but interesting circles." Her reflection shows us how her insights into considering how everyone has culture led her to understand some of the social-cultural dynamics that makes the culture of the privileged dominant cultural group invisible to them because of how they consider their culture the norm. Rosalyn was also furthering her thinking about the value to a group of asserting their cultural identity as a means of helping them and others realize that each and every person has culture – none are without it (except perhaps for some with extraordinarily severe mental health and/or developmental disorders).

Rosalyn clarifies for me how the folklife education approach to studying culture on the folk group level opened up for her the concept of culture as being personal and accessible for exploring since everyone has culture. As Rosalyn reflected at the end of the course, "It has made me realize that a culture is not as big as one country, it can be as big as two people, and there are uncountable cultures and everyone has a culture. Some cultures are more out there and obviously

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a culture and they are usually the fun ones to look at, like I mentioned in the paragraph above, but the really fun cultures are the ones that you have to look for because when you find them you feel so accomplished… I think the most important idea that we have learned is that everyone has a culture." As Rosalyn discussion illustrates, noticing and acknowledging everyone as having culture was an important insight for students. This insight helps make culture visible to the students and helps them separate their investigation of culture from any societal power dynamics that may exist to influence the concept of who has or can have culture. As she figured out her personal experiences, Rosalyn found it of value to be able to consider normative American dominant culture as a culture too. This opened the possibility for her to understand herself and her life experiences better.

7.1.2.3 *Own biases*

The alphabetically next Advanced Level Awareness component is students expressing a deeper awareness of their *Own biases*. Eighteen students showed that they now recognized their own biases and prejudices more when they discussed how they were or have been judgmental. This awareness of their own biases was discussed by a student, Rosalyn, as early as Week 2 with more and more students discussing their developing awareness of their own prejudices as the course progressed. In the mid-term project group reflection, Rosalyn and her three group members, Tara, Randall and Avery collaboratively wrote: "The main cultural process that we thought was that when people that are not involved in our folk groups enters the group gets quiet and they become suspicious, looking at the individual(s) wondering who they are and what they want. An outsider is definitely not felt welcome. Especially in the 12th grade floor because we know we are the seniors and the student(s) or other people are definitely not so they definitely shouldn't be on our floor." These students described their non-inclusive attitudes and behaviors

toward other students in the school as layered with judgment and biases against those who are not part of their folk groups.

During data collection week when students were dialoguing across differences in the interviews and tours, some students discussed gaining insights into the limitations of their own biased perspectives. Gary reflected, "The life of a homeless person is a lot more intricate than I originally assumed." Reflecting upon the interview with the wealthy downtown condominium owner, Andrew wrote, "Before the tour, I couldn't imagine where, or why people would want to live in the area." Though Gary and Andrew, like some other students, did not fully state the content of their biases, their statements describe the process of gaining insight into the existence of their own perspectives and how their limited views were being challenged.

Robb's discussion with Rosalyn, on her blog post about one of the interviews with those working with the homeless, provides another example of his developing insight into his own prejudices. He states, "We tend to group them together as dirty like you said, but there's other things involved." Robb pushes his awareness further by connecting this attitude to a cultural process dynamic as he continues to reflect, "This is a great example of the "Us/Them" sort of thing that they were talking about in the video we saw." Robb was gaining new insights into his own prejudices by finding a connection between what he was experiencing and a cultural process contained in one of the Learning Seed videos ("Perception: The art of seeing," 1997).

At the end of the course, even more students were voicing awareness of their own limited perspectives as they reflected upon the final projects they were creating to make meaning from the data they had collected and re-present it to others. Some students discussed their biases in relationship to a particular folk group that they investigated in this course, like homeless or other school groups. Others discussed this awareness in terms of how their view is too often layered

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with judgment. As Daniel wrote, "This project is helping me see how I never interact with homeless people because of loosely based prejudices, and also because of the fact that we are in two different folk groups." Daniel and others were beginning to understand how their views are part of cultural differences of folk groups, and furthermore they realized that the way their prejudicial views were shaping interaction with others was not a good thing.

In their final exam reflective questions, multiple students reflected upon how judgmental and prejudice they had come to realize they were in this course. Erik referenced the *Everybody's Ethnic* (LearningSeed, 2001) video seen in the first week of the course as he wrote, "Yea the quote 'it's hard to see the water you swim in' will probably stick with me forever. It's so true we see what is normal and natural to use and just live life and if anything different comes up we think it foreign, and weird, but that's not the case." Luis was not a student who wrote a lot in his reflections, but he did describe the insight he gained into how he had been judgment of others and unwilling "to take time to learn about new cultures" and view "the positive things about them that make them different." The connections Luis made between awareness of his own prejudices and his biases being an impediment to learning more about others from different culture was a connection that all eleven students writing about this developing awareness in the final exam articulated.

7.1.2.4 *Uniqueness of groups*

Another component on the Advanced Level Awareness level ring, the *Uniqueness of groups,* was an awareness that eight students discussed. This insight was one that first surfaced early in the course, during Week 2 when students were exploring their own folk groups and comparing them to their classmates' folk groups. The three students who discussed the insight that week, Gary, Avery and Robb, did what many other students were doing in the assignments that week: they

focused upon a tradition and discussed how it was performed in a way that was unique to a folk group. But these three students took their thinking further and discussed how this made each folk group unique. Gary and Avery discussed their insights as connected to a lesson done in the course to illustrate intangible traditions. In that lesson, students explored the ways they used words and gestures in their folk groups. Gary wrote: "The coded meaning concept helps me understand the folk group I'm in more. This is because I realize that the words we use are special to us. No one else will understand our conversations but the people in the folk group. We could also communicate without words which is special for the same reason as talking. The words and signs of the folk group are specific to us and only us. Though folk groups have similar meanings of a word or sign, depending on the group it may be interpreted differently. Two groups could have two different words and have the same meaning, and that helps me understand the uniqueness of folk groups. They can all be the same and different at the same time. That's what makes folk groups special."

What Gary called the "coded meaning concept" refers directly to the group activity done in the course in which students were asked to give an example of a word or phrase that would be said in one of their folk groups and everyone in their folk group would laugh because that word triggered a memory of a prior experience that group shared. When they said the word or phrase aloud in class, others understood the words, but no one understood the experience it referenced. The teller then had to explain what that word meant to them in a particular folk group context. Doing this linguistic analysis activity showed students how multiple groups could use different words the same, or the same words differently.

Robb too directly connected his insights about the uniqueness of groups to a learning activity in the course. Robb discussed how each group – regardless of how similar it might

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appear to others – is culturally unique by referencing differences in the traditions of similar folk groups he explored in the popplet activity comparing a folk group he belonged to with one of Rhiana's folk groups. Student discussion of this insight in subsequent weeks did not have the immediate connection to a just completed learning activity, indicating to me that students may have been introduced to the concept in the course's early learning activities, but not discussed this insight until they began to use it within meaning making as the course progressed.

When students discussed this insight later in the course, they were broadening and deepening this understanding as they saw it as a recurrent pattern or process within how culture works. Erik and Bryce discussed how various groups were made unique by their different ways of learning. Rosalyn referenced the variable of time as contributing to folk groups' unique differences. In his final exam reflections Aaron described the invisible shared traditions of a folk group, like rules and beliefs, which were only known to members of that group and how these made the group unique. Largely, students who discussed their development of this insight described how variations in culture's tangible traditions helped them to become aware of a more general invisible cultural process. But the students pushed their thinking further to recognize that both tangible and intangible traditions contributed to making each folk group unique from all other folk groups.

Luis departed from this pattern of how students approached developing their understanding about the uniqueness of folk groups by focusing on the tangible traditions and instead focused on group membership. In his reflection on his mid-term project investigating the culture of the school in Week 3, Luis discussed "These groups reflect the many characteristics these individuals have and they come together in these groups bringing common views. Even though these groups are different it is interesting to learn about their views or traits when you are

a part of another group." Luis used the individual members of a folk group as his starting point and considered folk groups as being unique based upon their unduplicated constellation of members. Luis placed importance upon what the individual contributes to their folk groups, a cultural process that would be alluded to in class discussions, but was not one teachers focused on with a particular instructional activity. What teachers did do was instruct about the perspective of the individual negotiating membership in multiple folk groups as one of the first activities of the course. In that activity, students then poppleted their own membership in various folk groups by creating a "Me Map" popplet, but the instructional focus shifted after that to exploring the tangible and intangible traditions of the groups. Instruction did not return to explicitly direct students to explore the contributions each individual made to each group. Nonetheless, Luis shows us that this is a useful pathway that students can follow when exploring culture in their own lives. That pathway helped Luis when he was making meaning of cultural data about how the groups he was studying were unique.

7.1.2.5 *Uniqueness of individuals*

The alphabetically final Advanced Level Awareness component, *Uniqueness of individuals*, contains students' insights into the inherent cultural diversity within every individual. All students who discussed this focused on the unique profile of multiple folk group membership each person has and how this helps to shape each person as a multi-culturally constituted individual that is not duplicated by anyone else. This cultural process was one students could have gained during the "Me Map" instructional activity at the very beginning of the course when students compared their "Me Map" profiles and saw that no other person's map matched theirs, but no student discussed this insight at that point in the course. I found all of the student insights

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clustered into this component occurred when the students engaged in meaning making with data later in the course and reflected more complex understandings.

Seven students discussed their understandings about the *Uniqueness of individuals*, with half of them expressing it in their group's midterm project reflection. This group of students looked at the multiple folk groups in the school and discussed how very particular learning was taking place in each folk group that was aligned to that group's function or common bond. They described how the folk groups someone belonged to allow that person, and the group's other members, to gain different perspectives and learn different things about each other and their surroundings.

The other students who discussed the *Uniqueness of individuals* because of their folk group memberships did so at the end of the course. These students' realizations were evenly split between using this cultural process to understand themselves better or to understand others more deeply. Akim and Fiona both described the impact the many folk groups they had membership in had had upon shaping them as individuals. Akim also generalized this insight about himself to help him understand others better. In one of his blog posts on his final project he stated, "This project is helping me better understand that every individual is unique in there own way due to life experience, their culture and different folks there are apart of."

Daniel took this understanding into a different direction when he discussed how this concept was helping him not think of himself as being defined by a stereotypic mono-culture identity. He wrote, "I try to be more diverse and not just think of myself of being in one culture as being African American." Rhiana too was thinking about the same African American identity issue as Daniel but focused on understanding "how different people in my culture are even though they are of the same culture."

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The students who discussed the insights in this component were working with the complexity of identity by looking at the relationship of multiple folk group memberships toward shaping each individual. Looking at folk group memberships in relation to the individual also helped some students think more deeply about the practice of using racial/ethnic group identity terms as a dominant identity marker. Their insights into the uniqueness of individuals were helping some students notice some of the limitations of racial/ethnic identity markers.

7.1.3 The interrelationships of the Advanced Level Awareness ring components

Now that I have presented how to prompt Advanced Level learning (inputs) and what the most student-valued outputs were, I turn to offer further insights about how these Advanced Level Awareness components blend, sequence, and cluster. I return to Avery's series of responses to the *Reading a classroom* spaces exercises to illustrate linkages as they occurred across time and task (the sequencing what teachers offered and explicitly did) and as they co-occurred in conjunction with one another (how students might gain several Advanced Level Awareness components in, or only in, conjunction with one another). It is about synergy at this Advanced Level for those students who get it, as patterns across and between the Awareness components emerge.

I pick up the illustrative story of the *Reading a classroom* lesson sequence, which I started in the prior Basic Level chapter, as instruction turned to meaning making. I continue to focus on Avery's experience. This story shows some of the complexities of the process component of *Making meaning* and its interrelationship to the Advanced Level Awareness insights students gained from doing the skill. This story also illustrates how the Advanced Level builds upon the Basic Level in folklife education.

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The *Reading a classroom* lesson next moved into a whole class, teacher-facilitated discussion with students sharing insights gained in small group work. The whole class added to and built upon these ideas. Teacher prompts also challenged the class to compare this classroom to other classrooms in this and in other schools to generate even more values and evidences to support them. The students used this discussion to ask questions of the teachers in ways that turned the discussion into a group interview at times. It was a very dynamic intensive learning activity with many students making connections. Avery participated actively throughout the discussion as it moved from value to value.

In the class discussion on personal space of students, Avery drew heavily on the ideas she had been puzzling through throughout the lesson. She returned to think further about the teacher's private desk space and the students' lack of individual desks, which to her indicated a value of community. She listened intently and responded to other students' ideas. In this cycle of her thinking about these ideas, she made a direct comparison between the teacher's and students' spaces. She said, "But it's not just our space so like, two of us can be right here together so it's like everybody's sharing this space but that is just her space." After another student gave a detailed description of how students moved into each other's spaces, Avery uttered a spontaneous response, "[laughter] I feel like we're all sharing all these spaces." Avery was continuing to mull over the connections between communal spaces and the sense of community.

Avery makes another interesting, and new idea to her and others, contribution about comparing spaces during a teacher-prompted question the whole class puzzled together and discussed: how much space does Ms. Deafenbaugh have in the classroom? Even though I was filming from another location in the room during this lesson, Avery started her input into this discussion by describing the small alcove space set into the wall on the side of the room as my

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space. She then stated that that was where I usually go. But then she realized that the evidence was not supporting her statement as she listened to other students describe how I freely went everywhere in the classroom. One student observed how I, as a brand-new person in the class, had more space than they who had been in the folk group for four years. Avery pointed out how I also had "more space than Ms. Connolly." The students were trying to use their developing skill with observing data to figure out my role and the value of it within the folk group. This discussion was pointing a spotlight on "seriously structured division rules" as Alice pointed out as she was attempting to find the deeper meanings in the data. The relative freedom of movement and control over space was pointing to relative "power" of various group members, and the extra freedom I had to transgress usual classroom protocols. This became a topic that the teachers then drew upon the end of the discussion to teach triangulation of data.

Throughout the entire sequence of activities that comprised this lesson, Avery was, as other students were, trying to develop observation skills. When I look closely at the entire whole class discussion, I noticed that Avery had verbally participated in half of the topics discussed and remained attentive to the conversation in all the topics. She both initiated new topics for the group to discuss and added new dimensions to the building of ideas by the group. Avery practiced her investigation skills by asking probing questions about school and classroom practices and by describing her observations of these practices. She did not articulate any values linked to evidences, but she agreed with how the evidences made various values visible when others made those links. Avery's thinking advanced through the exchange of ideas with her classmates and teachers.

Working with their own folk groups, like their own classroom, gave students access to more nuanced and detailed experiences for understanding folk group and related cultural process

concepts. Students needed rich data sources to explore when learning how to do inquiry. When they made connections first to data they knew intimately, it gave them access to more and richer prior knowledge for making comparisons and formulating hypotheses. *Grounding students in their own culture allowed them to make deeper connections to the cultural concepts and have starting points to work from when engaged in inquiry into new and unknown cultural situations.*

Tangible traditions was an easy enough cultural concept for students to grasp, as was the existence of intangibles. But how tangible traditions are linked to intangible traditions required students to notice and identify deeper patterns within the visible data they could see and access easily. To discern the functional values structuring the setup and use of their classroom space required students to notice details they had never attended to before, group them, find relationships between them, and recognize the emerging patterns. The teachers named this pattern making process for the students as triangulation of data. Teachers walked the group through identifying patterns by guiding students in triangulating different data sources that when placed in a pattern all supported the same deep culture structure in a whole class instruction segment of the lesson.

For the students learning to identify pattern through triangulating, it could be an inductive process. As Avery demonstrated, the process started with noticing and recording the contents of the room and how the space was used by the folk group. As she drew her map, she noticed that the teacher desk was private space. When she discussed in a small group, she noticed that students did not have individual desks. In the whole group discussion, she more fully described the pattern she was noticing as students sharing space while teacher space was not shared. Avery was working on making enough detailed observations to begin to see where and how the details

were falling into patterns. But it wasn't until she aligned her tangible traditions data points that she became able to recognize an emerging pattern and describe it.

Moving into identifying deeper patterns by finding the relationships that linked tangible traditions with the underlying intangible traditions was something Avery found difficult at this point. Avery found it challenging to take the leap from descriptions of tangibles to discerning and stating the intangible values that the tangibles also illustrated. Randall found this much easier to do and so modeled the identifying of deep culture values linked to tangible traditions for her. Avery was then able to begin to articulate such linkages herself and she linked the emerging lack of individual student desks pattern she was observing to a deep culture value of community and friendship. In the large group discussion, Alice too modeled for Avery the meaning making process that drew upon the link between tangible and intangible traditions. Alice considered the same tangible traditions that Avery was mulling over but she was making connections to very different deep cultural values. What Avery had considered linked to friendship; Alice was linking to a pattern of "seriously structured division rules" operating within the group. Rules are intangible traditions that students had experience with articulating about the workings of their folk groups in prior lessons. Folk group rules are based upon values the group holds; though neither Alice nor any other student used value words like inequality or power related to status differences in the large group discussion.

When Ms. Connolly described the research practice of triangulating data in the whole class instruction session, she introduced the word "power" and the possibility of a folk group holding a value of inequality. By using a statement about various teachers having different levels of power as a theory or hypothesis, she modeled a deductive process for identifying patterns in tangible tradition specifics reflecting a more generalizable intangible abstract. By using a deep

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culture structure concept of levels of power, she challenged the students to sift through and make connections with their observations to see if any of the data they had fit the hypothesis in patterned ways. She also challenged students to make connections to their as yet untapped knowledge of their culture. She asked students to consider other data sources that they had not yet observed that could connect to the hypothesis in patterned ways. Quite a few of the students could easily suggest data sources to check for potentially aligned data. As the group considered data sources, they recognized that indeed a pattern to support the hypothesis was emerging. During this conversation, Avery uttered a spontaneous verbalization that indicated impactful learning was occurring for her, but she did not otherwise contribute to the whole class conversation.

The *Reading a classroom* lesson ended with students working independently to write a blog post. After the discussion, Avery went to her blog and reflected upon the pattern of data supporting power relationships. Now at the end of the lesson, she was able to articulate a triangulation of tangible data that indicated a pattern linking tangible and intangible traditions in their folk group. She was now able to identify much more complex and sophisticated cultural patterns than she had at the beginning of the lesson. In Table 17, I divide Avery's blog into numbered sections for ease of discussion.

Table 17: Avery reflects on her learning in the Reading a classroom space lesson

	Avery Dunbar's blog
	Blog Posting #4: What has the space told us about the culture of Challenge Charter High School?
1	space is a much more observable concept than i thought it could be. people do not necessarily think about how space is used and what it tells the observers. space can tell so much about the folk group, if you simply take the time to look more deeply into it.
2	i have never really thought about what the space at Challenge High has told us, but now i

Table 17 continued

	realized alot of things.
3	the space in our classroom tells about who is in more power. the teachers tend to have their own space and it is student free, meaning no students can got here. then you can tell who has more power within the teachers. the that teacher talks to others, the space that they have designated to them and much more can be told about a teacher in particular to tell their story.
4	space also tells us what we value here. many people here value the knowledge of other cultures and countries. therefor we fill our wall space with posters and maps of other countries.

In her first paragraph, Avery restates her reflection from the end of the small group work. Her statement also reworks her ideas about how space is used that she began puzzling over in her own drawing and gained some insights about by observing other maps. She used the before and after linguistic marker of impact that gives indicators to her starting point when this lesson began. She states she had not thought space was a very observable concept, so was surprised at how much an attentive observer could learn about a folk group through the space they occupy. Her statement reflects her developing respect and confidence in inquiry methods as a means to learning about groups through the cultural aspects of their spaces. Space to her is now something that can be read by observers who know to and know how to look. But she feels most, including the group themselves, do not know this. She is beginning to know what it takes to be such a knowledgeable observer.

Each activity in this lesson's sequence focused her deeper and deeper looking into the culture of her own folk group. In paragraph 2, she again uses a before and after linguistic marker to signal how much she learned. Before she was like most people and didn't think much about the classroom space she was in and now she knew lots of things about her own folk group.

Paragraphs 3 and 4 contain some examples of the many things she learned about the workings of her folk group from this lesson. Her discussion about power dynamics within the folk group is the next iteration of her musings about private and communal spaces within the

room. This time, she expands further upon her own ideas by integrating them with ideas she gained from the whole class discussion as she tries to figure out the meanings in the data. She describes the relative power of teachers and students as evidenced by the teacher's desk being a no-student zone. She then goes into describing the evidences for determining the relative power between the teachers, an idea she first encountered in the class discussion. She draws heavily upon the whole class discussion yet highlights the topics she verbally participated in, space differential between teachers and observing teacher conversations. In her reflection she lists three evidences, thus demonstrating that she grasped the concept of triangulating data, even if she did not use that vocabulary word to describe what she was doing.

With the help of the technology used in data collection, I could trace Avery's learning path in great detail. Though she learned multiple things in this *Reading a classroom* space lesson, I have tried to maintain the focus on her learning about the workings of culture within a folk group. Through the sequence of learning activities in the lesson, Avery gained new insights into how intangible aspects of her familiar folk group were expressed in the tangible practices within the classroom space. She further realized that the ways these values were expressed in the arrangement and use of their space by the folk group were always evident. However, neither she, nor most of her classmates at this point in the course, knew to read the tangibles to make the intangible aspects of the group more visible. By the end of the lesson, Avery and her classmates not only knew that cultural information encoded in the visible practices was readily available to be read, but they knew how to do so, and they were beginning to learn some important skills for figuring out the meanings of how culture worked.

Though Avery found every new revelation in this lesson of interest, she kept returning to a few concepts to refine and deepen her insights about them to see what meanings they

contained. She made good use of the ideas of her classmates and teachers as inputs to help her with this process. Her growth in thinking about concepts, like the relationship between teacher's private desk and students' communal spaces, was evident throughout the lesson.

Interestingly, when the lesson ended, Avery did not stop thinking about this cultural process topic. She provided evidence that she did not assume that she had learned all there was to know about this issue. She wanted to learn more and deepen her awareness by figuring out more of the cultural dynamic. The midterm project to investigate the culture of the whole school followed the *Reading a classroom* space lesson. In the midterm, Avery chose to map the whole school charting the location of teacher only spaces and student only spaces throughout the building. Avery had found a cultural concept of interest to her and she was motivated to learn more and more about it. Reading spaces for the culture information they contained about the folk groups who used the spaces was a useful tool to Avery that she continued to utilize in her investigations.

The first impact of this lesson that Avery described was that she began to learn things about her own culture that she had never known before. There had been much in her familiar classroom folk group that was unknown to her, not because it was kept from her, but because she did not know what she did not know. By lesson's end, she knew more of what to look for, and what to ask, to investigate the workings of folk groups. Avery learned about the cultural process workings of folk groups, in particular that there were links existing between tangible and intangible traditions. Intertwined with learning the concepts about and specifics of the workings of folk groups was her learning about how to investigate them. Her learning of how to investigate the workings of folk groups toward figuring out the deeper cultural meanings within them was the second, and equally impactful, insight gained in this lesson according to Avery.

In addition to the two impacts Avery mentioned, there was one other impactful learning process for her and her classmates. But it was one that she, and they, demonstrated but did not discuss. This was the process of sharing and gaining insights from and with others in a learning community. The detailed tracing of Avery's participation and learning in this lesson showed just how important learning from and with others was to her. Avery built dimensions to her understanding pulled from interactions with others and their ideas, from other students' points of view.

The inductive and deductive approaches that the teachers were teaching the class in this lesson to help students identify patterns were both useful to Avery and the other students. The inductive approach involved attentive observations and detailed descriptions of multiple points of data to be able to compare them and see how they were similar or different. Avery and others could describe the cultural data in great detail but still struggled with easily seeing the patterns it contained. The students, as Avery demonstrated, found that attending to the missing data was quite a useful technique for focusing their noticing since it forced them to make connections to their prior knowledge with comparable situations to discern what was different. The "what's missing" technique served as a starting point for deepening the students' observations by connecting them to their prior experiences. Alice demonstrated that there also might be potential with a technique the teachers used in an earlier lesson of asking students to "state the rules" that explain the pattern they are seeing. The deductive approach, which started with a hypothesis about a deep culture value, involved a different pathway for identifying patterns. By starting with the value, students could sift through their knowledge of the group's culture to find various examples where the practices aligned into a pattern that supported it. Using a hypothesis also served as a starting point into deepening inquiry.

This lesson shows a relationship between the Basic and Advanced Levels with students'
increasing skills on the Basic Level contributing to developing Advanced Level skill in Making
meaning. The lesson also shows the process of *Making meaning* students experienced and the
complexities involved in trying to figure out meanings. This lesson took place fairly early in the
course and did not show in Avery's experience that she had yet gained any of the specific
Advanced Level Awareness content components I discussed in this chapter. For her, these
emerged later in the course when instruction shifted to assisting the students with directing their
own learning into the data they selected for their final project. Even though it took Avery more
time and experiences with *Making meaning* to articulate culture's workings, when I examined
the learning of her classmates in the *Reading a classroom* lesson, three students did describe
Advanced Level Awareness content components in their final reflections on the lesson: Robb
discussed *Equality of cultures*, Fiona discussed *Ubiquity of culture*, and Erik described his *Own*
biases. The detailed description of the lesson as Avery experienced it demonstrates the
relationship between the Advanced Level component of *Making meaning* as a process and the
emergence of a content set of very individualized Advanced Level Awareness meanings from
engaging in that process. The lesson showed how when the instruction focused upon teaching
meaning making skills, the teachers provided open space for students to discover culture's
meanings for themselves, inputs resulted in both the development of the skills and in outputs that
extended the lesson into concepts that were not part of the intended goal for the lesson. Some
students were immediately able to synergistically connect to fundamental understandings about
culture as a part of that lesson, whilst most other students needed more time and experiences
with the process to begin to generate that type of deep understanding about culture in their own
and in others' lives.

7.2   ADVANCED PROCESS OF DEVELOPING THE CAPACITY TO ACT

Within the Advanced Level of my diagram for Developing the Capacity for Tolerance are two fundamentally different kinds of capacities students demonstrated they were gaining, one related to thinking and the other to doing. Each is represented on a ring within the Advanced Level. The inner of the two rings, discussed above, is students' increasing capacity to be aware and develop various awarenesses about how culture works, indicating the development of the capacity for tolerant thinking. Now I turn to discussing the outmost ring, students' increasing capacity to act and take various cultural actions that promote positive intercultural relationships. This ring examines the development of the capacity for doing tolerant actions. This ring is anchored with a process component, *Fostering cultural action*, which bears similarities to *Making meaning*. This process component describes important instructional inputs that generated the output that I clustered into the other six Advanced Level Action content components discussed by the students. Again, like the Advanced Level Awareness ring, many more Advanced Level Action content components could be possible.

7.2.1   Defining the process of *Fostering cultural action*

The Advanced Level component of *Fostering cultural action* occurs when students discuss that they were developing the skills to act in intercultural interaction situations. In this course, when students described what they were or would be better equipped to do in cultural situations, they expressed these positive cultural actions with a new-found confidence. The skills that students discussed that held promise to equip them to act extended out from their growing capacity for

understanding culture's workings, but what students described reflected more than a capacity for thinking: it reflected a capacity for doing and committing to acting.

It is not possible for teachers of a school course to design into it opportunities for students to practice all the cultural actions students could possibly need in future intercultural interactions. But it is possible for teachers to craft opportunities for students to imagine future actions, to practice them in some form, and to develop the confidence in themselves as capable to apply their skills when in future cultural situations. Developing deep understanding of culture and its processes as students did in the Advanced Awareness Level is essential, but taking the next step of developing the capacity for applying knowledge gained into actions that promote positive intercultural relationships is equally important for harmonious functioning in a multi-cultural society.

As we have been seeing throughout my descriptions of the Basic Level and Advanced Level teaching and learning, teachers in this course provided both teacher-directed instruction and ample opportunities for students to self-direct their learning in the practice of the skills of investigating culture and making meaning from the data they gathered. The synthesizing projects of the midterm project investigating the culture of the school and final project investigating the culture of urban public space, developed students' skills for thinking and required them to actively apply, or do, these skills in a structured setting. These experiential learning activities build skills for doing and taking action layered upon the skills for thinking. But teachers went further in their instruction toward developing a longer-lasting impact. Teachers challenged students to internalize the skills they were learning and to imagine the utility of the skills in the students' lives inside and outside of school both now and in the future. Challenge High teachers

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relied heavily upon written reflection questions as their primary instructional tool to do this within the limited time they had in the course.

Teachers guidance of their students through reflection and synthesizing projects were the observable intentional instructional inputs toward developing students' skills needed for *Fostering cultural action*. The most pointed of the reflective questions for guiding students to internalize and imagine doing was one of the final exam questions, "Of the many ideas you learned in this course, which ones do you think are going to be most useful to you when you go into new situations in your life? Why do you think these ideas will be useful to you?" By reflecting on the utility of what they were learning, students imagined and wrote about being in future cultural situations and doing and taking action within them. That reflective question yielded students describing many important situations that they imagined needing to take cultural action and articulating what they might do within them.

In my examination of students' imagined actions, I found within their writing actions that clustered, which I present below as the Advanced Level Action ring content components. As with the Awareness components featured on the Advanced Level Awareness ring, these Action components students imagined exemplify but a few of the many more that are possible and could be located on the ring. These future actions students imagined were one set of outputs, content outputs, from the inputs of instruction at the Advanced Level. But before I discuss these, I discuss another set of inputs, inputs that describe the process students were experiencing, which I have clustered in the Advanced Level Action component of *Fostering cultural action*.

In their writing, students discussed their experience of this course's folklife education instruction and shared insights that highlight what within their learning experience made a difference for them toward developing their capacity for *Fostering cultural action*. Almost all

students in the course (23 out of 24) expressed their developing capacities with meta-cognitive cognizance of how these new skills were shifting their ways of interacting with the cultural world. They discussed this shift in terms of how they now were, or could, approaching cultural situations in ways they did not, or could not, before. Students expressed confidence in the new skills that they felt proficient in doing and could use. Students recognized that because of this folklife education course, they could now productively study culture and see cultures' invisible aspects. Student discussions of their recognition of their mastery of the process of discerning cultural processes were not just statements of "Now I see and understand x." Their statements indicated that some change had occurred in how they approached the cultural world that was or would impact their actions taken within it.

Almost all students were aware that what they were learning in this course was changing them and becoming part of their way of being, hence, they described developing a new habit of mind. Descriptors some students used for the experience included "life changing" and "humbling." Nineteen students discussed this change in their reflection on the question on usefulness in the final exam. For three of the students, responding to that reflective prompt was the only time they did discuss the change, *pointing to the importance of such a tightly focused reflective question for some students in developing their capacity for fostering action.* The other twenty students discussed this change they were experiencing one to five different times in reflective writing assignments throughout the course with the majority of the references occurring in the second half of the course (weeks 5-8). Though students mostly reserved their discussions of the change they were experiencing for their individual introspective writing, occasionally, students would talk about the changes they felt with other students as part of group deliberations about shared experiences. In a blog discussion, for example, Luis asked Aaron if

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the new knowledge they were gaining was going to change the way he behaved outside of class around others. At that point in the course, Aaron replied, "@Luis Not really, I still plan on doing the same things downtown even with this new knowledge." By course end, Aaron did indicate this new knowledge was causing him to rethink his actions. Within the final exam, Aaron was actively reflecting on the cultural situations he intended to use his new knowledge to help him productively function.

In student discussions of their developing capacity for *Fostering cultural action*, I found they primarily discussed four aspects of their experience: *See what others cannot see about culture, Connect with another person's experience, Explore cultural situations more systematically*, and *Maintain greater self-control over their actions*. Each aspect is an action they could do coupled with the skills they were gaining that made it possible for them to perform that action. Like every other set of learning experience at the Advanced Level, student experiences were unique, but by gathering together the aspects into a set, I present them as instructional practice recommendations. Though there isn't a particular order to these aspects of developing the capacity for *Fostering cultural action*, the aspects build upon and extend Basic Level skills of *Attending to the ordinary*, *Shifting points of view*, and Advanced Level skills of *Making meaning*, so I have placed them roughly in that order.

7.2.1.1 See what others cannot see about culture

The aspect students discussed the most as impacting them in developing a capacity for *Fostering cultural action* was that they could *See what others cannot see about culture*. They attributed this change in their way of being in the world and acting within it to their learning, and now knowing, how to use the skills of observation to attend to cultural detail. Students valued what they were learning to do and how accomplished it made them feel. Almost all the students (21

out of 23) who discussed *Fostering cultural action*, described this aspect of their experience. When the students described the cultural information others could not see, they not only articulated their confidence in being able to see what others could not, but they were able to attribute their ability of being able to do this seeing to being able to do closer observation of cultural details. At the same time, they knew that having this knowledge made them somewhat unique since few other students had opportunities (referring to this folklife education course) to gain it. They knew that what they were learning was something they could keep using and so discussed integrating these useful new skills and knowledge into their beings. As one of the students, Andrew, eloquently stated, "I'd like to think that my perspective as it is now will carry on to my later life."

Andrew, discussed his growing skills in looking "with a finer attention to detail" as a learned skill, one he learned in this course. Rebecca stated, "so now since i had Anthro class i look around to myself and just see what other people do." Andrew and Rebecca were amongst the students expressing the perspective that the skill of detailed observation was a skill to be learned in an instructional setting. They directly attributed their ideas about how others could not see this way to these others having never learned how to do it.

One of their classmates, Bryce, did not share fully share their perspective about this being a learned skill. His perspective was more that others innately knew how to attend to detailed observation. Early in the course, Bryce described how "Not everyone sees these connections" but he explained this to himself as others not being focused on the observing they were doing. He mused that if others would "really look at all of the…" cultural details he was viewing then these connections could become evident to them too. But as the weeks went on, he found he was not encountering others outside of his classmates in this course who appeared to be doing this type of

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detailed noticing. He tried to puzzle out what this difference was in what he and his classmates could do that others could not. He speculated, "people don't usually exercise the part of their brain that uses memory and observation and these are important elements to exercise." Bryce held to his thought that others could do this type of detailed observation, but didn't, perhaps because they weren't interested in trying to do it.

Akim and Robb added more details about how this way of looking at cultural details was becoming a habitual way of acting in the community daily for them. Their internalization of this essentially Basic Level skill so they applied it all the time expanded the base skill to an Advanced Level. Akim expounded on the cultural details that he was now seeing each day on his way to and from school as his new norm for seeing others. "Just by walking downtown I can notice everyone has their own unique," is how Akim wrote about his experience. As Robb stated, "If you really look at everything there is a lot to take notice to in everything." Developing their skills of observation of cultural detail was greatly impacting these students' way of acting and interacting with the cultural world around them all the time. It was a changed way-of-being experience that they knew others who were not in their folklife education class were not sharing with them.

7.2.1.2 Connect with another person's experience

Another action aspect students experienced as a changed way of interacting with others was to *Connect with another person's experience* by using skills for shifting their perspectives to look outside from the inside of that person's point of view. Twelve students discussed this changed approach to interacting with others and how this impacted the way they acted now or in the future. Tara expressed the new skills she could do as "Overall, what I've learned throughout my experience is that I get to listen and understand from another person's experience." Alice

explained the aspect as her being "capable of understanding others' processes" because of her developed understanding of cultural processes. This was important and useful to Alice because it "helps me understand people for certain levels of trust and understanding." With better understanding and trust of others based upon seeing their perspective, Alice was describing how useful this aspect would be to her future interactions with culturally different others.

Harris articulated his changed way of approaching interactions with others as "the class had kind of taught me more about looking at the outside from the inside. So how people are looking at me is what I've become better at." His expressions of confidence in using this perspective-shifting skill indicate his comfort with having this changed way of acting in cultural situations become a feature of his cultural action repertoire.

Andrew was very focused on this change he was experiencing and discussed it in multiple reflective posts throughout the second half of the course. The experiential interactions students had with culturally different others in the interviews and tours were important instructional inputs for him, as these were for all the others discussing this aspect. Andrew first described the change in how he was interacting in the world as, "After the tour I did start to take note of how public places make me feel uncomfortable or odd." By changing what he did to attend more deeply to how public spaces influenced different people, Andrew discussed the impact he was experiencing from doing this as, "an understanding of different perspectives of space is important, and allows us to see how others may see a space differently from us." Andrew had been applying his changed way of perceiving other's experiences for a few weeks. In his response to the reflective question on using and applying what he learned in the future, he further indicated how important this way of being in the world was to him. He explained what actions he planned to keep doing, "I'm going to try and apply things like making spaces feel

comfortable, and I'll definitely try to avoid any situations like the ones in class that were uncomfortable. I don't know how long I'll remember these things, so I can't say for sure if they'll actually impact me in a few years, but I'd like to think that my perspective as it is now will carry on to my later life."

Gary and Erik both strongly echoed Andrew's valuation of the importance of this aspect. As Erik wrote of his new way of perceiving others, "I think that will stick with me because in College we'll be in each others' public space a lot and it is probably good to know that others may not have the same openness or restrictions as me."

Having engaged in experiential learning activities that provided opportunities for students to connect with others' points of view was fundamentally Basic Level instruction. Consciously recognizing that this skill was valuable and desiring to continue to apply it a new way of interacting within cultural difference situations was Advanced Level. By adopting and using this skill as a regular feature of their interaction skill set students were, and would continue to, develop their capacity for *Fostering cultural action* in the present and in the future.

7.2.1.3 Explore cultural situations more systematically

The next aspect of their experience that four of the students discussed was their changed approach to exploring cultural situations by being more systematic to first observe effects and contexts and then think deeply about why whatever they were exploring was happening. As students described it, using this changed approach helped clarify the complex messiness of culture and make a cultural situation more understandable so the student could better figure out what to do within it.

Robb illustrates this aspect when he explained his systematic approach for listing and categorizing cultural information as he observed it, including how he worked with cultural

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conceptual terms to help him do this. Robb further described how this way of interacting in the cultural world had become a changed way of acting for him when he declared, "Even though my mind will do it subconsciously." Robb valued this new way of being he learned in this course and what using it could help him do in the future. "I will be able to more accurately identify the members of folk groups and understand their belief system. This will help me make better decisions in my relationships wherever I go." With these statements, Robb was expressing intentionality to continue using this changed way of acting and make it a regular feature of his future participation in the cultural world.

Geno chose to give this aspect a name. He described the change as "now since I've taken this class, I look at it more of a Anthropologist point of view." He attributed this changed way of being to his having "developed some sort of Anthropology skills." In his lengthy reflection describing these new skills, Geno broke them down to show how these skills he now used were systematic. "Observing the area around it and what effect it has on that area, thinking why it's happening and then pointing up the facts of what I see…. I can observe why I do this and what actually happens during these traditions… Subjective and objective thoughts… What I think that is going to happen vs. what the straight facts are, what I see.." He contrasted his changed way of approaching cultural situations to how he used to be surface "Before this class I would just say I do this because I'm Italian or something along those lines" or dismissive "whenever I would see something that's strange or not normal, my observation of that would just be 'that's really weird.'" With the meta-cognitive recognition that a change has happened in how he does something "I can see a difference for when I'm observing something," coupled with his valuing the change "it surprisingly helps me. It helps me think about situations in a more clear way for me to understand," Geno articulates that the change is internalized. "I think that this is a very

helpful skill for me to use further on in my future." Recognizing that they were becoming proficient in using a systematic approach to exploring cultural situations was an Advanced Level aspect of the student experience in this course. Having a strategy that they knew was effective and helpful to them increased their confidence that they were better equipped to use the systematic approach to understand cultural situations and take appropriate cultural actions as they encountered them in their lives.

7.2.1.4 Maintain greater self-control over their actions

The fourth *Fostering cultural action* aspect I found that students described experiencing was their maintaining greater self-control over their actions because of their increased knowledge about how culture is shaping what they do. Six students discussed this experience at the end of the course. Rhianna described how "I'll know how to conduct myself in front of people of other cultures" because "I learned in this class … about how people of different cultures find little things disrespectful that other cultures don't mind." This self-awareness about how others may perceive her as disrespectful was something she felt could help her modify and maintain greater self-control over what she did and would do when meeting people of different cultures.

For Tara, she described the self-control she would exert over physical boundaries – both staying within her space boundaries and staying out of other's personal spaces. She connected this to her learning about the cultural aspects of space. Tara wrote, "I've learned that public space is shared all around us, and that we have to be courteous of one another's space." Randall too described the self-control he would be better able to exert in "interacting well and being respectful of people in and out of work." Randall took the liberty of not only speaking for himself, but also for his classmates. He expressed how important this aspect of maintaining self-

control would be for helping them be more successful as adults. As Randall generalized, "I think the proper workplace behavior will be key for most of us."

Bryce, with his relentless efforts to figure things out, explained how important knowing how culture works was for modifying what actions he could anticipate taking. "I also think it is important to know what sort of influence space has on your actions so that you have more self control over your actions and know why you do the things you do." The knowledge gained from reading the cultural information around him was an important feature for increasing his capacity for making the choices of what actions to take or not take. It was empowering for Bryce and his classmates to realize that several of the skills they had developed in the course - of observing with great detail, perceiving other's perspectives, pursuing inquiry into culture systematically, and making meaning about the cultural world - were useful skills for improving their capacity to act, and to remain in control of their actions, both now and in the future.

Developing the skills students discussed in these four aspects of *Fostering cultural action* stemmed from instruction-focused processes students experienced on the Basic Level and the Advanced Level Awareness ring. I discussed on these earlier levels how developing these skills impacted the students by helping them think about or know culture in deeper or more complex ways. What students experienced on the Advanced Level Action ring of *Fostering cultural action* is the process of becoming meta-cognitively aware that using these skills was making, and would make, it more possible for them to act within cultural situations they encounter. The students could imagine how these skills had utility to help them see what others could not about culture, connect with culturally different others they would encounter in the unknown places their future directions would take them into, explore cultural situations in systematic ways, and

maintain greater self-control over their own actions in settings where they wanted to experience success.

Developing the skills and considering the utility of the skills were essential steps toward increasing students consideration of the skills as important and valuable. Accompanying the increasing valuation were indicators of internalization as students began to integrate these skills into who they were as actors. Increased self-awareness about what changes were taking place within how students approached the cultural world coupled with increased self-confidence in their skills and how to use them in various situations was the essence of the learning experience encapsulated in the Advanced Level Action ring process component of developing the capacity for *Fostering cultural action*. Teachers' role in balancing sufficient, but limited, structure with empowering opportunities for students to take control of their own learning processes and expand upon them was not so evident to the students, but it is essential to their developing the capacity to *Foster cultural action* and integrate tolerance into their way of being in the world.

7.2.2   Components exhibited in developing the capacity to act

With the inputs described in the Advanced Level process component of *Fostering cultural action*, students described specific outputs of actions they could take. The next six Advanced Level Action components are content components and contain thematic clusters from different students' reflections upon anticipated continuing actions. All students in the course discussed taking one or more future actions on this ring, based on their meta-cognitive awareness of their new capacities. However, each student's profile of how many and which ones of these content action components are very individualized, just as their profile of content components describing cultural processes was on the Advanced Level Awareness ring. I describe the content of each

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Advanced Level Action component I found express with this group of students in alphabetical order and use verbs to title them in keeping with students' intentions to do these actions in the future.

7.2.2.1 *Be an ally for change*

Since I am following alphabetical order to discuss the Advanced Level Action components, the first one is *Be an ally for change.* In this component, eighteen students discussed the process used to make positive changes within the community. This Advanced Level Action component contains the students' increasing awareness of the change process from identifying what changes have happened and are needed, to meeting others who work to make change happen, and to considering how they could potentially become part of the change making process. Zephira expressed her personal imagining of doing this communal focused action in Week 5, "It would be an amazing feeling that you could make a difference in the world." In Week 7 as Avery was working on her final project that was focused upon changes in downtown, she reflected how "it helps me to understand what i personally can do to help."

This course's emphasis on the cultural aspects of public space provided an opening for many of the community members students interviewed to share their perspectives on community problems and changes that had happened or needed to happen. Social justice action taking was not part of the course design, but observing the non-static, ever-changing nature of culture and how culture works was. Student interactions with community members, including some who were quite invested in the public spaces, provided opportunities for students to examine what it takes to be deeply committed to maintaining and improving their community through the actions they had taken in their lives. Sixteen students began to discuss the *Be an ally for change* component during the interviews with senior citizens and community members who took the

class on tours of downtown in Week 5. The other two students discussing this component started their discussions as early as Week 3 of the course, so I will look more closely at them in a moment.

Eleven of the students used the information they gained from their community member interviews about changes to downtown and how these changes happened as significant parts of their final synthesizing powerpoint projects. Avery selected to describe what she was understanding of the process of making change in detail to her classmates in her final project, referencing what she learned in the tours. "This is what I have learned about the change process. I learned this from Riley B because he addressed the issues involving homeless. First, people have ideas about fixing the problem based on their experience with the problem people. Since he works downtown and lives with this problem everyday, he could talk it in ways that I could relate to and see his perspective on it. Change Process Continued: Then people tell others about their idea and other people understand and agree with their thinking. Put action to idea. Veronica C showed me how her organization made changes they felt needed based upon problems their founder had a passion about. What I see is that it is all about passion Change comes from passion." By being introduced to community members' authentic opinions and approaches to solving life and social problems, students become aware of the funds of knowledge held by others in the community (Moll et al., 1992) and the resource of collectively working with others interested in an issue to make social change. As Avery had noted, it is extremely important to have an idea that you are passionate about, but it is not enough. Putting an idea into practice required the social cultural dynamics of being part of a group of like-minded others on the face-to-face interaction level, in other words, being part of what these students had learned in this course were folk groups.

Though many students in the course did describe changes in downtown, only those whose discussions indicated they were grappling with one or more steps in the change process, of first pinpointing the needs and problems and then finding other allies for making change happen, were included in this Advanced Level Action component because it demonstrated that these students were puzzling out how to take future action for social change. Akim revealed his understanding of the first step in the change process, of identifying needed change, as he described the tour guide from the cultural trust group's thought process. "She looks at downtown and envisions how it can be improved to draw more people downtown. She envisions more residential areas downtown for people of various cultures and backgrounds." Certainly, he knew that tour guide Veronica was part of an organization working to make these very changes, but he focused upon the step of visioning of a more inclusive public space. Looking around and identifying both a need and an idea to address the issue is a solid beginning toward finding others who ally with your perspective.

Students discussed the next step in how change happens of allying with others when they described change agents and cultural groups collectively addressing needed social change. Very concrete thinker Mimi and abstract thinker Zephira both expressed the important role of groups (cleaning teams, cultural trust, churches) in the change process. Mimi outlined the process in her project as "The things I'm talking about in my project are the society changes, place changes and how time passes and change happens when it does pass. There are physical changes in the city… There are social problems… There was a a lot of dirt and pollution in the old days but now it is starting to change… Changes have happen because the city has Cleaning teams, the Cultural Trust helping and the Church on Smithton is assisting the homeless with basic necessities." Zephira, in discussing how she was structuring her final project, states how she "compares past

to present it just kind of gives an outline to WHO is making these changes like the cultural trust things like that." Students realized these groups may be formalized, but they are small, not large institutions. Students also realized these groups are accessible, as their personal interactions with members gave them an opportunity to experience.

The community members recruited by the teachers to speak with students and take them on tours were intentionally selected to represent different perspectives on and different experiences with public spaces. Teachers were striving to help students access the multi-vocality of perspectives in a culturally complex society, rather than limiting students' exposure to the major dominant-culture perspective. For some students, these multiple perspectives provided them with glimpses into the power dynamics within society that impact and shape change and change efforts. Erik was a student I had noticed who attended closely to interpersonal interaction dynamics. He discussed in his final project his emerging understanding of the intergroup interactions of competing values held by different folk groups in a society. Erik described a somewhat-broadly shared societal value for public space that he called "Lack of Beauty" that pulled some folk groups to work together to create change in a particular direction. But then he went on to show how this change agenda put them in conflict with other folk groups who did not share this value. Erik described it this way, "Society placed value on cleanliness and Smaller groups reacted. Within folk groups there are common bonds. Since there was a common but semi-separate goal to be achieved by folk groups they have a similar set of values, or common bonds. When groups of the same culture see an over all task at hand group traditions and methodology become similar… Because homeless people infringe on the 'beauty of the city' (beauty as this culture defines it) personal space of homeless individuals is invaded. The story continues. Before the Clean-Up Team and Cultural Trust, this area of downtown was dangerous

and loosely. Along came these two groups to transform this. Now the future!... Homelessness wont be such an issue. Investors will be satisfied with Our City and Invest more." It's not clear where Erik's developing sense of the power dynamics will impact his future actions, but his use of the word "invaded" in his description of the values clash of different folk groups, indicates he has developed a more nuanced understanding and will be more likely to look for multiple perspectives in future issues he may encounter and seek to take actions about for change.

Harris considered who the cultural change makers actually were and began to see a place for himself, and others like him, within groups that make change. In his final project presentation, he shared these insights with his classmates, "Overall I've noticed that people play a major role into how the public space around them is used. Forming organizations and ordinary people play major roles … Organizations like the Cultural Trust and The Clean Team are shaping and molding how public space is used. This reaffirms my belief that people dictate how public space is used around them. If it's used for good they let it go, if it's used for bad, they step in. I chose to do my project on the way that people impact cultural space because I found this the most interesting of everything that we seen. People truly impact the spaces that they want to. If it's downtown it happens very often, but not so often out of downtown." When Harris sees change as being carried out by ordinary people, he gives himself, and his classmates, a way to envision themselves as change makers by joining and forming organizations to shape and mold what is important to them.

As the students in this Advanced Level Action component discussed, the course encouraged them to look critically at existing patterns in a place, both to identify the issues and the allies and alliances that make taking action for making positive social change possible. Most of the students did not consider themselves as activists, but they became much more interested in

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collective action taking through the deeper understanding they gained by dialoging with community members representing so many perspectives. As important as the interviews and tours were to them, it was the through the analysis of data gathered and representation of findings in their final projects that helped many go beyond awareness of an issue to discover the underlying cultural change process components and the allies that were within easy reach in their own community.

Two students, Alice and Fiona, did not fit the pattern of the rest of the students in this Advanced Level Action component. Both students began their discussion of making positive changes in the community and the cultural change process in Week 3 and continued this discussion throughout the remainder of the course. They were in the same blog group and began their multi-week conversation by talking about the structure of society being oppressive to its members. They came into the course with a developed awareness about the inherently inequitable institutional power dynamics impacting community members and their comments early in the course seemed to indicate they felt a degree of powerlessness about this. As Fiona commented to Alice, "I think you're right when you say it's impossible to do anything due to the fact of how structured society is, and it goes back to what you said about how controlled we all are."

Coming into the course with strong activist proclivities helped them more readily recognize social problems and social justice aspects in the data they were gathering. But this orientation was sometimes also a hindrance for they jumped quickly to making the connections with more structural injustices making them less open to exploring other aspects of the data. When Alice first described her concept for her final project in her Week 7 blog, she was quick to frame her project as one in which the forces of structural injustices play a larger role in her

project than folk cultural forces did. She wrote, "My project is about inclusion and exclusion in public space by the powers that be. It references the casting out of the lower classes." But as her analysis developed, she settled into a focus on describing the daily folk cultural experiences of the homeless and deftly described how changes in the architecture of downtown shaped their lives. She discussed the homeless folk group's attempts to maintain their personal hygiene. "They try to get the essentials of course, but they also seem to try to keep up with societies standards [*for cleanliness*] and I had never thought of it that way before. This really helped me to understand other people's reactions to inclusion, exclusion, and power." The course helped her develop a more nuanced understanding of the needs and perspectives of the homeless, increasing her activist capabilities in developing more effective social change action ideas that she could potentially pursue someday.

For both Alice and Fiona, this course helped to give them tools for better defining social issues they were already interested in, greater confidence in themselves as future activists, and new insights into the processes for creating effective change. They were the only two students who discussed this *Be an ally for change* Advanced Level Action component in their final exam reflections upon the most important aspects of the course to them. Fiona had entered the course believing in the power of the arts for social change. In her last reflective writing activity, she described her growth in this course by discussing how important it was for her to better understand the dynamics of the cultural change process. She reflected, "I think the one that will follow me the most is that there Is never not hope for humanity and art in a city. No matter how run down or dilapidated a city or a society can be, there will always be other groups that can help you along the way. We're all in this together even if we're all strangers." Though she knew her future allies were currently strangers to her, she had gained tools in this course for identifying

future folk groups she could join with to create the change she wanted to see in her community. This course could help those students with prior proclivities for being active in community change to develop their skills further.

At the same time, the course could help students who did not have this prior investment in their community to better understanding the needs and issues in the community, steps of the change process, and how they could find other allies and become an ally for change in the future. Zephira summed up the diversity of growth students described making in this Action component in one of her blog exchanges with another student. She pointed out, "Love Your Project. It's kind of like mine just not as focused on WHO is changing it it's focused on the CHANGE in general." The students did not discuss specific actions they intend to take to make change in the community, just that they could imagine ways to work on change in the future. When students know whom to seek out and approach in the community and have the skills to investigate and attain knowledge from them, they feel confident in there always being allies who they can meet, learn from, align with, and act with in future situations.

7.2.2.2 *Be open to other cultures*

Be open to other cultures is the alphabetically next Advanced Level Action component students discussed. Half of the students in the class discussed this component. Most of these students discussed seeing cultural differences and being open to intercultural interactions as they reflected upon their learning during the final course reflective writing assignments and contemplated the useful things they had learned that they could take with them into the future. Only Rosalyn and Robb discussed this component during Week 5, the field data collection week, and they approached being open to other cultures a bit differently than the other students. Both students actively imagined what it would be like to see through the eyes of another, be it the homeless on

the city streets or the elders when they were young. They were open to setting aside their own vantage points to try and better understand the world as culturally different others experienced it.

Though Rosalyn and Robb's approach to imagining was not the specific technique the other eleven students in this component discussed later in the course, thinking and seeing differently was a commonality across all the students in this component. Aaron expressed the differences in his thinking about others this way, "This course has also helped me see different cultures. This class has opened my eyes to the different cultures that surround us. Before I didn't really care about these different cultures they were just people, but the more we talked about the uniqueness of this class and the importance and significance of the multitude of other cultures. Through this class I learned a lot about the different folk groups within those different cultures. Each of them fascinating in their own way, through this class I think differently about those different cultures." As Aaron and others described this new awareness and subsequent way of thinking, they talked about how they could now not just see cultural differences, but they found the differences intriguing, compelling them to investigate further. As Daniel put it, "outsiders seem more interesting to me now." Daniel connected this new interest with inquiry by writing, "I also try to learn more about other people's cultures." Luis expressed his inquiry strategy as, "I will take the time to learn about new cultures and evaluate them while viewing the positive things about them that make them different."

These students were expressing a shift in their approach to culturally different others. Some students talked about how when they see different cultures, they will think about their differences more and not assume that all people they meet are alike. Zephira described her new approach this way, "Many people are different, and take the world on in different ways but in some way we're all the same and there's more to people and spaces than meets the eye." She

paired her new approach to a description of what openness to others was to her by contrasting it with her prior way of thinking. "To not judge people and to just get to know them and what they're role is and how they carry themselves." This changed approach to new cultural groups, to try to understand them and discover the depth of cultural knowledge in each group that isn't initially apparent, was a shared impact by most students in this component. "This has caused me to think differently because there are many groups of people and many things that go into those groups. Before I never would think about what rules they go by or what traditions are set in those groups," described Victor. Victor, as others, talked about the specifics he would explore to achieve deeper understanding.

Like Zephira, other students discussed how their being open to other cultures would entail them setting aside their own beliefs, so they could learn from culturally different others and grow from these interactions. Like Zephira, Luis called it "Not judging others." Daniel expressed it as "I try not to create prejudices about other people's cultures." Bryce focused in on how he could set aside his prior way of thinking. "The most useful idea I have learned from this course would be to not assume that all cultures are alike. When meeting new people it is important to disregard your own beliefs and try to understand what cultures other people are coming from." Kenzo reflected upon how he saw his fellow students making this shift in thinking away from being judgmental and this was a catalyst for expanding his own openness. He wrote, "I think about other cultures in a completely different light now. This is mostly due to hearing that some people suggest that cultures doing things different from their own are wrong. Although I never felt this way, it did help me to look at the big picture."

Kenzo called this new way of thinking "big picture." Whereas most other students just described it as different. The positive tone of students' description of this change in thinking to

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be open to culturally different other shows a pattern of positivity, that such a change was welcome. Miles expressed this shift as empowering. As he wrote, "I think the most important thing that I learned in this class is to go into every situation with an open mind and experience new things without fear. I think this because if someone goes into a situation close minded then what's the point of doing anything new at all." Miles, and other students, knew they were going to encounter various cultures after high school, and they appeared to now anticipate engaging with this unknown because of the ways this course had prepared them. By developing skills and strategies, by having guided practice in exploring cultures in this course, these students experienced a shift in their way of thinking that had helped them develop a positive interest and intent to *Be open to other cultures* in the future.

7.2.2.3 *Communicate across cultures*

The next Advanced Level Action component is *Communicate across cultures.* Six students discussed various strategies for improving communication with culturally different people. These students' discussion happened throughout the course and five of the six discussed their ideas about this more than once. Very early in the course, when the conceptual term of cultural processes was first being introduced, Alice expressed her understanding of the problem underlying cultural misunderstanding as "I think people that are less aware of cultural processes are less capable of understanding others' processes." And so posited that taking time to learn another's cultural rules would reduce misunderstandings. Four of the other students discussed communication across cultures in their group's reflection of their midterm project. They felt that the act of acceptance improved their relationships with others. "We develop ways to accept that there are different folk groups and that those folk groups have different ways of doing things. We

learn to accept that and by accepting it we can get along better and learn to coexist, and even better use each other to better ourselves and our folk groups."

As the course progressed, field observations of culturally different people interacting respectfully with each other began to shape some of these same students' ideas about strategies. Strategies these students talked about were greeting others "friendly with respect," being "cautious of one another's space," and designing public buildings so newcomers could know how to access and use the public spaces.

In the final reflections at the end of the course, these students delved deeper in their thinking about communicating across cultures. Tara described her new insights into "how to stay within my own personal space and to respect the space of others around me. I've learned that public space is shared all around us, and that we have to be courteous of one another's space." This deeper awareness of herself and others helped her have strategies for interacting with different others.

In his final reflections, Randall fleshed out his ideas on miscommunications that had developed in the course. "It's helped me understand how difficult it is to explain your own culture to people of other cultures. This is because someone who has known these subtle cultural details may think of them as the norm for everyone and, therefore, unexplainable. These things are just done, no explanation required. This is a major reason why intercultural communications fail as often as they do." It is Randall's insights into the lack of articulation of cultural practices coupled with the assumptions that these practices could be considered normative, especially for those with privilege within a society, which were giving him pause. As a White male, he was maximizing the opportunity folklife education provides for students to learn about their own culture. Randall stated, "I learned how to interact appropriately with other cultures and that I had

been going about said interactions the wrong way." His approach to interactions now included

looking for cultural variations in ordinary things to see "how it differs from culture to culture."

Robb too focused on learning more about his own culture. He discussed how this course

was useful to him in figuring out how to improve cross-cultural communication within his own

family. He felt that knowing how culture was structured with tangible and intangible traditions

and cultural processes had provided him with a framework for finding similarities that he could

use to build a better relationship with his immigrant mother. "I've begun to think about cultures

as structured groups rather than an alien I will never fully understand. Because my mother was

born in raised in Beijing, China, I have a much different culture than her, but things like

traditions, beliefs, and values are all things that we can talk about and possibly relate to." Robb

had been recruited for this class because the teachers sought his help with the technology being

used in the course. Robb was very single focused on his anticipated career in digital imagery

technology. From my perspective, he seemed to tap into his intellectual self a great deal and he

maintained a certain distance from others.

Based upon his final reflections, it appears the course allowed space for Robb to work on

what it means to be bicultural. *Being biracial does not instantly make someone bicultural.*

Robb's all-American outward persona was apparently also internalized at a cost to his

connection to his mother. The knowledge Robb gained in this course gave him a strategy for

connecting more deeply with her. Knowing what lay in the deep culture landscape, and equipped

with the tools for inquiry and the confidence that he could be a successful inquirer, Robb was

empowered to explore the cultural unknowns within his own family and continue his work on

what it means to have a foot in two cultures.

In the *Communicate across cultures* component, the actions students discussed were strategies for interacting with culturally different others that were rooted in deeper self-awareness. Specific strategies ranged from regulating aspects of their own attitudes and behaviors, like being more respectful or accepting and not looking down on others, to initiating interactions by breaking the tension when around folk groups in which they were not members. As these students showed, they gained much needed confidence from developing strategies for encountering the culturally diverse settings in their future.

7.2.2.4 *Gain access to new folk groups*

In the Advanced Level Action component of *Gain access to new folk groups,* fifteen (15) students talked about how they would be going into new situations as they graduated from high school and they would need to establish relationships with those who were there. Although Alice discussed how a classmate, Robb, would need to gain access to new folk groups in the workplace of his intended future career in Week 3, most students did not consider this application of their knowledge until the end of the course. Alice and fourteen other students all discussed this use of the knowledge they gained in this course in their reflective writing in the final exam in Week 8 when they were looking back at the whole experience. Students talked about the importance of their understanding folk group dynamics and how to figure out the rules and traditions of the groups as they anticipated using what they learned toward becoming socially accepted by others in the next phase of their lives.

A third of the students who discussed this component, did not reference a specific category of folk groups, and made comments that applied generally to gaining entry into any folk groups found in any situation. Half the students discussed how to become part of folk groups in

college, three specified workspace folk groups, and four specified accessing groups in community settings.

Being able to identify folk groups was one useful skill students discussed. This could be as basic as figuring out which groups are there when the student is the newcomer. As Aaron discussed, "I think that recognizing the different folk groups is going to be the most useful. This technique that I acquired through this course is going to help a lot. I can familiarize myself with these different folk groups." Robb expressed a great deal of confidence with this skill. He stated, "I think the idea of folk groups will be more important. I will notice almost immediately who belongs in each group." Identifying the folk groups in a new place is the first skill, and was often paired with the next skill of figuring out the folk groups' traditions. As Aaron put it, "Understanding how each folk group works can help a great deal." Victor was more specific in discussing this skill, "I will need to know the rules and traditions of the new groups I will be meeting. I will need to know what rules are in place." Robb reiterated his confidence in having acquired this new skill of reading the tangible and intangible traditions of folk groups. "Even though my mind will do it subconsciously, I will be able to more accurately identify the members of folk groups and understand their belief system."

Some students discussed their concerns about being accepted in a new place in the next phase of their lives and the usefulness of the skills in this course toward fitting in. Akim expressed his worries, "The idea I think that will help me the most is not being an outsider to a folk group. Whether it's in a community, at a college or at a job I don't want to be seen a social outsider." He then went on to describe specific skills he gained in the course in "reading" people. Many other students also discussed the importance of learning about the cultural meanings of spaces between people as a useful skill in gaining access to new folk groups. Tara stated how she

would use her new proxemics knowledge to "be courteous of one another's space." Mimi specified the importance of "don't get real up close" because of how it would hinder her acceptance into new folk groups by potentially causing others to become "uncomfortable and get nervous." Gary discussed his new skills as being useful to "understand certain people's emotions in certain areas, and adapt accordingly."

Students discussed how their new skills of reading people's cultures considered cultural differences and improved their ability to be more nuanced and appropriate in their responses to others. Rhiana expressed the importance of her learning "about how people of different cultures find little things disrespectful that other cultures don't mind… That will help me because I'll know how to conduct myself in front of people of other cultures." Some students shared Rhiana's points about how the skills they gained would help them not offend, while other students, like Victor, discussed their new skills in proactive terms such as improving his ability to "cooperate with people." Avery detailed her strategy for gaining access to a folk group. "It is interesting to go places and you just know that you do not belong in that folk group. And you can feel that you do not belong there. I will go places and try to break that tension… It [the course] really made me think about how I should and shouldn't act."

Several students noted the importance of figuring out the folk groups in their futures encounters, not just so they could join them, but so they could circumvent membership or involvement in them. Andrew saw utility in the skills he learned to help equip him to "avoid" uncomfortable situations and groups. Aaron put it this way, "It helps in a way that I can identify the different folk groups and which ones I belong to and which ones to avoid." Robb pointed out how "This will help me make better decisions in my relationships wherever I go" in acknowledgement of the importance of his discerning which folk groups he should not belong to

or seek to access. Alice took application of the skills she learned around folk groups one step further when she saw utility in knowing how to manipulate folk group dynamics to "make it uncomfortable" for others and gain needed distance.

Certainly no one should strive to be a member of every folk group, but Bryce and Rosalyn discussed how what they learned in this course would enable them to gain access to developing collegial working relationships with folk groups that they were not seeking membership within. Rosalyn sought to "be able to have a civil relationship with them [those she disagreed with] more easily" and could see the importance of her understanding that "it is just part of their culture to do those things" as a useful strategy. Bryce articulated that he could anticipate how those he might meet would not respond well "if they are constantly being judged and unaccepted for who they are." Bryce described the new skills he considered most important to use as "disregard your own beliefs and try to understand what cultures other people are coming from."

The students in this course knew that they were about to encounter many new and different cultures as they left high school and could see the utility in having learned how to investigate the folk groups of their future workplaces, communities or college settings. Students anticipated needing to identify and explore the culture of folk groups, so they could select which folk groups to interact with or join, as well as those to avoid. Through the strategies they discussed, students articulated the knowledge and skills gained in this course that they would use to usefully apply the understandings they gained in this course in this Advanced Level Action component of *Gaining access to folk groups*.

7.2.2.5 *Meld cultural practices*

This Advanced Level Action component contains the deepest level of respect and appreciation for other cultures I saw expressed in this course. The *Meld cultural practices* component was only discussed by Rosalyn, the student who was the most advanced in her understanding of culture and its dynamics. This Advanced Level Action component does potentially involve adopting cultural practices from a cultural group that one does not have membership within, but it is inherently different from a practice that can happen in intercultural contact situations of cultural appropriation. Rosalyn described the practice she envisioned, a practice I titled *Meld cultural practices*, as involving the recognition of a problem in one's own culture and using skills to discover how another culture fulfills that same cultural process. In examining how another culture may do things similarly, she would learn from them, and apply her learning to her own culture to enact change.

At the very end of the course, in the reflective questions of the final exam, Rosalyn discussed intentionally seeking to allow another culture to change her. She wrote, "The second idea I came up with, that we should adopt positive things about another's culture, would be useful because if I can adopt part of a culture someone else has, that gives me something I can connect with and agree with them on. It doesn't mean we will be best friends but it would make my life that much easier." She discussed appreciating aspects of other cultures and exploring how these aspects, perhaps if adapted and adopted in her own life, could help her become a "better version" of herself. "The cooler more productive thing to do would be to look at what the culture does and see if there are things that could help you be a better version of yourself. If there is possibly adopt it. That is a lot to ask of someone though." Rosalyn was speaking from a

perspective that reflected very advanced appreciation of other cultures that drew upon her lived childhood experiences growing up in Ethiopia.

Rosalyn came to this course on culture from a very different place than the rest of the students. Her background enabled her to leap into the curriculum whilst everyone else was slowly racketing up to the speed that she had. Even though she was ahead of the other students, she did not fit a classic profile for a leader in this class, and, there was little evidence to support that the other students were willing to follow her lead. But her advanced understanding of the content knowledge of the course lead me into new understandings about what is possible for students to gain in this type of course and how others can be helped to get to where she is.

Rosalyn was the outlier. She focused on different aspects of the course than her fellow students and brought up interesting questions that only she could ask based on her more extensive prior knowledge. She was impacted by this class, growing in her understanding of culture and showing where the study of cultural process through folklife education can and does go. Rosalyn revealed key ideas about cultivating tolerance over a lifetime based upon her long-term use of the skills that are taught and developed in folklife education and important in developing positive intercultural relationships.

Rosalyn was very average. When asked to describe herself in school, she wrote, "I identify myself with chorus, and by being the average student." Rosalyn had achieved this identity with more than just her grades: she blended in to the class and was average in so many ways. When the teachers were describing the students learning styles to the researcher, Rosalyn was just part of the large middle group of students who were not near any extreme. In a classroom setting, some students do things to have others notice them, while other students keep themselves out of the limelight. By the end of the first couple of days of class, I already knew the

names of the students who distinguished themselves in some way that drew my attention to them. Rosalyn was not in this group. She blended into the crowd. No pushing the dress code limits, no heavy makeup or jangly jewelry or elaborate hairstyle. No loud laughter, no large or rapid body movements, no excessive socializing.

On the other hand, she was not someone who sought to be invisible. She chatted and interacted with other students in times when it was appropriate to do so. Rosalyn focused on the instruction and participated in class discussions, following up on points she was trying to make if she felt she was not understood, but not seeking to dominate conversation. She consistently spoke using tones that were respectful to others, even when disagreeing with some point being made in the discussion. She was comfortable with the students and teachers, knowing and following school norms.

Rosalyn self-identified simply as Caucasian. She was like half her classmates in identifying herself with a racial marker, but not identifying herself beyond this racial marker into any ethnic group.[2] Twenty students in this class were born and raised in the city this study was in and the surrounding area. Two students started their lives in other US cities before their families relocated to this city. One student was born in Mexico and moved to this city to start school at age five. Rosalyn was the only one who spent nearly all her life growing up in another country. She was a daughter of Christian missionaries who spent many years stationed in Ethiopia, East Africa. Her family returned to the states less than three years before she took this course and she was promptly enrolled in the tenth grade at Challenge High.

Rosalyn's extensive cross-cultural experiences made her an outlier in this class. Though two other students each had one parent who came from another country (Victor - Mexico and

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[2] All of the five students who self-identified as biracial identified their ethnic groups, while half the eight Caucasian students and the majority of the eleven African American students did not identify their ethnic groups.

Robb - China), their families seemed to place less emphasis on developing that cultural heritage. Based upon the information these students shared, it would be difficult to describe these young men as bicultural. Rosalyn on the other hand, delved into the diverse cultural experiences she has had while trying to learn, adapt and participate in the traditions of her Ethiopian community.

Rosalyn came to the class with much more awareness of culture's workings than any other student in the room due to her life experiences. She explained it this way, "Because I have moved so much I am always observing what people are doing and comparing and contrasting between what I do and what they do. I am always trying to understand why I do the things I do and why other people do things the way they do it." Her experiences growing up in Ethiopia as a cultural outsider challenged her to instinctively develop her observation skills so that she could find the common ground that could provide a way for her to connect, find friends and fit in, regardless if she was in Africa or in an American city. It was her developed skills with observation of the social cultural world that she utilized in this course and tapped into when imagining the action she could take to learn from other cultures to intentionally improve herself and her culture in the Advanced Level Action component to *Meld cultural practices*.

7.2.2.6 *Use cultural rules*

The alphabetically last Action component on the Advanced Level ring is *Use cultural rules*. Most of the ten students who discussed this component talked about their increased awareness about how their behaviors, feelings, and even ways of thinking were sometimes shaped by others who intentionally applied culture rules to influence them and their behaviors – not always for the good. Though tangible and intangible rules were part of the learning activities during the first two weeks of the course, it was not until Week 4, after the Reading of the classroom space lesson, when the first two students discussed in a blog interchange how culture's rules within the

folk group of their class were influencing and shaping them. Alice commented, "There are even divisions in who we are allowed to experience our time with in a classroom. You are controlled in ways that you don't even realize. I think it's odd how they give us set people to talk to, because in that way they are telling us what our learning perspective can be towards others." Fiona replied, "I like this point that you brought up because now I realize how controlled we really are."

All the tours of the downtown spaces during Week 5 disclosed the cultural rules governing the tour guides' experience with these spaces, however students did not always immediately discuss these in their blogs that week. The urban architectural planner designed her tour to take the students into different architectural spaces and direct the students to observe how they were feeling as she discussed how the space was designed to impact emotional responses and invite people to use spaces in different ways. Five students wrote directly about their new understandings. In Victor's blog, a classmate commented, "Yeah, I probably found the human scale thing the most interesting part of what she talked about. The larger buildings being more representative of the institution has always been something I thought of, but the smaller building's comfort levels I hadn't really thought of." Rosalyn made the connection that Alice and Fiona had made before to being influenced by others in power through their control over intangible aspects of culture. Rosalyn wrote about the tour, "She mentioned that the architects designed spaces a certain way depending on the feel they wanted to convey and if they wanted people to be in that space or not. That triggered a disconcerning thought. Now I feel that through our own human wants and feelings architect (the government) is controlling where we go and how much time we spend there and we don't even realize it is that subtle."

Six students constructed their final projects in the course to feature how cultural rules in downtown spaces were used to shape people's use of these public spaces. Five of them featured the architecture of spaces impacting people's reactions and actions. Alice's project focused on how public spaces are not designed to meet needs of the homeless. In her project, she presented, "Basic architecture can change people's comfort levels. These changes make people feel less comfortable doing private things in public spaces. The inability to do these things privately makes it uncomfortable for the homeless. This affects how they act in general, along with how they behave around other people." She cited the architect's tour information to back up these points and then concluded, "This all shows that after the changes the people in power made to Market Square, homeless people were intended to be uncomfortable. This makes it so they cannot easily have intimate behaviors in public space, they are less comfortable with where to look in public, and there are unspoken rules about how strangers share public space. The homeless are not intended to share this space with people of higher classes." Alice and the others discussed this greater awareness of the subliminal manipulations of people by the design of public spaces and the power imbalances between cultural groups. Andrew described his awareness of how a subtle proxemics detail of whether a store's door is left open or closed engenders feelings of warmth or tepid welcome and influences where people choose to shop. These students describe their awareness of how architecture affects them as an action: an ability to read how others are using the cultural rules of spaces to influence what people do or feel in spaces.

Harris's project focused on what people do in public space rather than the buildings as being the most influential on other people who enter that space. He described the agency people have that is independent of whatever any architect may have hoped they feel as, "People dictate

how public space around them is used. Space can be used negatively or positively and people can impact how the space gets used." He focuses on the feelings people have when entering a space as being based upon what others in that space are doing. "A positive space is deemed as somewhere where neutral things are going on. Or nothing at all. The feeling of areas make the place positive. If illegal activities aren't going on, and loud loitering isn't going on, it can be deemed as a positive usage of public space a neutral point." Harris highlighted how the importance for him in negotiating downtown safely was in reading how others were using every public space. By attending to whatever cultural rules others were following as they engaged in whatever they were doing, he could feel safe when he entered the spaces they were in.

All the students discussing the use of cultural rules to influence others were demonstrating a growing confidence with reading culture's complexities and participating more fully in the cultural world as they prepared to go forth in it. Alice gave an example of how she could use culture's proxemics rules toward making others, who might invade her personal space, feel uncomfortable. "This class also made me realize about how just by my physical actions I could make someone feel included or excluded in social situations." Alice expressed her deepening understanding of herself as a cultural agent who could use culture's rules. Though Alice was the only one to give such a specific example of herself manipulating culture's rules to influence others, all students discussing this component described their facility with taking the action to recognize cultural rules that are used to shape what is happening to them and to others around them and how taking this action improved their participation in cultural situations and places.

7.2.3 Interrelationships of Advanced Level Action ring components

The interrelationships of Advanced Level Action ring components, are very similar to the interrelationship of the Advanced Level Awareness ring components. Instruction features prominently in each ring's process component of *Fostering cultural actions* or *Making meaning*. Student self-directed learning generated all the other components on the rings. These content components on the Advanced Level Action ring are insights into the actions they can take that will use their developing skills into investigating and understanding culture. They are similar to the content components on the Advanced Level Awareness ring that are insights into culture's fundamental nature and how culture works. For both Advanced Level rings, there is instructional input and student generated outputs.

The relationship of process to content components on each ring is a relationship of taught to caught. On the Advanced Level Action ring, teachers taught introspection through reflection. They guided students to pause and take note of what was happening within themselves – to acknowledge and describe it. They challenged students to imagine what they could now do that they could not before. All that teachers taught was not caught, so it is informative to examine what students did catch and to study what students did with the inputs teachers provided. Students' introspective examining shifted their perspectives to a meta-cognitive point of view in which they began thinking about their own thinking and about their own actions. The students' meta-insights into how they were changing and what was helping them change in what they could do reflects back upon the instruction and highlights effective instructional practices. Students gained confidence needed for taking action from the development of skills that they were taught in this course. Students discussed those aspects of their learning experience for developing their capacity to take action as *See what others cannot see about culture, Connect*

with another person's experience, Explore cultural situations more systematically, Maintain greater self-control over own actions. Armed with these insights from students, skill instruction can be reinforced to maintain high effectiveness in these aspects.

The students' meta-insights into what they could imagine doing were a direct outgrowth from the changes students were experiencing through their developing skills and knowledge, but these imagined actions were not specifically predictable or knowable. Teachers could anticipate that when students deepened skills in introspection through guided reflection, the students would have insights into their thoughts and imagined actions. But teachers could not predict the specific content of their students' insights into their thoughts and imagined actions. Allowing students space to discover themselves and integrate the new skills into their lives had entailed teachers shifting focus from teaching content that was knowable and bounded to teaching a process with outcomes that were outside of an instructor's control or knowledge. Students took what they had learned and imagined its utility in helping them deal with the unknown that would confront them after they were handed their diplomas a week after the course ended. Each student's meta-insights and imaginings were uniquely profiled though I found content cluster patterns such as those I discussed of *Be an ally for change, Be open to other cultures, Communicate across cultures, Gain access to new folk groups, Meld cultural practices,* and *Use cultural rules*. Students had learned to do the skill of reflecting on a meta-cognitive perspective that meant they could recognize and affirm their skill set and its utility. Students had also used the skill of deep reflecting to imagine using their skill set in future actions they could take and so had practiced, through imagining as a type of role playing, enacting tolerance. In summary, the process component leads to the content components. Cycling back to using the skills in the

process component again could lead to more content components to populate the ring more densely with a diverse repertoire of cultural actions.

7.3   RECOMMENDATIONS OVERALL ABOUT THE ADVANCED LEVEL CAPACITIES TO BE AWARE AND TO ACT

The Advanced Level develops two overarching capacities: to be more aware and to act in new ways. Both *Making meaning* and *Fostering cultural action*, as advanced capacities overall add to the more basic capacities developed at the Basic Level for *Attending to the ordinary, Shifting points of view,* and *Working with conceptual terms*. All basic and advanced capacities develop the Basic Level core capacity for understanding greater nuance within the interlocked complexity of similarities and differences in student's own and other's cultures. Developing the Basic Level ring of capacities makes it possible for students to move beyond simplistic notions of similarities and differences that were kept separate by a conceptual boundary separating "us" from "them." The Advanced Level capacities make it possible for students to develop even greater complexity in understanding how "we are the same" and greater nuance in understanding how "our differences are variations." Students develop this through the insights they gain in the fundamental nature of culture and greater understanding of how culture works at the Advanced Level. Students also develop this through insights into their developing capabilities with the skill set for exploring culture and their realizations that this skill set can become part of the tools they routinely use to act and interact in cultural situations.

The Advanced Level capacities thus add something new to students achieving the big goal of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. The Advanced Level moves the learning of the

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set of skills that all could be expected to similarly achieve within a classroom activity, to learning the use of the set of skills in individual ways to achieve more unique insights in situations where much is unknown. Developing the Capacity for Tolerance of culturally different others requires an individual to encounter the unknown, make sense out of the situation, and act within it in ways that are positive. The Advanced Level rings transition students into self-directed learning so that the students might continue to utilize the skill set gained when they need it in their individual futures and in so doing, continue to develop their skills and capacities for tolerance even further.

My study was not set up to do follow-up tracking to see if any of the learnings in the course persisted. But I received a report from Ms. Connolly that she witnessed her students continuing to use the skills they learned in a subsequent international service learning project she led in the summer after the course. A few of the students from the course went on this trip and she told me they routinely used the skills to understand and act in the Central American community within which they were studying and working. The blogs of reflective writing those students kept were open to followers at home, so I too could witness and affirm that these students were using the approach for exploring culture that they learned in their folklife education class in new cultural situations they were encountering. Such unexpected follow-up indicating more lasting impact may have indeed occurred, bolstered my hope that the process of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance begun in this course had been sufficient to sustain the continued use of the skill set for these students toward developing more cultural understandings and more intercultural interactions that were positive.

8.0   CONCLUSION CHAPTER

My conclusion brings together the major findings of this study and presents them for others use to continue to move the work in folklife and tolerance education forward. Because of my using an ethnographic approach to conduct this dissertation, the preceding chapters have presented in-depth examinations of the curriculum, the methods used for data collection and analysis, and the students illustrating their learning. In the brief overview of those chapters I present here, I focus upon the focus of my dissertation gaining insights into the process of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. Those chapters can be consulted for the details that stem from my collecting good data, applying a critical eye, maintaining research practices that are ethically sound, and constructing a model that is theoretically rich.

So far, I provided the context for my investigation of how students Developed the Capacity for Tolerance within a folklife education course that focused upon teaching students the skills of ethnographic inquiry to investigate cultural processes. I used thick description to describe important contextual features that situated this course in a place, introduced its participants and how they came to be part of the course and my study, and outlined the course's content as the input of instruction by providing details about the course development process and the way the course was introduced to the students. Transparency in the nature of my involvement throughout the planning and execution of the course, and in my relationships with teachers and students was a further contextual layer that I shared to add to the trustworthiness of my findings

and situate the instructional inputs and the student learning outputs. With my descriptions of my layered roles in developing and teaching the course and in assisting students as they developed their skills as researchers, I provided insights into the contributions I, as a folklife education partner, made with the teachers. I presented these insights into how we collaborated to inform folklorists and teachers who wish to work together to develop folklife education programs in other schools about some of what is possible. The course was richly complex with learning activities designed to engage students, but students did not find everything of the course was of equal value in their learning experiences. This set the stage for my investigation into what students found impacted their learning and helped them Develop their Capacity for Tolerance.

By setting my task with my research question to investigate a process of growth and development as it was unfolding in a group of students' experiences, my study necessitated careful analytic attention to isolate changes in the students' thinking throughout the course. My theoretic construct became recognizable within coding through my focus on the students' descriptions of their impactful learning. Separating out the insights students described attaining yielded various components and their interrelationships. Through careful analysis of the context surrounding when and how students attained these insights, the process of change they were experiencing toward Developing the Capacity for Tolerance became more visible. This study sought to explore the process from the students' perspective and so focused upon learning as these youths expressed and experienced it.

Describing how students Developed the Capacity for Tolerance within this complexity required that I explore my data using multiple analytic methods to isolate a productive corpus of data and triangulate my findings to increase the trustworthiness of my portrayal of students' experiences. Before I could describe the process of *how* students developed their capacity for

tolerance, I had to determine *when* their learning was impacting them and *what* the content was that students considered so important. To answer *when*, I used linguistic analysis to isolate and investigate students' metacognitive awareness about different types of significant learning. My development of an analytic tool of marker phrases helped me privilege student perspectives and identify the corpus of data. I next used applied thematic analysis to answer *what* and identify in vivo codes for distinctive insights students discussed learning in the course. I began to query these content codes in NVivo to discern patterns within the student data coded to them and relationships between the codes. The patterning I found in the thematic analysis codes queried for frequency, distribution over time, distribution with individual students, and in relationship to marker phrase use, all began to shed light for me into understanding the process of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. I converted teachers' emic categorization of students' learning styles on a concrete-to-abstract thinking continuum into an analytic tool that proved useful for exploring the awareness and action components and determining that the students' commonly-shared components were the Basic Level and their individually-realized components were the Advanced Level within my model. Through my use of microanalysis, I pinpointed moments of student learning that revealed the complex interrelated nature of the elements and processes involved in Developing the Capacity for Tolerance.

I turn once again to my dissertation's research question of: **How does student learning about cultural processes via the *Standards for Folklife Education* develop their capacity for tolerance**. As I revisit how my research question held up throughout my study by using Foss and Waters' (2007) criteria, I come to the criterion of my question holding the capacity to surprise. When I was asked by the Challenge High teachers to collaboratively develop this folklife education learning experience with them, I relied on the framework the *Standards for Folklife*

Education (Sidener, 1997) provided (Appendix A). I had a sense of what was possible to achieve through this educational approach based on my prior experiences working with teachers and students, but no clear understanding of how students studying cultural processes in folklife education Developed the Capacity for Tolerance, what specific components were involved, and how, or if, components interrelated. The insights from students into their own experiences with learning in this course never ceased to amaze me. Their experience was complex. Because it demanded a complex, multi-layered response to answer it, my research question proved to be sufficiently robust to produce findings of significance for the field. Working through a set of four analytic questions, my inquiry proceeded throughout my dissertation toward determining the key components and their interrelationships within the process of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. As illustrated by the model I developed to depict the process with as much clarity as possible (Figure 27), my research question has yielded a rich and nuanced answer that is far from simple.
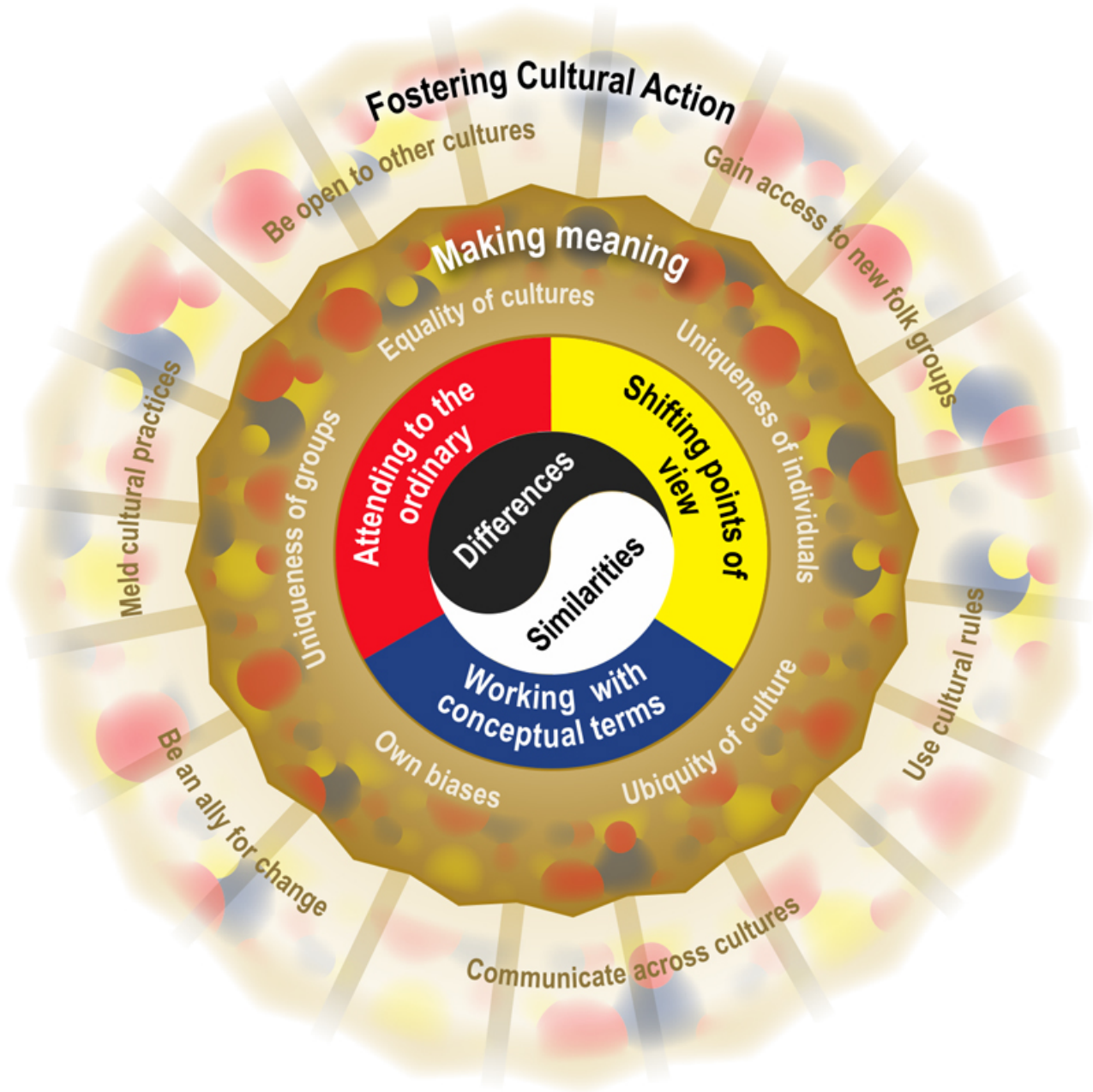
Figure 27: Model of the process for Developing the Capacity for Tolerance

The completed model as designed shows how the Advanced Level expands upon the skills learned in the Basic Level. Though the model appears to radiate outwards, it also contains an iterative cyclical dimension that occurs as students' Advanced Level imagining of situations to apply their developing knowledge and skills returns students back to the center and triggers

the Basic Level inquiry process to begin again with even more complexity and nuance. Over time, and with the refinements that come with repeated use, this model's components lock tightly into place for the user. The model develops increasingly greater density and durability as students use it in the various cultural conditions they will encounter in the world throughout their lives.

The Basic Level develops four overarching capacities: the core capacity for understanding greater nuance within the interlocked complexity of *Similarities* and *Differences* in student's own and other's cultures, and the three joined Basic Level ring capacities locked around the core for observing culture by *Attending to the ordinary*, seeing other perspectives by *Shifting points of view*, and understanding some of the basic structures of culture by *Working with conceptual terms*. Developing students' skills within the Basic Level ring components makes it more possible for students to move beyond simplistic notions of similarities and differences that often is considered separate by a conceptual boundary separating "us" from "them."

Students found direct instruction in folklife education invaluable for developing Basic Level capacities. But none of the Basic Level skills directly transitioned students into self-directed learning to assure me that students would keep Developing their Capacity for Tolerance on this level when the course was over. The Basic Level skills did however prepare students for Advanced Level skill development.

The Advanced Level develops two overarching capacities: to be aware and to act. Both *Making meaning* and *Fostering cultural action*, as advanced capacities overall add to the more basic capacities developed in the Basic Level ring. All basic and advanced capacities develop the Basic Level core capacity for understanding greater nuance within the interlocked complexity of

similarities and differences in student's own and other's cultures. The Advanced Level capacities makes it possible for students to develop even greater complexity in understanding how "we are the same" and greater nuance in understanding how "our differences are variations." Students developed this complexity through the process of *Making meaning* and the resulting insights they gained into understanding of cultural processes that I show as Awareness ring components of at the Advanced Level. Students also developed this complexity through the process of *Fostering cultural action* to gain insights into their developing capabilities with the skill set for exploring culture and the resulting Advanced Level Action ring components illustrating realizations of how they could use this skill set to act and interact in cultural situations.

The Advanced Level capacities add to students Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. Teaching of the Advanced level requires providing students with more individualized learning experiences and indirect instruction. The Advanced Level moves the learning of the set of skills that all could be expected to similarly achieve within a classroom activity, to learning the use of the set of skills in individual ways to achieve more unique insights in situations where much is unknown. Developing the Capacity for Tolerance of culturally different others requires an individual to encounter the unknown, make sense out of the situation, and act within it in ways that are positive. The Advanced Level rings transition students into self-directed learning so that the students might continue to utilize the skill set gained when they need it in their individual futures and in so doing, continue to develop their skills and capacities for tolerance even further.

Though this dissertation focused exclusively on the experiences of one classroom of students, my research question transcended my data. My findings will be of use in advancing folklife education programs in other classrooms and learning settings, but also what I have found will contribute to any educational program seeking to develop their students' capacity for social

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tolerance. Since folklife education is aligned with other educational programs and approaches that include instructional activities for student to learn about cultural processes, my findings are readily applicable to a grouping of educational programs. In addition to providing insights for advancing practice in multiple educational programs, the findings I have gained in answer to my research question make contributions to further my understanding of the theoretical construct I investigated. In our multicultural society and globalizing world, intercultural contact has become part of the daily reality. Developing a citizenry with the capacities to be tolerant and respectful toward diverse cultural groups is essential for productive learning environments, peaceful communities, and effective workplaces.

My conclusion chapter next takes my research and pulls it together to present in a different way that will help my four audiences build upon my work to advance the field. Folklife educators and teachers can find key findings on what to teach in the first section and how to teach it in the second section. My third section provides my insights into how to prepare teachers for teaching, so of particular interest to facilitators of folklife education programs. Educational administrators and researchers may find the fourth section on why to teach of most interest. Researchers may also wish to return to my methods chapter for a closer examination of my methods contributions such as developments I made in analysis by attending to student language in use and teachers' emic categorization of student learning styles. Dividing my key findings into the four sections of this chapter illuminates practical and theoretical considerations for Developing the Capacity for Tolerance with students through folklife education.

8.1 KEY COMPONENTS TO TEACH IN DEVELOPING THE CAPACITY FOR TOLERANCE

The students in this folklife education course gained many insights into culture and its workings in their lives and in the experiences of a diversity of people in urban public spaces. My study focused on what students perceived as significant within their learning by exploring the insights these students discussed as new to them, as triggering a change in their thinking, or as ones they found intriguing, important, or useful. Through analysis, I grouped these impactful learning insights into distinctive and isolatable components. Patterns within the students' learning in these components made key components and ways these components interrelated more evident. By identifying the components that were most instrumental in impacting student learning, I am better equipped to guide educators in planning what to teach toward helping students develop their capacity for social tolerance and improved intercultural relationships. My analysis to develop my model usefully contributed some insights into several areas within teaching and learning in folklife education where less is known. I structure my recommendations in this section through revisiting these six lesser-known areas.

8.1.1 The accessibility of components to students

In planning instruction for reaching a diversity of learners, there were three components that all students in this course discussed as impacting their learning. These are the Basic Level ring components of *Attending to the ordinary*, *Shifting points of view*, and *Working with conceptual terms*. Two more components that almost all students discussed as impacting their learning were the Advanced Level Awareness ring component of *Making meaning* and the Advanced Level

Action ring component of *Fostering cultural action*. The other eleven components were all positioned on the Advanced Level Awareness and Advanced Level Action rings and were discussed as important realizations, just not by every student.

With the diversity of learners in this course ranging from those requiring learning support services to those who would qualify for gifted education services, this pattern provides strong direction to the five components that teachers should productively focus on for instruction that a broad range of learners can access. The first four of these components teach ethnographic research skills important in data collection and data analysis. The fifth of these components guides students to internalize and apply the skills they learned in the other four in additional settings.

8.1.2   The sequence of components in instruction

My model provides a visual representation of a productive sequence of instruction for folklife education learning. That sequence begins in the middle of the model and moves outwards through the rings. Folklife education with a focus on teaching cultural processes avoids a typical quandary in planning curriculum for teaching about culture. Curriculum that emphasizes that we are all different or that we are all the same is sidestepped by folklife education through stressing the interlocked nature of cultural *Similarities* and *Differences*. Teaching students the Basic Level ring components helps students begin to move to somewhat more complex understandings about *Similarities* and *Differences*. But with the teaching of *Making meaning*, students begin to access even greater complexity and nuance about how they and others from many cultural groups are the same and different. With its focus on cultural processes, folklife education also supports the development of cognitive sophistication in students' social thought. This is in stark contrast to

the undermining of students' cognitive sophistication that Vogt (1997) describes happening in curricula that focus on sameness or on difference.

Long before guiding students to these nuanced understandings about similarity and difference, there is another problem that educators must take into account: how to help students cross the conflict-avoidance (James-Edwards, 1998) barrier that keeps *Similarities* and *Differences* comfortably simplistic and separated. Folklife education provides a useful solution to this through another productive instructional sequence of beginning inquiry into culture with the student exploring his or her own folk groups and cultural practices to identify how cultural processes operate in their own lives before exploring the cultures of others. By starting with self to use a me-to-we approach (Rosenberg, 2012), teachers help students through a re-categorizing process that usefully breaks down the barrier by helping students hold onto the differences but recognize the sameness of a superordinate category (Dovidio et al., 2004). By starting students with explorations into culture within their own personal folk groups, when students share their traditions with each other, they recognize that there are differences where they might have assumed none would be. These differences between them and their classmates can be as small as who cooks on the Fourth of July and gives them practice with seeing differences as variation.

By staying rooted in the students' own folk group cultures for the entire first half of the course, teachers in the Challenge High course advanced students' skills in investigating cultural processes to the point that they could successfully explore the cultures of others encountered in the second half of the course and realize many Advanced Level cultural process Awareness components. Ample time spent in exploration of themselves developing Basic Level skills contributed greatly to students' ability to express nuanced, complex understandings about how culture worked. In the second half of the course with the emphasize more on Advanced Level

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skills, students did not express the kind of simplistic notions of cultural *Similarities* and *Differences* that I saw some do in the first half of the course. The sequence for instruction moves from the center outward, but returns again to the center for building the nucleus and beginning the sequence again.

8.1.3   The orientation of components to building skills, knowledge or action

Folklife education is a complex rich educational approach that includes direct and indirect instruction and thoughtfully structured intergroup contact. Thus, it was not surprising to me that the components students discussed as impacting their learning were not all the same type. All components were important to students' learning, but were oriented differently to primarily building skills, expressing knowledge or expressing action.

The components oriented to developing skills are the Basic Level ring components of *Attending to the ordinary*, *Shifting points of view*, and *Working with conceptual terms*, the Advanced Level Awareness ring component of *Making meaning* and the Advanced Level Action ring component of *Fostering cultural action*.

The components oriented to being expressions of knowledge gained are the Basic Level interlocked nucleus components of *Similarities* and *Differences* and the Advanced Level Awareness ring components of *Equality of cultures, Own biases, Ubiquity of culture, Uniqueness of groups,* and *Uniqueness of individuals.*

The components oriented to expressing actions that could be anticipated or imagined future actions are the Advanced Level Action ring components of *Be an ally for change*, *Be open to other cultures*, *Communicate across cultures*, *Gain access to new folk groups*, *Meld cultural practices*, and *Use cultural rules.*

These orientations point out components that focused on: developing what students could do, indicating what students could know, and indicating how students could be and do in the future. Through reflection, students became metacognitively aware of all these orientations and attained a richer understanding of their own learning content and processes. It is important for teachers to recognize the differences in orientation of what they are teaching for the instructional methods useful for teaching a skill differ from those useful for increasing content knowledge, even the content knowledge of cultural processes, or for ways of being.

8.1.4   The orientation of components to taught or caught

The relationship between direct and indirect instruction was very important for student learning. In teaching students to conduct inquiry into their own and community members' cultures where much of the cultural content is unrecorded and intangible, folklife education provides methods for accessing cultural complexities. Direct teaching of these ethnographic methods develops students' skills in exploring and discovering culture. But the content of the cultural data they encounter and the cultural processes they discover through making sense of the data are "caught" by the students. Caught too is the content of the imaginings of the applicability of their new skills to situations that are personally relevant to students.

The components of my model that are oriented to direct instruction are those oriented to building skills, including developing facility with the theoretical and conceptual underpinnings of ethnographic inquiry. The components oriented to indirect instruction are those oriented to specific cultural knowledge and future action.

The Advanced Level Awareness and Advanced Level Action components students caught, as well as their metacognitive insights recognizing their developing skills, provided

students with confidence in their capabilities and excitement over their discoveries. This fueled students' curiosity to learn more and supported their intentions to continue to use these skills in cultural situations they would encounter in the future, thus contributing to developing a habit of mind for positive intercultural interactions. Fostering self-directed learners with plenty of "aha" moments is more possible through considering the orientation of taught and caught when designing instruction.

8.1.5   The interrelationships of components

The components of my model are isolatable and can be defined and distinguished as separate, but they do not stand alone. The components interrelate, and these interrelationships are useful for those teaching folklife education to recognize for they usefully contribute to instruction. Beginning at the center and working outwards through the model, I point to the essential interrelationship between *Similarities* and *Differences*. These two components are interlocked and in being so, intertwine in increasingly complex ways. Though it is possible to emphasize components during instruction and so seem to teach components separately, I do not advise doing this with the components of the nucleus. To teach *Similarities* separate from *Differences* would be to over-simplify them and this is counter to the goals of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance.

The three components on the Basic Level ring *Working with conceptual terms*, *Attending to the ordinary*, and *Shifting points of view*, can indeed be emphasized separately in instruction to focus the students upon figuring out each conceptual term, developing skills in observation, and taking different perspectives. But in truth, students rarely learned one without also tapping into the other two. These three components work together to reinforce and develop the separate skills

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and knowledge of the skills in each. The three Basic Level ring skills also hold the nucleus together by providing more and more examples and evidences of how *Similarities* and *Differences* are intertwined. So, teachers can focus students on developing one of the Basic Level ring skills and know that the students are also making advances in the other components. Repeated practice with the Basic Level ring skills is of use to students so they get better at doing them. The insights they gain into culture's workings through further practice of ethnographic skills will rarely be repetitive.

The Advanced Level Awareness ring component of *Making meaning* is the skill of analysis, the next step in ethnographic research of data gathered through using the skills of Basic Level components. The Basic Level skills can be taught without also teaching analysis (though I do not advocate for this), but analytic skills cannot be taught without data. Thus, the Advanced Level builds upon and extends the Basic Level. When students perform the component of *Making meaning,* the insights they gain into culture's workings populates the Advanced Level Awareness ring with other Awareness components. These Awareness components feed back to the nucleus with more insights into its complexity. These Awareness components also feed further outward to supporting the *Fostering cultural action* component on the next Advanced Level Action ring. *Fostering cultural action* has the same relationship to the other Advanced Level Action components as *Making meaning* has to the other Advanced Level Awareness components – when students engage in the skill, their insights populate the ring with potential actions. These potential Advanced Level Action components, when enacted, take the student right back to the center of the diagram to loop through the sequence of inquiry into cultural processes again. Applying the skills of ethnographic inquiry within intercultural interaction situations or within exploring a student's own cultural traditions can become habitual through

practice. The Advanced Level Action ring helps fuel the repetition of the process for the continually new insights, and advancement of skills, that repeated practice will discover because of how exciting these insights are for learners. Students develop curiosity to gain more insights by doing more inquiry.

Moving from the Basic Level skills to the Advanced Level skills can be easily built into all learning activities, including the very first explorations students do into their own folk group traditions. By sharing students' descriptions of their traditions with each other, the door is open for instruction into making sense of the data. Moving further into action requires instruction in reflection to help the students realize the utility of what they are learning in other situations. Once students embrace their learning of this process as important, they will begin to make use of the interrelationships within the model to continue to Develop their Capacity for Tolerance through additional folklife education learning opportunities, and hopefully, beyond the school walls.

8.1.6 The components that are not yet there

My model provides the process and dynamic for Developing the Capacity for Tolerance through a folklife education approach that teaches with a focus on cultural processes. But my model does not depict all the possible Advanced Level Awareness components and insights about cultural processes any student could realize. Nor does my model depict all the possible Advanced Level Action components any student could imagine needing to use in cultural situations. My model is intentionally designed with plenty of room on the Advanced Level rings to allow for the processes of *Meaning making* and *Fostering cultural actions* to generate more components to make these rings denser. Students never completely Develop the Capacity for Tolerance, there is

always more room to grow. Teachers can thus repeatedly guide students through the learning process sequence depicted in my model, in various content areas to teach about various cultural topics and to explore multitudes of cultural groups. Through realizations of their growing capabilities, students sense of competency as learners increases and spurs them to explore and learn more.

8.2   KEY PEDAGOGICAL ELEMENTS WHEN TEACHING

Folklife education, as taught in this and other courses and settings, makes use of many important pedagogical elements to create richly complex learning experiences in studying culture and cultural processes. Bowman and Hamer (2011) present a collection of many folklife education programs in which educators can see the pedagogical breadth used in the field and access additional pedagogical resources through the *Local Learning: The National Network for Folk Arts in Education* website ("Local learning: Resources,") and other folklife education publications (Bartis & Bowman, 1994; Bowman, 2013; MacDowell & Kozma, 2008; Owens et al., 1997; Zeitlin & Bowman, 1993). My dissertation does not add to this breadth. Instead my contribution here rests in identifying what students learned in the Challenge High course and describing the instructional methods that most productively impacted their learning.

Social psychologists have pointed to a clustering of pedagogical methods that research has found promising for reducing bias and improving intergroup relationships such as well-structured intergroup contact with meaningful interaction, cooperative learning (Stephan & Banks, 1999; Vogt, 1997), methods that foster empathy like moral and values education and some multicultural education that include role playing and different perspective taking (Dovidio

et al., 2004), and intercultural education acquaintance programs of the type that Racheal Davis Dubois developed (Allport, 1979; C. A. M. Banks, 2005; DuBois, 1950; Rosenberg, 2012, 2016). A productive research investigation would be to map the social psychologists' findings of effective pedagogy onto the pedagogy used in folklife education for further insights into the cognitive, attitudinal and behavioral areas that folklife education addresses. My study has implications for this but does not directly address this, although it points to this intersection as a potentially useful pursuit for further advancing the field.

The pedagogical methods I discuss here comprise a short list of those methods teachers should particularly consider using because of how students used them or identified their effectiveness and impact. The absence of other methods from this list should not be interpreted as lack of endorsement. Teachers used many more pedagogical methods in this course, and student learning did ensue from their use, but students did not discuss them as impactful when they reflected upon their learning experiences or they did not surface as impactful in patterns of student learning in my analysis.

These key pedagogical elements could be considered as essential in planning how to teach folklife and included when designing curriculum to help student Develop the Capacity for Tolerance. Many of these elements are interrelated, and all are part of a constructivist approach to instruction. Nonetheless, I have separated out some elements for more detailed discussion that highlights particular considerations when using these elements within folklife education to teach about culture.

8.2.1 Process of inquiry as content

Developing the skills of ethnographic inquiry was focal content of this course. In developing these skills, students developed the ability to continually explore culture. These students learned to study culture to become adept in a process: a process that has utility in intercultural interaction situations well beyond the classroom. Students learned a sequential and replicable process that allows for learning of cultural content and cultural processes via exploration of the social cultural world. Developing student capabilities in conducting inquiry can be generally useful in learning in other subject areas and in many life situations with lifelong learning impact potential. But folklife education teaches the inquiry skills useful for investigating something as complicated as culture.

Culture is exceedingly complex, layered, and ever changing, so much so, that every cultural group defies being defined as a bounded entity that is easily and fully knowable. I am not saying that the culture of any group cannot be learned, rather, I am saying that to approach the teaching of culture as if the characteristics and particularities of any given culture was the content for learning can have undesirable consequences. Teaching with a content focus of a culture as a set of characteristics and particularities would require that the culture had been defined and codified, was frozen in time, and had definite boundaries making it distinct from other cultures. If students became proficient in this bounded knowledge, they would run the risk in the future of approaching someone from that culture from a mindset that they already knew everything about them – which is not a useful starting point for positive intercultural interactions, would be rife with inaccuracies great and small, and would very likely offend that other person. Teaching something that is never fully knowable, culture, is better taught as an approach for knowing it – as a process for exploration and perpetually learning more about it. By teaching

culture as something never fully knowable, it sets up the learner to realize they will always need to be an explorer, a discoverer, open to figuring out what is happening within any culture they encounter (including those of which they are members!).

Approaching instruction about culture by teaching a process for investigating culture - process rather than discrete content of any and all cultures - creates an opportunity for learners to become comfortable with ambiguity and open to the complexities of their own and others' cultures. This flexibility of an investigator who is exploring - rather than the rigidity of someone who mistakenly believes they already know someone else - is a more useful starting point for encountering others from different cultures and learning from them. It's also sound educational practice.

Culture contains many processes, but cultural processes too are not absolutes. They are changing, full of variations, and open for revision or redefinition based upon context. Cultural processes are the workings of culture and so undergird and provide structure. Though cultural processes are often so structurally basic that they provide ways for us to understand how humans from diverse cultures function the same or achieving the same function, it's a sameness with many, many variations. Cultural processes are abstract, so mistakenly thought to not be accessible by students whose learning style could be described as tangible learners, yet this study demonstrates that even the most concrete learners and those requiring learning support made substantial discoveries about cultural processes. Discovering the workings of culture with its nuanced *Similarities* and *Differences* can be accessed through the tangible cultural expressions surrounding all people. By engaging in the study of culture through investigating the cultural knowledge individuals embody and express through traditional practices, events, occurrences,

and spaces, a young explorer of cultural processes encounters a never-ending source of rich textual resources for learning how culture works in his/her own and others' lives.

Teachers develop students' engagement with inquiry when they guide the youth to look closely at what the tangible aspects of culture can help them discover about the intangible aspects of culture and about how culture works. Through the confidence they have in students as creators of new knowledge, teachers encourage students to engage more deeply in developing their capacities with studying culture. Teachers guide their students in developing ethnographic inquiry skills to look at processes undergirding cultural practices as the content when studying culture, rather than stopping the lesson prematurely to codify cultural practices as the content. For example, students studied their own traditions on the American holidays of Thanksgiving and Fourth of July. Students were able to easily articulate the foods that were customary at these celebrations for their folk groups, but the focus of the lesson was upon intangible culture rules surrounding the foods and roles of people with these foods to help explore the deep culture meanings attached to it all. The process of inquiry as the content of instruction involves teaching all aspects of ethnographic inquiry including the important phase of analysis where students grapple with finding meaning and discovering new insights into how culture works. Within an instructional approach that focuses upon process, students can more productively gain more nuanced understandings of the core complexities involved with cultural *Similarities* and *Differences*.

8.2.2   Research process

The ethnographic research process folklife educators teach students to follow in studying culture is a way of knowing that has questioning and investigation as its central tenants. Developing

students' inquiry skills, rather than the acquisition of any particular knowledge, provides for life skills and lifelong learning as well as stimulating their desire to learn in other areas, making this invaluable for cross-curricular integration. The ethnographic research process develops skills of inquiry that compliments science education inquiry and inquiry education methods used in other subject areas. In folklife education, inquiry into the social cultural world involves students gathering data via interviewing and various types of observations, including observations made as a participant of cultural traditions. Students analyze their data by organizing it to find patterns and interpreting the patterns to make meaning. These are skills to readily transfer into other content areas.

A focus for interpretation is upon students making inferences about how culture works through the patterns within their data. An analysis method the students began to learn in this course was triangulation of data in which they looked to see if at least three tangible traditions pointed to the same intangible tradition (rules, values, etc.) to support their stating the intangible belief or cultural process. Triangulation of data helped guide students to look deeper and avoid accepting first impressions as worthy for re-presentation as a cultural process finding without making sure these were supported sufficiently with data.

Students used such cultural process inferences as hypotheses to explain about how culture is structured or functions in that context. These cultural processes could further act as hypotheses by serving as starting points for data collection in future intercultural interactions or similar experiences with culture. For some of these students, this was an important strategy they used to narrow their focus when conducting observations in culturally complex urban public spaces, like the parklet. It's not that these inferences fully function as hypotheses do in science. In culture,

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cultural process inferences are not open to being isolated and tested due to how much of cultural practices and cultural processes are determined by their contexts.

Cultural process inferences become available to serve as questions initiating the cycle of future inquiry in a new cultural setting or intercultural interaction. Even Advanced Level cultural processes Awareness insights that seems so universally true, like *Equality of cultures,* if used as an inquiry question could usefully help a student conduct a deeper investigation into, in this case, the dynamics of inequality. With each revision or affirmation of a cultural process, students develop deeper and more complex and nuanced understandings about cultural similarities and differences. This experience for students positions them back in the center of my model ready to engage again in a systematic sequence of ethnographic research skills toward gathering and analyzing data.

Students will experience no shortage of intercultural interaction situations and cultural contexts throughout their lives to use and refine the research skills they learn in folklife education. Whether they continue to apply these skills in their lives depends in part on their recognition of the importance and utility of these skills. These students helped me understand the importance of their developing inquiry capabilities to a degree where they felt competent and proficient through their insights and imaginings on the Advanced Level Action ring. I also saw how their deepening awareness of how culture was accessible and knowable through understanding cultural processes engendered a sense of agency in the students. Culture no longer was just what shaped them, they participated in shaping it, and, they could engage in figuring culture's dynamic forces out to further increase their agency as active participants.

8.2.3 Experiential, discovery learning

In folklife education, experiential learning is essential. Engaging students in actively exploring culture to discover the many complexities within even the most ordinary occurrences is a primary activity of folklife education. Furthermore, the experiencing of culture through folklife education is so accessible, as folklife is generally the most visible, accessible and pervasive level of culture, one in which we all participate for significant portions of our days (Sidener & Rosenberg, 2012). Students in this course explored their own prior experiences through recalling memories and recording them in detail. Students explored others' prior experiences, whether fellow classmates or family or community members, by asking them to recount memories or explain some of their cultural knowledge within interviewing activities. Stepping back to look at their classroom and seek evidences of the cultural values that shaped its organization and the daily activities that occurred within it, allowed students to experience their daily familiar in new ways. Through the doing of folklife education experiential learning activities, students developed a different way of seeing and looking at the ordinary that contributed greatly to their seeing cultural process components and gaining new insights into how culture shapes even the most mundane activities throughout every person's day.

Through experiential learning activities, the students in this study explored the urban public spaces they traveled through each day from multiple perspectives. A variety of community members representing different ages, occupations and social-economic status groups led students through the same streets and public spaces the students traversed to get to school. These community members each shared how they saw and experienced these spaces. Such opportunities to experience something so familiar through the eyes of someone else greatly expanded students' understandings about culture. These interactions with others were structured

intercultural exchanges that were deeply meaningful. Experiencing how others experience something that they knew so well showed students how much there was to discover and how discoveries could be made through tapping into others' experiences. Students experienced the expansive potential of viewing from multiple perspectives through these layered experiences of looking at the ordinary occurrences within their lives in new ways and then through attempting to look at occurrences through other people's experiences. Once students experienced the excitement of discovering from multiple perspectives, they continued to apply this way of seeing within other settings and experiences they were having both within and outside the classroom, and they imagined how they could use this process with experiences in their futures.

One of the reasons experiential learning is so important in folklife education is because it is so tangible. It's also simply impossible for any teacher to know all of even the most local folk cultures, so the locus of knowledge necessarily shifts to the community and the students engaged in exploring it. Experiential learning is thus both practical in incorporating this subject matter and it's the best pedagogy for folklife education. Exploring actual cultural situations provides for rich and complex learning because culture is so complex and layered. Students can repeatedly engage with the same tangible cultural occurrence and discover more and more about culture from it. Tangibly doing hands-on learning activities engages students.

One of the guiding considerations the teachers in this study kept in mind when planning curriculum was that their students were so diverse in their thinking styles with some being more concrete and others more abstract thinkers. By studying culture's many abstractions through tangible concrete cultural occurrences, their students all along the teachers' concrete-to-abstract learning style continuum were challenged and engaged learners. No matter their thinking style, engaging in experiential explorations of ordinary daily cultural occurrences provided means for

all students to grow and develop. The evidences were ample in that classroom to illustrate how students were engaged through this approach and how they grew. From one very concrete thinker making sense out of an interviewee's work ethic that was in opposition to her own and realizing that his approach to work was rooted in his worldview perspective. To another student with more balance between her concrete and abstract thinking styles reflecting upon her childhood experiences growing up in another country and engaging in critiques of both cultures based upon the cultural processes she was realizing were occurring. To a very abstract thinker realizing how he could concretely take action to more deeply connect with his immigrant mother whom he had never understood because he was not raised to value his bicultural heritage. Doing experiential learning activities focused on culture engaged all the students and helped them grow in ways that were important to furthering their understandings of the cultural world they inhabit.

Experiential learning in folklife education does not just take place with students experiencing tangible cultural occurrences, like riding in an elevator or bus. The entire process of working with those experiences to learn from them is experiential. Folklife education learning involves doing throughout the process of exploring culture, from first collecting different types of observation data, to finding patterns within the data, to engaging in meaning making that offers explanations for the patterns they found, to finally presenting their findings of new knowledge insights to explain their discoveries to others. Students learned to discover new understandings about culture by doing discovering through inquiry methods. Student insights into the cultural experiences they explored were new knowledge, and sharing it within the learning community of their classroom helped everyone advance in understanding the complexities of culture. Students produced tangible ways of sharing their insights and new understanding, so their classmates and teachers could learn from their experiences too.

Culture contains so many unknowns surrounding its expression in any given context, students become discoverers of some of these unknowns. Studying culture authentically through the study of actual cultural expression occurrences, such as the daily enactment of ordinary events, the interview of a community member, or the recollection of students' memories of how their family celebrates Thanksgiving, yielded rich data. What such data might contain can be anticipated, but a teacher could never have complete prior knowledge about it. With such local culture as the focus of exploration, students have much to discover, and in the process, new knowledge to generate. Teachers are co-creators or facilitators of student new knowledge generation by assigning cultural contexts to explore, encouraging students to discover more within each exploration, and by learning what is discovered from and with the students.

Experiential, discovery learning is an exciting process that stimulates students' curiosity. Excitement and curiosity are their own rewards and become the fuel for students to continue to do it and to do it more. Stimulating curiosity stimulates engagement in discovering, discoveries stimulate excitement, excitement from discoveries stimulates more curiosity in an iterative loop that contributes to engaging students in practicing the process of exploring culture in class. Excitement and curiosity serve an important role in keeping students motivated to discover new things about culture and continue to use their developing exploration skills in cultural contact situations. By continuing to discover the nuances, complexities, and cultural processes within every cultural encounter, students will deepen their knowledge about every Basic and Advanced Level component they learned in the course and are likely, after the has course ended, to continue this process to further Develop their Capacity for Tolerance. Though it was beyond the boundaries of this study, some limited contact I had with a few of the students for a few months after the course ended afforded me glimpses into how they were indeed continuing to make use

of this learning in intercultural interaction situations. A future study to look more closely at the life applications these students have made with the process of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance is needed to gain insights into what more they have discovered and learned.

8.2.4 Reflection

Reflection proved to be one of the most versatile teaching and learning tools in the course. Teachers in this course, as teachers in other folklife education programs have done, made use of student reflection as an important tool in monitoring, tracking and assessing student learning (Brueck, 2017). Reflection also was a vitally importance site for data that made visible student learning in the process of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. Students wrote most reflection assignments as blog posts commented upon by their assigned blogging groups. Teachers designed reflection to serve multiple purposes in advancing student learning through the types of prompts they gave for reflection. Teachers used the tool to guide students into being knowledge constructors and toward taking responsibility for their own learning. Teachers used reflection to both help students deepen their knowledge, and to make the process of deeper thinking visible to the students themselves. Teachers wanted students to work on becoming self-directed learners learning from and with each other. Other pedagogical activities were designed to further these goals too, but reflection emerged as one of the strongest tools for developing more complex understandings, including multiple points of view and blurring the hard boundary between *Similarities* and *Differences*.

Teachers used reflective writing to deepen students' skills in observation and in shifting points of view. In responding to selected prompts, students drew from their own experiences to record and probe into their own memories, making the reflective writing a data collection tool for

themselves that generated data from their own memories that they could refer to, use and build upon in other assignments. Blog posts sometimes served as a field journal where students would record their responses to their field experiences. The subjective observations students wrote helped them puzzle through the cultural dimensions within their data about public spaces. Students used reflective writing as both a data generator and place of puzzling through making meaning of that data. The prompts given by the teachers for reflection helped students work on developing their skills with shifting perspectives. When students recorded their experiences more objectively, they did so from within a relatively neutral perspective. When they recorded their subjective responses, they did so within their own worldview perspective. Within reflection, they could also assume a more distanced meta-perspective toward their data where patterns could become visible and where meaning making could be advanced. Within this more distanced vantagepoint, students could make connections and gain insights into Advanced Level understandings about how culture worked. This meta-perspective was far enough outside of their own perspective, that when students were within it, they could also become self-reflexive and attend to what they were experiencing as they were learning and developing. It was within this meta-perspective that students could imagine the future utility of their learning in this course and even project the contexts and scenarios where they could apply these skills and approaches to intercultural interaction.

The students used reflective writing as a vehicle for meaning making. They would strive to make sense of their experiences in the course and gather more ideas to this end from reading and responding to the blog posts of their group members. When students collaborated well in their exchanges within these blog groups, they used this tool as a means for pushing their own and their group members' thinking forward by pointing out what stood out to them in what their

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colleague wrote and by writing back connected comparative reflections from their own experiences. Students who engaged fully in blog discussions would attempt to hold each other accountable to writing even more deeply about their experiences. But many times, I noticed the full effectiveness of collaborative exchanges in reflective writing toward helping the students co-construct knowledge was not realized. Students would write deeply in response to the teachers' prompts, but would not always engage fully with each other to maximize benefits from this dialogic, cooperative learning aspect of the assignment. Teachers encouraged students to collaborate through making blog group discussions required, but some students did not fully participate in reflection upon their classmates' ideas when they did the assignment.

Getting students to transition from the more usual classroom position in which the teacher is positioned as the source and arbiter of all knowledge to relying on themselves and their classmates to help them figure things out was something teachers wanted students to work on with the blog posts and blogging group interchanges component of the course. In such a program, students discover what they learn in their own lives and in those of the community members with whom they interact. The location of knowledge is radically re-positioned in folklife education. Teachers monitored the blog writing and exchanges, but almost never participated in the exchanges. We could assume that all students had experience with social media exchanges in their lives through texting, but those types of interactions were not what this assignment wanted students to engage in doing. For most students, this was their first experience with blogging and responding within blogging groups. Though very useful collaborative exchanges advancing students' learning did emerge, not all students shifted to deep levels of interaction consistently throughout the course.

Reflective writing assignments as a weekly activity helped teachers monitor student learning periodically and make adjustments in instruction. Because students' progress was so individualized at the Advanced Level and insights of understanding would emerge at different points in their writing, teachers did not find that the content of what students wrote was necessarily a useful place to focus when grading. Rather than look for evidences of students achieving the same insights at the same moments, teachers found it more useful to grade students' engagement in the reflective process but monitor reflective writing content for the information it would give them toward planning and adjusting lessons.

Though these reflective writing assignments were good places for students to see their own learning and for teachers to monitor depth of student engagement in learning activities within the course, what students wrote became one of the most useful places for finding evidences of student learning for this research project. Reflective writing provided research data on types of learning and content of learning, as well as indications of the value of this learning to the learners themselves. Reflection is one of the most versatile tools within learning and teaching that should be a regular feature of folklife education courses for its densely layered functioning, not simply toward Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. Reflection develops all students' Basic Level skills for Developing their Capacity for Tolerance and helps students realize Advanced Level insights for understanding and action through a discovery process of self-exploration that happened at their own pace. I would recommend that teachers incorporate reflective writing and reflecting upon others' reflections as a regular feature of instruction, so that over years, students will gain sufficient experience with this important pedagogical method to maximize its capacity when they use it throughout their lives.

8.2.5 Synthesizing activities

Teaching the process of inquiry as the course's main content embodies an important shift in what teachers track to monitor student progress. This shifts the instructional focus from bounded content knowledge that can be easily articulated, to applied skill knowledge that is more evidenced through demonstrations of each specific ethnographic inquiry skills. A focus on bounded content knowledge allows for easy known-answer testing methods, while a focus on process as the content of instruction requires that students actively demonstrate their developing capabilities through synthesizing activities. In this way, synthesizing activities double as sites for both assessment and instruction.

Synthesizing activities challenge students to do the skills they are learning within a new context and so enable them to further develop their capacities with these skills. When the synthesizing activities involve exploring a different cultural context than they have been studying, the door is open wide for the students to develop deeper understandings about cultural processes operating in their own and others' lives. Since students are involved in new knowledge creation as a part of the inquiry process, teaching the process for investigating culture allows for teachers to be learners gaining more knowledge alongside of their students about how culture works, as well as about cultural groups of which they are not a part. This is exciting and engaging for both teachers and students! Synthesizing activities are the essential reinforcer of Basic Level skills and knowledge, solidifying and deepening the Basic Level via application and problem solving. Synthesizing activities also develop Advanced Level *Making meaning* skills by providing additional opportunity for students to further discover cultural processes as hypotheses.

Synthesizing activities are well supported by the final step in the ethnographic research process of re-presentation. Re-presentation is the creation of some means of sharing what students have learned with others. Through creating a project of some type, including popplets, blog posts and the final project of this course, powerpoint presentations, students articulated cultural processes and showed the data as evidence to support them along with the work of discovering them. Re-presentation provides opportunities to assess students' progress with skills. With student presentations, teachers can also check for evidences that students did indeed take all data into account and so avoided slipping into simplistic understandings of *Similarities* and *Difference*s through confirmation bias (Hewstone & Brown, 1986). Because student presentations were shared with their classmates, and potentially with a wider audience in the school and community, I observed how presenting added accountability and spurred students to take great care with their analysis and their portrayal of their findings. Synthesizing activities also engaged teachers and students in collaborative discussions to question, clarify and modify their findings.

8.2.6 Me-to-we

This pedagogical practice involves starting students with exploration of selected aspects of culture within the student's own experience and then expanding to explore the same or similar aspects of culture within others' experiences. This instructional practice makes use of comparison as the basis for seeing variations and patterns in cultural practices. Starting with self, and then comparing with others, helps students cognitively reframe differences as variations and recognize more nuanced, complex comparisons, especially as they experience this comparative process multiple times, with culturally diverse others. Reframing differences as variations is an

important to the recategorizing process for eliminating or countering intergroup biases (Stephan & Stephan, 2001).

"Culture hides much more than it reveals and, strangely enough, what it hides, it hides most effectively from its own participants" (Hall, 1998, p. 59). By focusing student explorations of culture into discovering their own intangible traditions, like proxemics, what Hall calls "tacit-acquired culture - which is not verbal but is highly situational and operates according to rules which are not in awareness" (p. 54), students gained deep understanding into these invisible rules. Not only did students begin to articulate what their own cultural rules were governing comfortable spaces in different contexts, but they realized that culture indeed was structured in ways that were discoverable. By comparing their own interpersonal space proxemics rules with those of their classmates, this experiential me-to-we learning activity reinforced how these invisible rules were not as widely shared as they might have assumed. Students repeated the me-to-we cycle by enlarging the "we" by looking for proxemic rules in their research into the hallways outside the classroom and the public spaces outside the school. I urge teachers to organize instruction in a me-to-we sequence when studying culture, regardless of the cultural processes the lesson focuses upon. This sequence makes more of culture's invisible aspects visible to students through articulating the intangibles in their own experiences first, and this productively advances student learning.

8.2.7   Authentic cultural occurrences as content for inquiry

The pervasive presence of culture makes it easy for educators to design experiential discovery learning experiences in real and meaningful cultural practices. Challenge High students discussed what they learned from studying the ordinary familiar aspects of their own lives like

the coded language their folk groups shared to remember a funny experience from the past, the cooking rules that make Fourth of July special, and the lack of a cloth American flag adorning the front wall of every classroom, weeks after these lessons were completed. There wasn't a need to leave the classroom to explore culture for the first half of the course. The cultural knowledge and experiences of the students' own cultures was an ever-present resource from which no student was excluded, as they were the cultural experts. Students' own community folk group culture and shared school folk group cultures provided ample authentic, naturally-occurring cultural manifestations to use as the content for teaching inquiry skills and studying many cultural processes. Ordinary daily life is extraordinary and a source of wonder and learning.

As fascinating as the Challenge High students found the study of themselves, it was in the fieldwork week, when students applied and refined their Basic Level skills through inquiry with community members that the student discussions of impact in their learning experiences skyrocketed. Interviewing the diverse community members to learn more about their cultures, to listen deeply to each voice from the wealthy urban condo dweller to the street sweeper with no privilege or exclusion accorded to either. The ordinary daily lived experiences of each community member when they showed students the same city streets the students thought they knew so well, captivated the students and greatly advanced their learning of inquiry and of cultural processes. The familiar surroundings held many lessons for learning the complexities of cultural similarities and differences that students could access through folklife education activities that focused their attention on culture as it was happening every day.

8.2.8   Repetition

Inquiry is a habit of mind, a way of being, doing and acting in the world, not a proficiency to be mastered, checked off and forgotten. Inquiry is a vehicle for learning and developing greater understandings, and for problem solving when encountering new things. The goal in teaching the skills of inquiry is to repeat the skills many times so students develop great comfort and fluency in using inquiry. As students' capabilities with the skills increase, inquiry yields many insights and understandings into cultural processes, their own and those of others. Focusing each new folklife lesson upon a different aspect of culture ensures that the understandings about culture students develop will continually be new and different, but the skills of working with cultural concepts, shifting perspectives, asking questions, observing carefully, finding patterns, making meanings, representing findings, and planning cultural actions should become routine.

Repetition of inquiry skills to study culture is key to students internalizing these skills. Folklife education is interdisciplinary, so integration across curricular areas is advised to increase students' repeated use of inquiry skills to develop their capacity to use these skills in future intercultural interactions students will encounter and to realize culture's pervasiveness in subjects as diverse as physical education, science, and so on.

8.3   KEY POINTS TO COMMUNICATE IN TEACHER PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Folklife education is an option for educators to use in their schools and communities, and as my dissertation shows, is a useful approach for Developing the Capacity for Tolerance in students, as

well as one that promotes the learning of skills and habits of mind that can be used in other curricular areas and in lifelong learning. Preparing educators to teach folklife education so their students can study cultural processes necessitates guiding teachers to think through several challenges as they adapt folklife education pedagogy to their students and develop folklife education learning experiences for their classroom. I present some key points I gained additional insights into through this study to communicate in teacher professional development that will help advance teachers' seeking to include this folklife education approach in what they teach.

8.3.1   Challenge of time

My study focused upon a semester-long intensive course, a situation that many teachers would likely dismiss for they do not have such time in their school year schedule. For these teachers I encourage them to think about designing smaller units or integrating folklife education into other content area instruction. There are many, many ways educators have incorporated folklife study, at all grade levels from Kindergarten to twelfth grade, and a dedicated course is only one. At this point, the impact and benefits of students engaging in a concentrated folklife education course verses experiencing multiple points of folklife education learning activities over a several years period are not well known, making this a fruitful area for further study. Included in that lesser-known area are questions about the best time in a students' school trajectory for an intensive course. This course was situated at the end of students' time in high school, when they are looking at their own futures and preparing themselves for the transition to young adulthood. That may, or may not, be the ideal time for an intensive folklife education course, particularly since biased simplistic thinking about culturally different others can occur at much younger ages.

For those teachers who want to teach folklife education, but cannot do a course, there is much within this study that can inform their practice. The sequence for instruction that begins at the center of my model on Developing the Capacity for Tolerance and moves outward can be used to structure individual lessons. The Challenge High teachers followed the sequence repeatedly at the lesson level demonstrating that following the sequence in a short amount of time is very doable. At minimum, include: attending to the barrier that can keep the components of the nucleus separate, teaching the Basic Level skills, and engaging students in the Advanced Level skill of *Making meaning* in each lesson.

The teaching of Basic Level ring components as if they are isolated can be the focus of instruction, as long as teachers realize that these components are interconnected and reinforce and develop each other. The skills of the Basic Level are complex. Just learning to listen deeply and observe for both objective and subjective data takes time. Learning to shift perspectives between students' own worldview, a neutral perspective for deep listening, a meta-perspective for analysis and reflection, and an empathetic point of view of imagining seeing through someone else's eyes to better understand how they structure and see the world, also takes time to develop (Deafenbaugh et al., 2016). Working with the conceptual terms to define them in ways that help students realize their potential for understanding cultural processes takes more time than students typical spend on vocabulary words, since these concepts are powerful tools for re-envisioning their worlds at social/cultural levels, not simply dictionary definitions. Teaching the skills of ethnographic inquiry is always easier when working with a cultural group, tradition, event or community place to explore, even just those situated within students' individual experiences.

When students begin to work with the Basic Level skills in interconnected ways, like to explore their own folk group traditions or celebration rules, they learn all the ring components and these components snap together into a ring around the inner core of *Similarities* and *Differences* and make the core more complex. "Snap together" is not just my metaphor: folklorist-educators have repeatedly noted the profound significance of the "aha" moment for teachers and students, when these components coalesce into a deep new perspective on their own lived experience.

Students may develop their capabilities with the Basic Level components at different rates, but as the students in my study showed, they all made good progress. If the time for folklife education instruction is limited, keep the focus on Basic Level skills. The outer rings of the Advanced Level stem from the Basic Level, and were more "caught" than taught. Providing opportunities for students to focus on developing the Basic Level components and make them more and more solid, complex, and deep through applying the skills in more and more cultural contexts and situations will allow students to continue to develop both the Levels. With better honed Basic Level skills, when sufficient time is available to carry out lessons with more extensive attention to Advanced Level skills, the students will be better prepared with a strong foundation to populate the Advanced Level rings with many Awareness and Action insights.

8.3.2   Challenge of patience

In this era of teachers being pushed to cover large amounts of material in short amounts of time, educators and educational administrators can use reassurance that it is ok to have patience with the students around the time it takes for learning ethnographic inquiry and developing these skills to a point where they become a habit of mind in intercultural interaction situations. Looking

throughout the curriculum for cross-curricular opportunities for folklife education as well as opportunities for folklife integration within different content area subjects can reveal more places where folklife education not just fits, but improves learning activities, from the obvious social studies to physical education, music, art, theater, language arts, and even the less obvious math and science (Arya & Ling, 2017; Deafenbaugh et al., 2015a, 2015b; Legendre et al., 2017; Owens & Engel, 2011).

Another patience challenge for teachers might surface around the struggle students engage in within discovery learning. It is importance to give students opportunities to figure out the meanings within cultural data and the cultural processes the data contains so they develop into and practice being self-directed learners. As the Challenge High students showed me, students look to each other for guidance and clues, even when professing a value of preferring to do their work independently. Relying on each other as resources for figuring it out, rather than on the teachers, helped build a community of practice. This was only possible here through the teachers being patient with students' struggles and respecting that this was both necessary and very significant for their learning to take place.

Of course, the amount of struggle that one student can emotionally deal with is different from the amount another student can deal with. To help guide students through the struggle wrestling with unknown-to-them aspects of culture, it is useful to have ready learning pathway strategies to suggest that students try. The Challenge High students showed me the various learning pathways they used for initiating data collection in the *Parklet observation lesson* such as using cultural processes as hypotheses for directing what they examined in a complex cultural setting, or looking to identify the folk groups, or drawing upon their personal prior experiences. A productive area for further research would be in identifying more learning pathways students

use to successfully deal with their struggles. Teachers could use more examples of useful strategies to pass along to their struggling students.

The use of reflection with prompts designed to focus students in reflecting upon their learning process is another strategy teachers can use with students to help them recognize and develop their learning strategies for persisting and figuring out how to discover the intangible aspects of culture. Repetition of the inquiry process, through the infinite number of possible cultural content areas to investigate in local communities, should help struggling students develop even more learning pathways. Teachers might gain glimpses into the learning strategies that some students in their class are using through reading students' reflective writing, which then makes the strategies available for sharing with other students. Students becoming more self-aware and self-directed learners was something I observed happening with the Challenge High students: repeated opportunities for reflection was a big part of helping them do this.

8.3.3   Challenge of potentially reinforcing simplistic notions of *Similarities* and *Differences*

Humans are designed to categorize, and this is the basis of biases and stereotypes (Stephan & Stephan, 1996). Moving students forward in the process of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance begins by attending to students' simplistic notions about cultural *Similarities* and *Differences*. Because of societal and historical factors that have shaped and ingrained biases in students and teachers alike, simplistic thinking about own and other cultures can surface at any time. Therefore, the more teachers know about what bias thinking looks like in its many forms (Stephan & Banks, 1999; Stephan & Stephan, 2001; Stephan & Vogt, 2004; Tropp & Mallett, 2011), the more easily they can recognize it and attend to it to move the lessons forward. James-Edwards (1998) suggests teachers exploring their own biases, and this is something that can be

done in professional development with the objective of generating types of bias with examples for easier identification when they occur in the classroom.

I cannot emphasize enough the importance of skilled teaching in helping students address stereotyping and biased thinking. Folklife education provides some pedagogical methods that are useful to help students to understand cultural *Similarities* and *Differences* in their own and others culture more complexly. Designing folklife education activities that require students to shift perspectives and view from different vantage points, like collecting objective and subjective observations and reflection by the standard ethnographic practice of using a dual-entry field journal for recording both what is observed and one's own thoughts and questions about it (Sidener, 1997; Sunstein & Chiseri-Strater, 2012), allows students to see *Similarities* and *Differences* with greater complexity. Shifting to any of multiple useful viewpoints requires that students step outside their own vantagepoint. It is from staying within their own worldview perspective that students are most likely to keep *Similarities* and *Differences* simple, separate, and stereotypical.

Beginning folklife education with explorations of the cultural practices and workings of each student's own culture is a powerful method for guiding students to complexity in their thinking. By starting with students' own experiences, they develop facility with the key concepts and ethnographic skills, developing mental frameworks which are not threatening yet are directly applicable when they are asked to interact with culturally different others, even within a single classroom. It also helps preclude stances in which those who look or sound different are simply alien, unbridgeably foreign and unknowable. Developing assignments that help students discover the invisible aspects of their own culture, like the worldview values and cultural processes functioning through their tangible traditions, helps students gain insights into the complexity and

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some of the dynamics that shape what they and their own cultural groups do. Sharing of students' own cultural practices with each other helps students think about *Differences* as variations. The concept of variation reduces the degree of difference from unbridgeable to within a discoverable universe without denying that differences do exist. Designing learning activities where students redefine difference as variation usefully helps students learn how to do the recategorization process. This me-to-we process resituates prior knowledge, even biases, and opens the possibility for students to begin seeing the intertwined complexity of how they are alike and different from their classmates. This diversity had been found even in the most seemingly homogeneous classrooms.

Repeatedly engaging students in explorations of their own many traditions and sharing them with each other provides lots of practice in recategorizing so that students develop this skill solidly. Certainly, getting students into activities that have them interacting with others from different cultural communities is exciting for both teacher and students. I just caution teachers to not move too quickly to these interactions with others from the community, and in so doing, short-change the exploration of themselves that students need to do beforehand, so as to build the bridges that lead to inquiry rather than immediately to categorization. Students interacting with someone from a different culture without preparation for the encounter risks them learning new stereotypes. "It is depressingly difficult to change stereotypes once they have been acquired. The evidence strongly suggests that it is easier to strengthen negative stereotypes than to weaken them" (Stephan & Stephan, 2001, p. 38). So, avoiding teaching and reinforcing stereotypes is essential.

Activities in which students interact with someone from a different culture in the community should align in substantial ways with the explorations students had been doing of

their own culture. In this way, students can repeat the me-to-we process they just did with their classmates, but this time with whomever they are interacting with from a different cultural community. Alignment between the students' exploration of their own cultural knowledge and their exploration of a community person's cultural knowledge provides contextualization for the interaction and facilitates the exchange to most productively continue the development of their inquiry skills important to Developing the Capacity for Tolerance.

8.3.4 Challenge of not being a content expert

In this course, teachers had me constantly available in the classroom as a content expert in understanding ethnographic inquiry and recognizing cultural processes. Folklorist facilitation of student learning about cultural processes in folklife education courses would be ideal for the support folklorists could provide to teachers. But this simply is not often a practical reality. Teachers thus face the challenge of teaching ethnographic research and cultural processes without the benefit of an in-classroom expert and possibly without much or any experience themselves in doing the type of activities they would be teaching.

Teachers becoming content experts in a culture that is not their own is not needed, possible or advised when doing folklife education. As a constructivist educational approach, folklife education focuses upon exploring the unknowns of culture and constructing new knowledge from the experience. In doing a constructivist curriculum authentically, a teacher is a collaborator in learning with students. In training teachers, a useful focus is upon guiding teachers in cultivating the culture of the classroom toward building a community of practice where all, teachers and students alike are engaged in conducting explorations into culture. But it is advisable for teachers to spend some time with classroom visitors before introducing them to

students, discussing what is expected to be covered. Community members bring extensive experiences and knowledge, not all of it necessarily the most applicable to the lesson within the time constraints classrooms must operate within. Planning with the community member further hones their experience with students and the students' learning from them (Arya & Ling, 2017; Deafenbaugh, 1997b).

The excitement of a teacher as learner experiencing "aha" moments too, is useful to students as learners. Culture ever presents opportunities for learning and discovering something new, even in the most familiar ordinariness of daily life. Rather than thinking about culture in ways that are unhelpful to Developing the Capacity for Tolerance, such as culture being a bounded entity that has characteristics that could be listed, culture is better understood as a process that is dynamic, ever-changing and context specific. Cultural practices are created anew each time they are done by a group. Each enactment is impacted by a myriad of forces, thus placing limits on anyone being able to predict what will happen exactly.

With so much dynamic change in culture, certainty or fixed truths are not something an explorer of culture expects to find. Articulating a cultural process has similarities to stating a hypothesis: useful for aiding understanding of culture generally and available for accessing insights into the dynamics of the current cultural occasion being explored. In any given exploration of a cultural group, practice, event, or place there are always multiple interpretations and understandings stemming from the mix of cultural processes at play. Culture is knowable, but never fully known or understandable. Teachers can thus relax with the assurance that they will not miss the "right answer" by not being or having an expert with them when they and their students are exploring culture.

Though teachers need not become expert, it is advised that they do develop a basic understanding of the basic conceptual terms of folklife education like folk groups, tangible and intangible traditions, worldview, cultural rules and others in the *Standards for Folklife Education* (Sidener, 1997). There is also value in the teacher experiencing the ethnographic inquiry process used in folklife education before they teach it. With doing exploration into culture themselves, teachers can become more comfortable with it and can better guide their students through it, particularly with the inherent ambiguity within Advanced Level analysis when figuring out cultural processes. Teachers would benefit from training that helps them more readily recognize cultural processes. Developing resources on identifying cultural processes that could be used by teachers in professional development would be a fruitful area for further articulation by folklorists.

With basic recognition of cultural processes, teachers would be better equipped to design learning activities for their students that direct students in their explorations of their own and other cultures. When teachers design learning activities to dig deeper than generating simple descriptions characterizing what a cultural group does, and instead direct their students to explore why, how, when, and a host of other question words, their students will gather data they need for figuring out cultural processes. The complexity of culture allows for many different cultural occurrences to be used as focal learning opportunities for the same cultural processes and their variations. Including examples of learning activities from folklife education curriculum in professional development will provide teachers with many useful examples of doing exploration into cultural processes and in developing the skills of the components on the Basic Level ring.

8.4   KEY INSIGHTS INTO WHY TO TEACH TO DEVELOP THE CAPACITY FOR
TOLERANCE

Throughout this dissertation, I have focused on learning about the process a group of students experienced toward Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. They showed me so much about what they learned and what was helpful to how they learned that I could design a model that explains the process and guides other educators in making use of this approach to teaching folklife education with their students. What I haven't discussed yet is what these students helped me understand about tolerance itself. This dissertation will not be complete without sharing some key insights into tolerance that helped me think more deeply about why we teach.

8.4.1   Tolerance: Moving beyond us/them to me/we

Through this study I have developed deeper insights into tolerance and what it means to develop the capacity for tolerance. My understanding of tolerance began at its most basic level, as inaction when faced with something someone doesn't like, which according to Vogt (1997) has preconditions of an attitude of valuing the coexistence of diversity, equality and peace. With the kind of tolerance focused on in my study, social tolerance, the emphasis is on cultural diversities, including, but not limited to, ethnicity and race. Anthropology has taught me to recognize concepts like ethnicity and race as meaningless for use as categories of difference because of the existence of broader variations within racial or ethnic groups than between them. Though these categories are inaccurate as markers of actual diversity, the process of classifying who is "us" and who is "them" by using categories like racial and ethnic group is very real and meaningful in society and in students' lived experiences. Through this course, students demonstrated facility

with the more observable cultural construct, that of the folk groups of which they are part and those they observed but were not members. The conceptual term of folk groups augmented or replaced in meaningful ways some students' simplistic self-identifications with which they began the course, and provided or augmented most all students' understanding of structures usefully configuring cultural participation.

Folklife education has at its core helping students to make more complex and actual their notions of similarities and differences. With more complex understandings, students began to see differences as variations that are part of same or closely similar cultural processes. By looking at their own and their classmates lived experiences, students discovered differences in cultural practices like: any male in one family may grill the hamburgers for their Fourth of July celebration, whereas in another family it is a particular person who always prepares the main dish. As students explored a celebration event, they all practiced looking for the nuances of how culturally different families may eat different foods, but structure their food traditions similarly by assigning roles for members, even if the ways roles are assigned is different.

By engaging in such deep, nuanced explorations of ordinary and common lived experiences, students came to understand that though what others do is different, it is not (necessarily) "wrong[3]". It is different in knowable ways and is likely to have both similarities to and differences from their own experiences. When students applied their own culture's rules to

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[3] I am not suggesting that all culture, tangible and intangible, in all of our lives is positive and does not contain aspects that are negative, unequal, or even oppressive and exploitative. Cultural traditions and practices may indeed need to be questioned and changed. Culture is dynamic (Toelken, 1996) and ever-changing, which means culture is inherently adaptive. However, the cultural rules and processes that shape and constraint behaviors can be maladapted for the contexts and situations we encounter, thus forming what Bohannan (1995) calls "traps" that can seem very resistant to change. Through complex understanding of cultural processes and critique, we can "analyze weaknesses in the process that we want to avoid or weed out, as well as the strengths that we want to keep or build up" (Bohannan, 1995, p. 196). The vision that comes from understanding cultural processes can be useful in the work for reshaping cultural practices toward greater social justice.

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others' practices, these practices could seem wrong. But when students shifted perspectives, they gained access to seeing that the practices others engaged in doing were as guided by rules as their own practices were, just guided by a different set of rules, with both logic and benefits, and a substrata of deeper worldview meanings. With the shared cultural process of following a structure of rules connecting them, students saw the differences as variations, connected to the others, and expressed new insights into the inherent equality between people and the importance of gaining understanding of another's deep culture.

Folklife education usefully troubles the waters of diversity for students by enabling them to acquire tools for exploring cultural diversity in ways that challenge the divisive notions of difference that undergird concepts like race and ethnicity. Folklife education repositions diversity by moving it from vague constructs of overgeneralized classification categories and repositions it into the complexities of diversities that intersect within each of us. With folk groups as a focal concept for where people teach, learn, and enact culture, students recognized that they were equipped with a different way of looking at how society is organized and how individuals exist within it in culturally complex ways.

Students welcomed getting new tools like the concepts of folk group and tangible and intangible traditions to define, explore and understand difference and develop their capacity for tolerance. They wanted new ways to see. As they practiced shifting points of view, they realized they gained different distances to see the multiple cultures they and others have as part of themselves and observe nuances within them. The students showed me how transformative it was for them to know that they were now capable of observing to see intangible aspects of culture, figuring out how others might be using cultural rules to manipulate them, or recognizing folk groups wherever life took them equipped with the knowledge of how to gain or avoid

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membership in these groups. Tools for "looking at things completely differently" expanded their thinking, but thinking differently was not enough for many of them. Somehow, they wanted to be part of change in this society. They wanted to take cultural actions. They could see these tools they learned held potential for being useful in the more expansive cultural world they were entering, even if the use was being able to see more or differently about how culture worked than others could.

I could see that their increased skills in reflecting from a meta-cognitive point of view had helped them develop self-awareness toward recognizing their own biases, self-regulation toward monitoring their behaviors in intercultural interactions, and self-confidence toward taking these actions in the future. As I looked at tolerance, I kept seeing action, not inaction. The process of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance involved active exploration, interactions with focused and deep listening that were respectful, grappling with data to figure out cultural rules and workings that structured what others did and believed. Whether students liked or didn't like those they were interacting with seemed suspended in doing the activity of exploring their culture.

I was also struck by how Developing the Capacity for Tolerance looked more like Developing the Capacity for Respect. Making the personal connections to culturally different people was instrumental in developing these students' skills and impacted their thinking about others and about themselves. Students were learning and practicing the skills of positive intercultural interactions like deep listening, respectful questioning, intensive observations from different points of view, and finding ways to describe deep invisible cultural forces that could enable them to make a connection across differences. Perhaps it is more accurate to me to answer my research question by saying that how students learning cultural processes through the

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Standards of Folklife Education developed their capacity for tolerance was a process that situated tolerance at respect.

The important thing about social tolerance is that it is a state of not acting negatively when dislike of different others is experienced. But Developing the Capacity for Tolerance is the development of a habit of mind for moving outside your own worldview to at least a neutral point of view where you work to suspend your judgement and respectful exploration of their culture is possible. The question if that is what these students could, would, will or did do whenever they experienced dislike of culturally different others is a question that is beyond this study. Such a test is not one that occurred in that classroom.

For an educator, the goal for Developing the Capacity for Tolerance in the classroom would be to equip students to interact positively with culturally different others. The ultimate test to see if this goal was achieved will happen many times over throughout those students' lives. If the internalization of the process of Developing the Capacity for Tolerance did not result in students engaging in active exploration of culturally different others in each life situation that called for it, it would not mean that the capacity for tolerance had not been internalized as a part of who they were. The students could use one part of the Developing the Capacity for Tolerance skill set or think about one cultural process Advanced Level Awareness insight or one Advanced Level Action realization and continue to make progress toward Developing the Capacity for Tolerance. If the students actively did nothing more than tap into their Developing the Capacity for Tolerance habit of mind to not move below tolerance down the continuum toward hate (see Figure 1 in Chapter 2) in situations in which they experience dislike of culturally different others, then their non-action in that interaction would be minimally positive – which in these times might be enough or at least, the best that could happen.

Educators do not desire for their students to emerge from their folklife education instruction at the point of tolerance on the pyramid of hate (Sonoma, 2006). But perhaps it takes situating tolerance at respect when developing students' capacities so that students exit instruction at a point more aligned with Nieto's (2002) categories of respect, affirmation, solidarity, or critique, which helps them be no lower than tolerance later in their lives. Rosalyn gave me glimpses into what an advanced student, who began to move into Nieto's most positive category of "critique", might learn in a folklife education course. But I do not want my musing to take me too far from my data since Rosalyn began with such varied life experiences, and achieved more advanced thinking than the other students. What my data showed me is that this classroom of diverse students made gains in many related capacities, including developing mental flexibility to step out of their own worldview perspective and be open to respectfully exploring other's culture. It strikes me that this is one of the most useful skills within Developing the Capacity for Tolerance and one that might serve these students well in living their lives with their intercultural interactions at the point of respect or an even more positive continuum category. Developing the Capacity for Tolerance is complex, but this folklife education course studying cultural processes guided by the *Standards for Folklife Education* prepared students to interact respectfully as they explored culture for more complex understanding and to begin to internalize tolerance situated at respect as a habit of mind.

8.5   WRAP UP OF CONCLUSION

Through the close examination into learning this dissertation enabled, the experiences of the students in this course repeatedly reinforced the importance of folklife education. These students

provided so much more than one-off anecdotal examples that so often in folklife education programs are the only glimpses available into what students have learned. These students provided me with a way to look deeply and systematically into their learning to find evidences, and patterns within them, that support and extend some of the impact claims the field of folklife education has long asserted take place in this approach to education. In Sidener's (1997) explanation of the importance of folklife education, she states:

> In examining tangible folklife expressions in relation to a folk group's beliefs and values, behavior that may be initially puzzling begins to make sense, and understanding develops. Folklife study thus fosters the development of skills and concepts that students can use to learn about themselves and about others throughout their lives. (p.4)

My dissertation supported her explanation through identifying what some of these skills and concepts are and the process of how this student learning occurs. With the additional guidance into sequencing instruction that I found through this study, efforts for developing folklife education curriculum in schools and community settings is further aided. With the insights I have gained and shared here, those working to update the *Standards for Folklife Education* have this research available to guide revisions.

With the experiences of these students as evidence, I can confidently state that folklife education guided by the *Standards for Folklife Education* engages learners. It impacts students in powerful ways. It not only provides them with skills they can use throughout their lives to take cultural actions in the variety of cultural situations they encounter, but it helps change the way they approach and understand these cultural situations. In short, folklife education helps learners develop a way of being that can enable them to interact with others in ways that are respectful. I

now understand better how folklife education develops the habit of mind for being socially tolerant.

To my readers I promised much that I would deliver on. I wanted to present the impact of folklife education, and I have identified and shared some essential impacts, but there is so much more in this data set that I have not yet investigated. The study of culture, like culture itself, is layered, complex and nuanced. Coding this data set for student learning in each *Standard for Folklife Education* (Sidener, 1995) will yield even more insights into the impacts of folklife education. Conducting similar studies in folklife education programs in other schools and with younger students will further extend understanding of this important educational approach's impact on learners, as well as, provide additional guidance on teaching to maximize this impact.

I had promised to shed light on the impact of folklife education practice backed up by research and this study contributes toward the research that is needed by the field. I promised to make recommendations for developing curriculum based on insights I gained from students into what these youths found was the most useful instructional practices for impacting their learning. I presented my findings of learning activities, pedagogical practices, and a few learning pathways students needing a bit more guidance found useful. Along the way, I puzzled over how to identify impactful student learning for the purposes of identifying it and developed categories of linguistic markers for both identifying impactful learning and identifying importance from the learner's perspective. These analytic tools are worth using again in the investigation of student learning in other settings with attention to examining their limitations and further refining their utility as tools for educational researchers to add to their research methods. I had promised to investigate the process of how students Develop the Capacity for Tolerance. I have developed a robust model of what I learned by following where these students led me in their learning

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experiences for others to use, refine and extend. I look forward to learning more, with and from other researchers as well as other students and teachers, for the need to support educators in helping their students Develop the Capacity for Tolerance in our society at this point in time cannot be understated.

APPENDIX A

STANDARDS FOR FOLKLIFE EDUCATION (1997)

(Excerpt reprinted with permission from the publisher)

CONTENT STANDARD 1. Understanding folk groups and how they relate to individuals, to each other and to larger cultural groups

Performance Standard 1A. Students compare beliefs and practices that express and/or shape the worldview of their own and of other folk groups.

> Transitional Level K-8: Students describe beliefs and practices of their own and other folk groups.

> Transitional Level K-4: Students identify a folk group to which they belong and some of the traditional activities and beliefs in which they participate as a member of that folk group.

Performance Standard 1B. Students demonstrate the varied roles of folk group members in creating, shaping, and maintaining folk groups and their traditions.

> Transitional Level K-8: Students describe their influence on one of their folk groups and of that folk group on them.

> Transitional Level K-4: Students describe their roles in folk groups (for example, as tradition bearers, performers, master practitioners, or storytellers).

Performance Standard 1C. Students identify their own cultural traditions, describing their own cultural identity in terms of their membership in multiple folk groups.

> Transitional Level K-8: Students categorize and compare the multiple folk groups to which they belong and contrast their traditions to those of others.

Transitional Level K-4: Students name and describe the traditions of multiple folk groups to which they belong and those of others.

Performance Standard 1D.   Students investigate the interrelations among folk groups and between folk groups and larger cultural groups.

Transitional Level K-8: Students describe connections and distinctions among folk groups, local communities, the nation and the world.

Transitional Level K-4: Students relate folk groups to larger cultural groups.

CONTENT STANDARD 2.   Documenting the experiences of everyday life using ethnography

Performance Standard 2A.   Students apply ethnographic methods in specific fieldwork situations, using them to collect, organize, analyze and present folklife data.

Transitional Level K-8: Students investigate analogous traditions in two or more folk groups in their community, explaining similarities and differences by citing observational, interview, and/or survey data.

Transitional Level K-4: Students observe and describe an event or activity of a folk group in which they participate, interview another participant, and present their data.

CONTENT STANDARD 3. Recognizing the range of human experience encompassed by the many forms of folklife expression and understanding the processes by which folklife is created, transmitted and transformed

Performance Standard 3A.   Students explain processes by which traditions are created, maintained, varied, altered, lost and revived.

Transitional Level K-8: Students research and document the traditions of a community folk group and discuss the processes by which folklife is transmitted in that group.

Transitional Level K-4: Students record and present the folklife of a folk group of which they are members and describe how traditions in that group are shared, stay the same and change over time.

Performance Standard 3B.   Students recognize, distinguish and analyze interrelationships among folk, popular and elite cultural processes.(See Folk/Popular/Elite Production and Transmission in Appendix.)

Transitional Level K-8: Students show how folk, popular and elite forms of culture interact in American society.

Transitional Level K-4: Students contrast folk, popular and classical cultural processes of production and transmission, illustrating them by means of local examples.

Performance Standard 3C. Students document the full spectrum of folklife traditions in a regional folk group (verbal, material, customary, belief, dance, music, art).

Transitional Level K-8: Students investigate and identify key types of folklife within a local folk group.

Transitional Level K-4: Students describe different types of folklife from one folk group.

Performance Standard 3D. Students analyze patterns of relationships among different kinds of folklife within a folk group.

Transitional Level K-8: Students summarize major themes, motifs, and/or worldview, that are reflected in the different types of folklife of a Pennsylvania folk group.

Transitional Level K-4: Students survey different types of folklife in the student's community and organize the traditions collected by category.

COURSE DAILY LESSON PLANS

Cultural Anthropology and Digital Media Design

> **Objectives:**
> - Assess what students already know about culture, describing culture
> - Student familiarity with course themes
> - Students will be able to describe folk groups and identify their own membership in folk groups
> - Students can make audio recordings, popplets and save both correctly
> - Students can successfully personalize page, write blogs, and post popplet images to wall.fm

B.1   WEEK 1

Course introduction, intro to Popplet software and PUBLIC SPACE electronic media site

Tuesday 4/26
A. Seating charts and attendance
B. Reading photos
C. Intro to course
D. Start video – *Everybody's Ethnic* (LearningSeed, 2001)

Wednesday 4/27
A. Check for consent forms for Linda's research study
B. Finish *Everybody's Ethnic* video
C. Begin to introduce concept of folk group

Thursday 4/28

A. Consent forms and signed syllabus
B. Why didn't we give you the answers yesterday?
C. What are field notes and why record field notes?
D. Introduce how to record on computer *[lastname monthday folkgroup]*
E. Introduce Popplets (Schiffman et al., 2011)
F. Break into groups of 3
G. In each group: everyone uses computer to record – instead of taking notes.
H. Categorizing folk groups by making Popplets

Friday 4/29

A. Consent forms + syllabi
B. Map class drive and transfer field note recording
C. Class data presentations for each group:
D. Me maps: what folk groups do you belong to?
E. Demonstrate a few and discuss
F. Get everybody onto PublicSpace
G. Write first blog posting: becoming more comfortable with subjective data

B.2   WEEK 2

What are folk groups and how do they function?
Understanding student's own culture

Monday 5/2

A. Finishing up Blog entry and MeMap from Friday
B. Check for consent form from particular students
C. Explanation: why are we studying groups? Are there groups on their MeMaps that they are no longer a part of? Is there a correct number?
D. Comment on other people's in their blog group
E. Definition of a folk group – do as a group
F. Break into triads, do a popplet to categorize traditions

Tuesday 5/3

A. Hannah check for consent form from last student
B. Finish "A folk group is…" popplet categorizing activity
C. Record field notes
D. Discuss popplets **c**ategories of tangible intangible
E. Present to the class – everybody's popplets
F. Discuss how this helps us understand how culture works
G. Concepts: Iceberg diagram and Folk groups CREATE traditions CREATE folk groups

Wednesday 5/4

A. Intro to gathering data
B. 3 types of interviews
C. Everyone say what folk group you would like to talk about.
D. Pair up with someone different than you.
E. Complete Traditions interview written notes / field notes
F. Field recordings and written notes saved to drive
G. Conversation pairs – interviews of what their group does
H. Upload field notes!!!
I. Move to like pairs with someone with a similar folk group – organize data into patterns using "Comparing Traditions" doc
J. Upload field notes!!!
K. Share one thing you noticed in this exercise: a commonality, a difference
L. Discussion: content and process
M. What concepts do we get from this? Donut diagram

Thursday 5/5

A. Review donut concept
B. Discuss what learned about how culture works generate cultural processes
C. Blog Posting: Pick one or two of these cultural processes. How does this concept help you understand the folk groups you are in?
D. How cultural processes work: repeat same process as yesterday with holiday celebration
E. Pick 4th of July or Thanksgiving in work groups
F. Second Blog post: Describe your family's celebration for this holiday
F. Use Holiday Interview Field Notes to interview your partner about celebration

Friday, 5/6

A. Review your partner's notes from yesterday – what is your holiday like
B. Now work with your like-holiday partner to split into components MAKE A POPPLET!!!
C. Explain what ROLES are and RULES about who makes the ROLLS!
D. Each group pick 1 popplet to show to class
E. What notice about how culture works and add to our cultural processes
F. What does an individual bring to the tradition? What does a group bring to a tradition?
G. *Them and Us* Video (Stereotyping and prejudice) (Schrank & Neumann, 2007)

B.3   WEEK 3

Understanding the culture of others
Mapmaking, cultural places, space
Midterm project on culture of the school

Monday 5/9

A. Mapmaking in working groups of their home and childhood neighborhood
B. Introduce 2 column field notes – objective notes on right, subjective notes on left
C. Everyone write down observations without talking about each map
D. Turn on recorders, take rest of group on tour of your map, others ask questions
E. Recorder cultural processes noticing

Tuesday 5/10

A. Warm up: comment on your blog partners' photo album and blog posts!
B. From yesterday: Finish mapmaking lesson activities
C. Add cultural processes are they noticing to public space board
D. Todays' task: Another piece of paper, everyone diagrams this classroom

Wednesday 5/11

A. Continue yesterday's mapping classroom activity
B. Take written field notes of work group maps Objective: how accurate, Subjective: what map maker notice as important
C. Reading a space questions
D. Complete reading a space lists with someone within your workgroup
E. Discussion space and values as a large group
F. Triangulating data
G. Blog: What has the space told us about the culture of Challenge Charter High School?
H. Extend: Societal worldview cultural patterns in organizing space

Thursday 5/12

A. Powerpoint – how other societies structure space
B. Reading: Fixed feature space reading (Sunstein & Chiseri-Strater, 2007)
C. Introduce midterm project to research school – use all the concepts we've worked on
D. Work groups to divide research tasks for individuals to accomplish

Friday 5/13
Mid-term project

A. Work on individual task and reflection
B. Record group discussion – putting all the pieces together complete cover page
C. Upload your work
D. Blog entry: what elements of culture have we studied in class that you would like to investigate in the public space of downtown?

Intro to data representation: Art Gallery see "Tricks of the Trade" traveling exhibit
Researcher and researched perspectives and voices
Cultural knowledge and its transmission
Cultural aspects of public and private space
Final project: gathering field data

Monday 5/16
A. Trick of Trade exhibit intro on content on learning traditions and mastery
B. Do the worksheets w/exhibit and gather observations
C. Introduction to video cameras. Use to record aspect of presentation
D. Blog entry: Describe traditions that you have either taught or learned from someone else and teaching and learning process

Tuesday 5/17
A. The process of creating a final project – what decisions need to be made?
B. Intro into process of a final project - Robb's Challenge High Video
C. Robb describes Shooting Tips/Techniques
D. Researcher voice: Is this Robb's Story or Challenge High's Story?
E. Discuss Tricks of Trade: Researcher/producer bias, how/if voices of people in exhibit are heard
F. Create video as group of analysis of exhibit- Tell a story, which ideas you want to show and represent
G. Go to Exhibit
H. Discussion – Decisions and challenges of creating a video presentation
I. Get Videos onto Public Space Drive – Begin editing films

Wednesday 5/18
A. De-briefing video activity Examine and workshop the clips
B. Elevators: take field notes on proxemics and elevator rules
C. Proxemics: the cultural use of space (Hall, 1980)
D. Two groups move between proxemic distances. Take field notes

Thursday 5/19
A. Finish yesterday's proxemics activity allow everyone to finish notes
B. Field notes discussion – what patterns, rules, cultural processes did you see?
C. Video: *Body Language II* (contact and proxemics) (Ryan et al., 2008)
D. Brainstorm as a class, then provide handout: Typology of how people use public space. (some folk groups, some strangers)
E. Bring rain gear for tomorrow and every day next week!
F. If time: comment on other people's blogs

Friday 5/20 -- half day

Time to get outside!! (rain or shine!!)

A. Discuss: documentary filming etiquette. Public spaces are public. When to ask permission.
B. Discuss: traveling in groups, remain in visual distance of teacher
C. Quick review: Looking with eyes of anthropologist – highlight items interesting to them for when they go outside.
D. Review field notes on public space
E. In parklets look for: evidence of folk groups, how activity of a location get done?
F. Field notes on each video shot – Public Space Field Notes document.
G. Get observation data. Notice the rules of how people move and use public space.
H. Return cameras to Mr. B
I. Blog entry: How do people move and use public space? What did you find most challenging in observing and gathering data today?

B.5   WEEK 5

Final project: gathering field data

Monday 5/23

Interview skills and Q, prep for week

A. Draw map of own downtown to share with senior citizens tomorrow!!
B. Prepare open ended questions to ask seniors who did the same map activity
C. Review Roles and Responsibilities document
D. Review Field notes for each group when do tours of downtown
   - primary group: on speaker, when they get excited, what they are interested in
   - Secondary group: gathering sensory data about tour – what they are seeing, hearing
   - Tertiary group: notes on the public spaces that can be examined
E. Prepare questions to ask community members
F. Fieldwork Interaction etiquette, memories, how to explain release forms
G. Comment on blogs!!!!!!

Tuesday 5/24

Senior interviews!!!

A. Welcome and seating of seniors
B. Pass out questions students made for Senior Citizens, pass out student maps
C. Move into interview/discussion groups, pass out release forms
D. Start rolling video and audio
E. Use maps provided by Linda to help them point out places
F. Senior citizen visitors with their maps of downtown and photos, give 'tour' of map and students interview them about downtown (film it)
G. Students ask questions based on senior maps + prepared questions
H. Students share their maps with seniors

I. Rotate groups to give students different seniors
J. Class discussion – short, reactions.
K. Blog entries: What did you learn from the senior citizen you spoke with?

Wednesday 5/25
Walking tours begin!!
A. Print out student questions
B. Review who is primary / secondary / tertiary for the day, what roles are.
C. Print out field notes documents!
D. Everyone have pens, field note sheets, questions, clip boards → out!
E. 2 groups on walking tours of downtown: office worker, homeless service provider.
F. Goal: get back by 12:25 to blog, if later then oral reactions only
G. Class discussion – short, reactions.
H. Blog entries: What did you learn from the person you spoke with? What did you find most interesting about your tour today?

Thursday 5/26
A. Discussion Feedback on video/audio taping, field notes
B. 2 walking tours of downtown: cultural trust festival organizer and urban architect
C. Blog

Friday 5/27
A. Feedback on filming, audio taping, written field notes, interviewing tasks of all 3 groups
B. Give cameras back to Neil at end of each day for downloading
C. 2 walking tours of downtown: downtown resident and Clean and Street team worker
D. Blog

B.6   WEEK 6

Final project production

Tuesday 5/31
Production day 1 of 9
A. Complete past 3 blog postings
B. Thinking about your final project – document
C. Introduce: time to choose topic
D. Do an overview of tour highlights for sharing data
E. Submit proposal of topic, data needed to draw from, and cultural process hope to explore

Wednesday 6/1
Production day 2 of 9

A. Introduce project description + rubric
B. Presentation demo – what will your project look like? PPT
C. Linda's PPT: exhibit design – whole to part, part to whole – Tricks of the Trade
D. Figuring out story to tell, way to tell it – introduce powerpoint shell
E. Utilize data from class drive – video, log sheets, etc
F. Students proposal from yesterday, get thumbs up Mr. B or Ms. Deafenbaugh
G. Work on powerpoint shell
H. Request any files you want ASAP

Thursday 6/2
Production day 3 of 9
A. Beginning: everyone comment on recent posts for your blogging partners
B. Powerpoint shell – everyone complete first draft by end of class on Friday
C. Neil to create final project folder for each student
D. Figuring out if need more data, what it is, and making plans to get it

Friday 6/3 (half day – 70 minutes)
Production day 4 of 9
A. Beginning: how to demonstrate an insider's perspective with your project
B. Watch two videos – one demonstrates what to do, other what not to do
C. Rest of class: project shell due

B.7   WEEK 7

Final project production

Monday 6/6
Production day 5 of 9, video
A. Start class: *Them and us prejudice and understanding* video (Schrank & Neumann, 2007)
B. Production time

Tuesday 6/7
Production day 6 of 9
A. Sense of Place reading: working with perception, memory, history, how people are connected to a place (Sunstein & Chiseri-Strater, 2007)
B. Review project description and rubric
C. Review Neil's powerpoint – stress storyline and voice coming from the data
D. Begin project reflection, save in reflection folder

Wednesday 6/8
Production day 7 of 9

A. Blog post: first draft of project reflection
B. Work on projects with individual consultations

Thursday 6/9
Production day 8 of 9
A. Blog commenting: on yesterday's post
B. 5 min of Alice Morgan's video – insider perspective
C. Work on projects with individual consultations

Friday 6/10
Production day 9 of 9
A. Review project popplet on Neil's blog page
B. How to package and save projects
C. All projects due at end of class

B.8   WEEK 8

finals and graduation week

Monday 6/13
A. Final upload of project – remind students how to save / when
B. Final reflection – blog post – final copy of reflection
C. Final blog comments
D. Final project presentations
E. Discussion of final exam

Tuesday 6/14
A. Final exam during class time
B. Say goodbye to Linda
C. Hand out of Apprentice Anthropologist certificates

COURSE SYLLABUS

Cultural Anthropology and Digital Media Design
Course Syllabus
Mr. Neil Brodsky and Ms. Hannah Connolly

This course will provide students the opportunity to understand and represent culture through participating in field research and documentation activities by following the Pennsylvania Standards for Folklife Education (Sidener, 1997):

Standard 1:   Understanding folk groups and how they relate to individuals, to each other and to larger cultural groups.

Standard 2:   Documenting the experiences of everyday life through ethnography

Standard 3:   Recognizing the range of human experience encompassed by the many forms of folklife expression, and understanding the processes by which folklife is created, transmitted and transformed.

We will also focus on Erickson's four big ideas of culture:
1) culture is invisible as well as visible,
2) each individual is multicultural,
3) groups of humans are inherently culturally diverse, and
4) society does not treat everyone the same (Erickson, 2007).

Through weekly assignments and a final project, students will become apprentice anthropologists as they practice the following research skills:
- Observation
- Participant observation
- Reflective writing
- Interviewing
- Map making
- Representation of data

Assessments: **Points:**

(approximate)

- Class assignments: Posted to PUBLIC SPACE electronic media site (blogs, maps, etc.)
  (10 pts / wk)   70 pts
- Participation in blogging group – commenting on other's postings (20 pts / month)   40 pts
- Final project   60 pts
- Final exam   50 pts

                                                                                                                   220 pts

| Students will receive 12 workforce points for sharing this syllabus with a parent / guardian and obtaining a signature below. |

_____   **_____**

Student Signature   **Parent/Guardian Signature**

 Classroom Rules:

When in Public Space media site, DO PUBLIC SPACE activities!!

   Be prepared for class – you will need your laptop every day!

   Head up and eyes open at all times

   Stay on task, and ask if you don't understand

Maintain Respect

   Speak without putting others down both in person and electronically

   Care for the space – personal, physical and electronic

Trimester 3: COURSE SCHEDULE (Subject to Change)

Week 1 (Week of April 25th – CLASSES BEGIN TUESDAY April 26th)

Course Introduction, intro to Popplet software and PUBLIC SPACE electronic media site

Week 2 (Week of May 2nd)

What are folk groups and how do they function?

Understanding student's own culture

Week 3 (Week of May 9th)

Understanding the culture of others

Intro to data representation: Visits to local Art Gallery to see "Tricks of the Trade" traveling exhibit

Week 4 (Week of May 16th – FRIDAY HALF DAY)
Final project: gathering field data

Week 5 (Week of May 23rd)
Final project: gathering field data

Week 6 (Week of May 30th – NO SCHOOL MONDAY – MEMORIAL DAY, HALF DAY FRIDAY – PROM)
Final project production

Week 7 (Week of June 6th – FRIDAY HALF DAY)
Final project production

Week 8, June 13th   Senior finals week and graduation week

Monday, **June 13th**	Last regular class
Tuesday, **June 14th**	Finals Day #1 (half day – exams)
Wednesday, **June 15th**	Finals Day #2 (half day – exams)
Thursday, **June 16th**	Finals Day #3 (half day – exams), Senior luncheon
Friday, **June 17th**	No classes – graduation practice
Saturday, **June 18th**	**GRADUATION @ HALL** ☺

SITUATING THE CHALLENGE HIGH TEACHER'S CONCRETE AND ABSTRACT

LEARNING STYLE CATEGORIZATION OF STUDENTS IN THE LITERATURE

I could discern elements of Kolb's (1984) abstract and concrete learners in the Challenge High teachers' categorization system, but that was the extent of the overlap with Kolb's more elaborated model that situates these learning styles within a learning cycle. Kolb and Kolb's (2009) concrete learning style emphasizes feelings and is centered on tangible experiences. The Kolbs' abstract learning style emphasizes thoughts. It is centered on deep thinking which entails inductive development of concepts and ideas by learners who "thrive on creating conceptual models that can be applied or generalized to other situations" (A. Y. Kolb & Kolb, 2009, p. 316). The basic distinction between concrete as sensory and tangible experience and abstract as comfortably manipulating ideas and concepts is applicable to the Challenge High teachers' continuum.

Concrete, on the Challenge High teachers' continuum, maps more closely to Gregorc's (1984) category of Concrete Sequential learners. Gregorc's model combines two sets of forces of the mind, one relating to space (concrete/abstract) and the other to time (sequential/random), to yield four quadrant categories of systems of thought or preferred learning styles. Gregoric's

Concretes are realists who rely on their physical senses to understand and grapple with ideas, whilst his Sequentials process information in linear step-by-step ordering of details (Terry, 2002). Concrete Sequential learners need explicit examples of what is required rather than just directions that are perceived of as "just vague". Sprenger (2010) describes how concrete learners value practical knowledge and tend to be precise and accurate in their work. These descriptions align with the Challenge High concrete learners.

The Challenge High teachers' continuum went from concrete to abstract. Their abstract did not match Gregorc's category of Abstract Random, which was his quadrant category directly opposite to Concrete Sequential. Abstract on the Challenge High teachers' continuum seemed to collapse all three of Gregorc's other categories of Abstract Sequential, Abstract Random and Concrete Random. Gregorc's Abstract thinkers are idealists who mentally envision ideas and use rationality to understand them. His Random thinkers want to see the big picture first and "process alternative sources of information simultaneously in a multidimensional manner" (Terry, 2002, p. 159). The abstract side of the Challenge High teachers' continuum emphasizes the abstract axis and collapses the random/sequential axis to combine all those who preferred the world of ideas regardless of processing the ideas via step-by-step or multidimensional manners. Sprenger's (2010) description of abstract learners as comfortable creating theories about what they hear and observe, tending to grasp an overall impression of what's happening, and able to leap to a conceptual understanding of materials fits with the Challenge High teachers' category of abstract.

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