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ABSTRACT

The means and advantages of incorporating participation experiences into an instructional program to promote the development of effective student participant roles are presented in this paper. Several alternative approaches are reviewed historically and three types--observer, action, and competency--are discussed. A rationale for a competency-based approach is explained as one in which students gain basic political knowledge through a framework which compares and explains common political experiences; basic intellectual skills are gained through participation in class and school activities; and participation competenceis are developed through continuous activities in school political life. Such a program, Comparing Political Experiences, is described as developed by the High School Political Science Curriculum Development Project at Indiana University. The goal of this program, social self-fulfillment, the underlying assumptions, and implications are reviewed. These assumptions and evidence to support them generate an argument for this approach to social studies education which is diagrammed and summarized. The conclusion traces the argument, points out further problems and prospects, and confirms this program as a means to constructively advocate participation without promoting particular political structures, roles, or issue positions. (KSM)

**A RATIONALE FOR DEVELOPING STUDENT PARTICIPANT ROLES IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS:
THE COMPARING POLITICAL EXPERIENCES PROGRAM**

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Advocacy of adolescent political participation is not new. Many have long argued that youths' participation in school, community and national political arenas promotes more effective citizenship and provides important supports for a political system. Neither is participation advocated solely by political scientists. Practical politicians and many educators have argued its merits and attempted to make it a part of students' everyday lives. Therefore, it would appear that although the 1970's have highlighted and popularized aspects of adolescent participation through "age of majority" policies, the problems and prospects of student participation are not fadish questions, but rather fundamental problems of continuing interest and significance for a wide range of audiences.

The merits of increased mass political participation have been questioned on at least two major grounds. First, many have argued that mass participation can have differential effects on the larger political system of which youth are a part. Certainly, most studies support the positive relationship between increases in participation and greater support for the political system.¹ Yet, studies in public opinion also warn that participation on the part of citizens may lead to conflictual or even non-rational political decision-making.² Increases in mass participation, then, is considered to have both positive and negative effects on the functioning of the larger political system.

¹Robert E. Agger and Marshall N. Goldstein, Who Will Rule the Schools: A Cultural Class Crisis, Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1971. Gabriel A. Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1963. Lester W. Milbrath, Political Participation, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965.

²Philip E. Converse, "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics," in David E. Apter, Ideology and Discontent, New York: Free Press, 1964, pp. 206-61.

It is also considered to have diverse effects on students as individuals. As democratic and organization theorists have suggested, effective participation takes time and energy. The costs of political participation may far outweigh the benefits for many individuals.³ Advocacy of student participation in political life may thus support initial entry into the political arena, but without significant supports for individual efforts it may also lead to frustration and alienation. Therefore, the advocacy of adolescent political participation raises serious questions in regard to both its individual and its systemic effects.

These are questions which surely do not support panaceas as responses. Yet too often, productive avenues for response are ignored. As popular and as questioned as participation has become, few people have seriously considered the implications of promoting the development of student participation roles through instruction in schools. Even a superficial glance along these lines suggests that the incorporation of participation into instructional programs may have multiple advantages. If lack of system support is at least partially due to unexamined and unarticulated belief systems, then making such examination part of the everyday instructional program of schools may hedge this outcome. If individual costs of participation are high and supports are lacking, then the careful examination of participation and the promotion of actual participation habits in students' lives would seem to mitigate against both disillusionment and lack of participant experience on which to discover benefits of participation. Thus, at a very superficial level, there would

³Thomas R. Dye and L. Harmon Zeigler, The Irony of Democracy, Belmont, California: Duxbury Press, 1971; Mancur Olson, Jr., The Logic of Collective Action, New York: Schocken Books, 1968.

seem to be a great deal of utility in considering the potential of promoting participation through instructional channels and the development of instructional programs which would foster informed, effective student participant roles in political life.

The purpose of this paper is to look at some of the possible advantages of incorporating participation experiences into an instructional program which would promote the development of effective student participant roles. Several alternative instructional approaches will be discussed and the full rationale for one particular approach will be given. In this way, the instructional implications of promoting student participation can be specified and discussed.

Alternative Instructional Approaches to Developing Student Participant Roles

Although alternative instructional approaches to developing student participant roles have not generally been systematically developed or widely discussed or evaluated in social education circles, the impetus for the development of such programs dates back several decades. In the 1950's, Columbia Teacher's College supported a program entitled Laboratory Practices in Citizenship: Learning Experiences in the Community, which offered a list of activities which could be carried out in conjunction with civics and government programs in secondary schools.⁴ Since the inception of this program, some loose variants of different ways of incorporating participation into instructional programs have developed. These variants are wide-ranging and almost defy classification, yet generally they support three significantly

⁴Citizenship Education Project, Laboratory Practices in Citizenship: Learning Experiences in the Community, New York: Teacher's College, Columbia University, 1958.

different types of participaton experiences: observer-based, action-based, and competency-based participation. Each of these alternatives carry with them different assumptions and implications for the development of student participant roles.

Some aspects of observer-based participation are common to many instructional programs. At a minimal level, most student "field trips" to the police station or the mayor's office are observer-based. In essence, they are designed to promote the study of political activity first-hand. It is assumed that the classroom study of processes of government can be reinforced by observation of how these processes operate in local settings. Many programs have considerably expanded this idea to include trips to Washington or two to three week seminars in which student leaders attend institutes held in Washington. The most recent and thorough incorporation of this alternative has been seen in the burgeoning of schools without walls. In the Parkway Program in Philadelphia, for example, students use the city as a classroom and observe its political and social life on an everyday basis.⁵ The hope of each of these projects is that students will learn by observing on-going social and political processes and that they will apply this learning more easily to their own everyday life situations.

Compared to observer-based experiences, action-based participation experiences are a relatively rare phenomenon. These types of participation experiences are designed to promote student involvement in the resolution of political issues. They assume that effective resolution of such issues

⁵Parkway Program, Leonard Finklestein, Director, 1801 Market Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

will serve as a major motivator for continued participation and citizen involvement. Fred Newmann has conceptualized and implemented a program in Madison, Wisconsin, and other locally-based action programs are being implemented across the nation.⁶ These projects each attempt to provide avenues for student participation in the hope that natural political roles will develop as a result of these experiences.

A third type of participation, competency-based participation, has no fully-developed programs as yet to support it. Visible analogs in business surely exist in which management training seminars attempt to train individuals in effective leadership skills. Some attempts have been made to design summer leadership training institutes for student leaders, but none, as yet, have been incorporated into an instructional program. The purpose of such a program, as distinct from others, is to provide students with skills and experiences necessary to taking on more effective participant roles. These experiences, then, focus on using participation experiences as a vehicle for teaching students basic participation skills that are applicable across a wide range of political contexts. It is the hope of this type of program that students will learn skills and gain experience that will be transferred to their everyday political lives. In short, they will develop competencies necessary for effective participation and have enough experiences to have developed habits of participation that extend beyond the instructional setting.

⁶Fred M. Newmann, Social Action in Social Studies: Toward a Rationale, paper presented to the National Council for the Social Studies Convention, November, 1972; Barry Lefkowitz, Director, Multi-District Institute for Political Education, P.O. Box 426, Glassboro Woodbury Road, Pitman, New Jersey; Karen Wiley, Boulder Experiments, Social Science Education Consortium, Boulder, Colorado.

Each of these alternatives offers a significant choice for those desiring to promote the development of effective participant roles. Yet it would appear that the least common alternative, the competency-based alternative, maintains certain advantages over other approaches. While it capitalizes on like motivational supports for continuing participation beyond initial experiences, it offers basic skill development which is not tied to a specific experience. As such, it increases students' ability to be effective and to transfer their skills to a wide range of political settings. In addition, by carefully integrating participation experience into a course of study, it offers students active ways to link inquiry and action to see that political knowledge can be linked directly to everyday political activity. Finally, it offers continuous experience necessary for developing habits of participation which are not tied to a specific event or issue.

For these reasons, we choose to spell out a rationale for a competency-based approach in this paper. This type of approach necessitates the incorporation of at least three elements: 1) inclusion of a systematic framework for viewing political life which would aid students in explaining and participating in political situations; 2) presentation of analytical, methodological and participation skills which will aid students in effectively coping with political situations; and 3) provision of a foundation of basic political experiences which will enable transfer of knowledge and skills beyond the scope of the program. Each of these elements must be incorporated into a competency-based program for it to be effective.

One program which is illustrative of this approach is being developed by the High School Political Science Curriculum Development Project at Indiana University.⁷ The program is entitled Comparing Political Experiences, and is based on a substantive framework through which explanations of common political experiences such as political maintenance and change are explored by analyzing a set of patterns of political values and behavior such as political influence, ideology, decision-making, and leadership. These experiences are compared across many types of political systems at the organizational, local, national and international levels. Students are taught to analyze, evaluate, and apply their knowledge to everyday political life. The explanatory framework, the use of systematic comparisons across levels as well as types of political systems, and the application of knowledge to everyday political life are all aspects of knowledge and skill development which the program offers. The rationale for this project is illustrative of the potential of a competency-based approach for promoting the development of student participant roles. The approach will be sketched and discussed in the following section.

A Competency-Based Approach to the Development of Student Participant Roles

Every effort at curriculum development necessitates making some assumptions about student behavior, the role of instruction, and the use of human and physical resources in schools. The nature of these assumptions can have

⁷This project is part of the American Political Science Association's Political Science Course Content Improvement Project for Elementary and Secondary Schools which is sponsored by the APSA Committee on Pre-Collegiate Education and supported by the National Science Foundation. The Co-Directors of the High School Project are Judith A. Gillespie, Howard D. Mehlinger and John J. Patrick.

profound effects on the shaping of instructional materials and methods. Suppose, for the moment, that we agree that the over-all purpose of social education is to promote students' social self-fulfillment. A developer with training in the psychology of learning could assume that this general goal would be met if students were encouraged to articulate their values and needs and were given maximum flexibility to pursue their own interests. Under this assumption, he would structure a curriculum in which individualized instruction was paramount. With the same goal in mind, another developer with training in the sociology of learning might well assume that what students needed were "group" experiences of a wide variety of types in order to understand the social limits of individual interests. He would structure his curriculum to teach students sound information about the system in which they are a part and how to make use of that system in order to realize individual and group needs. Neither developer is necessarily right or wrong, but it becomes very clear that underlying assumptions make a real difference in the shaping of a curriculum development effort.

Basically, the Comparing Political Experiences program is designed to promote multi-dimensional individual growth by developing a set of basic political competencies which allow individuals to become full participants in political life. Without such competencies, individuals would not have a full range of choice concerning alternative ways of attaining their goals. In other words, they would not have the fundamental knowledge or skills which would enable them to act based on their aspirations. Thus, while the program is not designed to promote particular individual or social values, it is designed to encourage the development of competencies which will increase individual growth.

Yet, if the program supported individual growth without some basic concern for group dynamics, it would stand in violation of its subject matter. Politics is a group phenomenon whether the group is a small self-selected committee or a nation state. Therefore, individual growth must in some way be integrated with some image of group behavior. Accordingly, the program needs to focus on those basic competencies which contribute to group growth and development. It is those competencies which intersect to promote both individual and group growth which become the core competencies of the program.

The overriding purpose of the program, then, is to increase individual and group growth simultaneously by developing basic political competencies. Ideally, an individual acting in the model of the goal of the program would pursue synergistic relationships between his own actions and the group's goals. This type of activity was perceived by Ruth Benedict in the following way:

"[Some] societies have social orders in which the individual by the same act and at the same time serves his own advantage and that of the group . . . not because people are unselfish and put social obligations above personal desires, but when social arrangements make these two identical."⁸

Ideally, then, individuals pursuing the program would be encouraged to perceive and pursue activity based on the recognition of a fundamental identity between individual and group growth.

⁸Abraham H. Maslow, "Synergy in the Society and in the Individual," Journal of Individual Psychology 20, 1964, p. 156.

With this identity established as an ideal, it is now possible to stipulate that the general overriding purpose of this program is to increase students' capacity to pursue this identity, or to increase what we will term their social self-fulfillment. Social self-fulfillment can be defined as: making choices and taking actions which, within the constraints and opportunities of a group context, increase both individual and group growth. Under this definition, social self-fulfillment is considered to be a dynamic, developmental goal which is not attained in any final sense of reaching perfect identity between individual and group growth in all actions. The very idea of "growth" prohibits this final state. Rather, individuals under the program will have achieved its goals if, in the long run and over a series of group situations, they pursue goals which increase individual and group growth.

The goal of social self-fulfillment has been supported in research efforts by both social psychologists and educators. The contribution of the relationships between individuals and groups to individual development is embedded in most social psychological research.⁹ The difference between the concept of social self-fulfillment presented here and those developed in the literature is that we treat social self-fulfillment as a behavior pattern rather than merely a psychological state. In this sense the achievement of social self-fulfillment depends on how an individual acts and not on the disclosure of his motivations.

⁹Abraham H. Maslow, Motivation and Personality, New York: Harper, 1954; Eric H. Erikson, Identity, Youth and Crisis, New York: W.W. Norton, 1968; Edgar H. Schein and Warren G. Bennis, Personal and Organizational Change Through Group Methods: The Laboratory Approach, New York: John Wiley, 1965.

In the education literature, James Coleman has probably been the chief advocate of recognizing the group-related aspects of the education process.¹⁰ His recognition of the effects of peer and classroom structure on student growth undergird many of the assumptions some educators make about the effects of group interaction on learning. Our purpose is to operationalize many of these findings for an instructional program which promotes neither individual self-seeking behavior nor consensus on societal norms, but rather a dynamic interaction between individual and group growth.

Social self-fulfillment thus appears to be a viable and important goal for social studies instruction. Yet it would be foolish to believe that such a multi-dimensional and encompassing goal can be fully promoted by a single politics course. To fully promote the goal, students need to pursue it through a long-term series of experiences which focus on many different dimensions of individual and group life. While the program attempts to be multi-disciplinary, it cannot completely cover all the necessary ground. This is why the goal in this program is limited to creating awareness of a fundamental identity between individual and group growth and to providing some basic competencies and experiences which will encourage the implementation of that awareness in group action.

Considering the definition, support and limitations of social self-fulfillment as it is promoted in this program, it is possible to make some assessment of the type of individual who would have achieved this goal through the program. If a student were given a choice situation, the student

¹⁰James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society, New York: The Free Press, 1961.

would carefully consider alternative courses of action (or inaction) and, among other criteria, determine whether or not the alternatives increased both individual and group growth. The student would apply his own values to the alternatives as well as determine the effects of any alternative on group goals. He would then determine which alternative best satisfies both sets of goals. We could say that if, across many such choice situations, an individual chose to act on the alternative which best satisfies both sets of goals, then that individual would be pursuing social self-fulfillment.

Note that the goal is not dependent upon "winning" in a policy decision, but rather choosing to act in a certain matter and then actually following through on that action. This is why the creation of competencies becomes important. Students must not only learn to make decisions which promote social self-fulfillment, but they must be able to execute their decisions to the best of their ability. Both components of the process are heavily dependent on the development of analytical, methodological, and participation skills and some plain, concrete experience in choice situations.

If this is an image of a socially self-fulfilled person, then what distinguishes it from other images? Two contrasting images may be useful here. One is a profile of a manipulator, a person whose choice is based only on the promotion of his or her own goals. Most people face many competitive situations in which this role predominates. Working for grades in cases in which the grading curve supports a limited number of high scores is one such situation. Striving for promotions or advancing special interests are others. A second profile is one of a conformist, a person who makes choices based totally on the norms established by a group. Common examples

of such conformity occur when individuals yield their better judgment to peer group pressures or when group participation becomes ritualized to the exclusion of individual initiative. Neither of these images represent goal-fulfillment according to the guidelines of this program.

These rough images are different, but it is difficult to determine how one could empirically measure whether or not students were increasing their social self-fulfillment. As an overriding goal, of course, it serves an important function in the development of guidelines and more concrete objectives for the program. Yet it would be helpful if we could develop some rough empirical measure of its increase. Clearly, both individual and group goals can be determined in at least a significant sample of choice situations that students face. A relevant sample of such choice situations will be built into the participation experiences provided by the program. In these structured settings, a range of possible alternatives can be determined. Students can then report their decisions and the justification for them, permitting the "measurement" of the degree to which their choices tend to maximize individual and group goals. This evaluation can be coupled with a determination of whether or not students exhibit the skills necessary to carry out their decisions. In this fundamental way, we can have a basic determination of the achievement of social self-fulfillment.

Thus the normative commitments of the program are clearly outlined by defining and delimiting the concept of social self-fulfillment. The goal seems viable and important because it promotes awareness and action which links individual and group goals and growth. Therefore, it appears to be a worthy goal. It also appears to be a measurable goal, one that has some

rough empirical referents. Both of these attributes provide some justification for choosing it among a wide range of alternative program goals.

There are other justifications which are as important as those just mentioned. One justification is immediately evident. Social self-fulfillment is an attainable goal. Because it is developmental, all students can achieve it to some degree. This is important because it is not obvious that many goals of social education have this characteristic. Attempting to promote a democratic society through schooling has been proved to be extremely difficult by most social research. The rules of aggregation of individual behavior are far too complex to posit what individual characteristics youth must be taught in order to support a particular social and political system.¹¹ Teaching values such as commitment, freedom and equality has proved to be equally difficult because understanding and valuing are difficult to translate into measurable behavior patterns. Thus, social self-fulfillment, because it is not based on supporting a certain political system or a particular attitude, but rather indicates a developmental life-style pattern which is flexible across contexts, becomes an attainable goal which is both measurable and workable in an instructional program.

Another reason why the goal is important is that it is comprehensive. It combines both the growth of self and social groups into a formula which is justifiable across all individuals. Neither a minority of students nor majority norms are served by the concept. The focus on academic goals in instruction has long serviced those of particular backgrounds and aspirations.

¹¹Kenneth J. Arrow, Social Choice and Individual Values, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963.

In the same sense, goals based on societal needs have tended to support the status quo, not only inhibiting understanding of differences, but also students' capacities to change as the needs of society surely change. Thus the concept contributes a focus which is both widely applicable to all students and inclusive of diverse types of concerns.

As social self-fulfillment is both attainable and comprehensive, it is also a goal with multiple implications for the role of instruction in the school setting. Operationalizing the concept necessitates a reconsideration of the roles of students, teachers and school resources in student development. As a group concept, it forces instruction to take account of the group context within which students live and to utilize that context for instructional purposes. In short, the use of the concept requires developers to consider the school as a total system and forces them to do more than construct a self-contained curriculum package which can be slotted into a particular classroom. Curriculum efforts have long been critiqued for lack of consideration of these aspects of school life. The social self-fulfillment concept makes a school social and political life an integral part of curricular concerns.

Underlying Assumptions of the Program. As was stated earlier, defining the general purposes of a program provides some basic guidelines for instructional design, but still leaves open many alternative ways to proceed. Indeed, the process of specifying instructional guidelines is much like that of opening a jigsaw puzzle. One begins with a more-or-less well-defined picture on the front of the box and what appears to be an infinitesimal number of pieces inside. The problem is how to put the pieces together to produce the

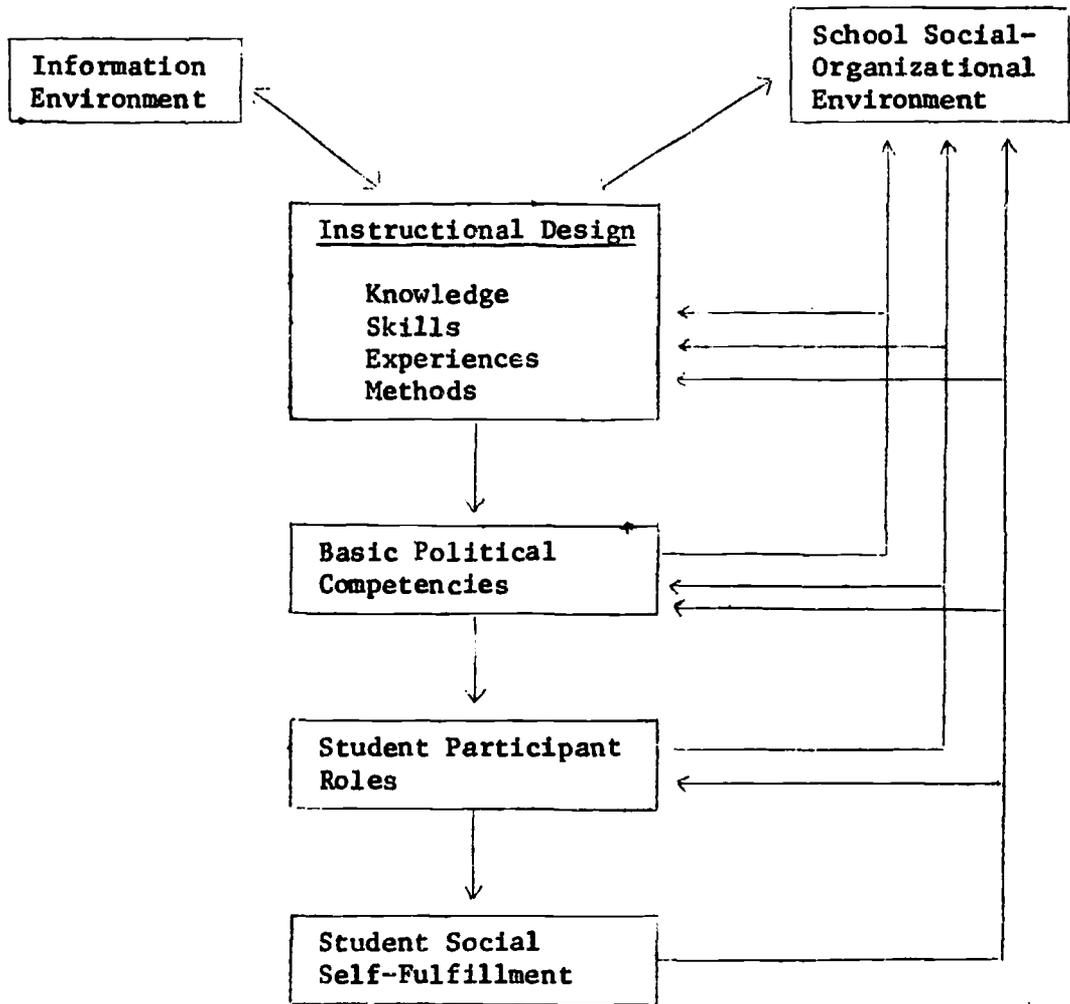
picture. People solve such puzzles in different ways: some by ordering pieces by color, some by putting together parts such as the border, some by identifying major themes or settings. In each case, the player is concerned with systematizing a problem and finding relationships between parts.

Some parts of this program have already been surfaced, such as the need for knowledge and skill development and the provision of basic political experiences. Yet these parts need to be brought together in some systematic way to produce a viable instructional program that will facilitate social self-fulfillment. One way to systematically lay out the framework for an instructional program is to outline the assumptions on which the program is based. If these assumptions are well-defined and grounded, they will form a solid structure which will relate various components into an instructional whole.

At least four general types of assumptions are relevant to a program which is designed to promote social self-fulfillment: 1) assumptions about student behavior and the outcomes of certain behavior patterns; 2) assumptions about the instructional content and methodology necessary to promote student behavior changes; and 3) assumptions about the environmental parameters within which instruction takes place; and 4) assumptions about the implications of the instructional program for schools. Basically, the relationships between these four sets of assumptions form an approach to social studies education which underlines the specific content and methodology utilized in the instructional program.

These relationships are demonstrated in Diagram 1.

DIAGRAM 1: AN APPROACH TO SOCIAL STUDIES INSTRUCTION



The diagram demonstrates how the general assumptions can be linked to form a framework for instruction. In brief, the diagram states that student social self-fulfillment is based on effective student activity in participant roles, that instructional content and methodology must be geared to producing student competencies for effective participation, and that both the informational and social environments must be utilized to aid that instruction. In short, the school as a total social-organizational environment must be utilized in order for social self-fulfillment to be promoted. If social self-fulfillment is increased, it will have multiple implications for student participation, instruction, and the social-organizational environment of the school. Each of the primary assumptions for increasing social self-fulfillment and its implications for schools will be discussed below.

Assumption #1: Student engagement in multiple participant roles in school life will aid in promoting social self-fulfillment. Without active, group-oriented participation, social self-fulfillment would be impossible. Participation is not defined narrowly as office-holding nor, on the other hand, as necessarily "activist." What is meant is that students are able to realize their own goals only by acting in combinations of leadership, followership, and decision-making roles in group contexts. Groups, too, depend on participation for goal achievement. Thus, neither individual nor group goals will be realized unless students make a habit of participating in multiple group settings. The range of these settings is broad, from school sports teams to student councils, from church groups to official positions in communities. The premise is that if students take on conscious, informed, skillful engagement in such activities, they will find multiple avenues for social self-fulfillment.

However, the assumption that participation is a requisite for social self-fulfillment is not very powerful if participation experiences are not carefully selected. Many students have spent a day in the mayor's office, the welfare administration or a meeting of the school board without achieving much participation experience of lasting value. For that matter, some students participate in school activities apathetically; most find little meaning in these experiences. Clearly, students need to develop roles which are continuous rather than transient, active rather than passive, and meaningfully relevant to them rather than artificially imposed. Without meeting these minimal criteria, the linkage between participation and social self-fulfillment remains very fragile.

The linkage will also be considerably fortified by the selection of participation experiences based on their potential for contributing to the direct application of basic knowledge and skill competencies taught in the program. Selecting a group context in which students can exercise decision-making skills after they have been exposed to principles and some practice in decision-making would seem to facilitate transfer and relevance of that particular participant role. Doing likewise for skills of leadership, planning, communication and task implementation would provide a foundation for a wide range of role experiences in which most students would not normally engage. By careful selection of experiences both for their reinforcement of instruction and their variety, students would have many opportunities to contribute to individual and group growth.

Even with carefully structured contexts, two other conditions play an important role in ensuring participation experiences which lead to social self-fulfillment: motivations and group dynamics. No matter how well structured the activity or how relevant the goal, any group experience depends on the generation of sufficient and appropriate motivations and incentives for participation. The incentives for the kinds of participation experiences outlined above are multiple. As part of an on-going program, students will find participation an important means of applying and understanding major ideas in the program. Much of the participation will be structured as team work through which incentives of peer interaction are high. The activities will also be largely self-selected. Students will choose from a wide range of activities, those which are most relevant to their interests. These conditions are coupled with the fact that, on the average, students tend to find such activities "better than school" and their incentive for breaking regular routines is high. If these motivations are bolstered in the program and extended into real concern for responsible contributions to group goals, then the program should have a sufficient foundation for sustaining motivation.

Students will both work in teams in their participation experience and work in natural group contexts. Therefore, it becomes important to ensure that the dynamics of both types of groups are productive. The program will focus on teaching students basic skills of working in different types of team and natural settings so that a productive group dynamic can be maintained and extended. By focusing both on individual motivations and group dynamics, the program should be supportive of linking participation and social self-fulfillment.

The research evidence supporting the linkage between participation and social self-fulfillment is both meager and diverse. School research has not traditionally included studies of student participation efforts beyond descriptions of "extra-curricular" activities. Yet some seminal participation studies in the area of simulated game settings have indicated positive motivational results from participation experiences.¹² Also, some direct studies on the effects of participation on student learning indicate that students achieve higher satisfaction and learn to work in groups, make decisions, and take on leadership roles from participation experiences.

In their study, Big School, Small School, Barker and Gump found that in small schools in which students participated both more frequently and in more responsible positions than in large schools, students were more satisfied with the development of their intellectual and participatory competence, their ability to take on challenges, and their skills in working in groups. They found that when students in both large and small schools occupied more central positions in group activities, they emphasized satisfaction with challenging situations and their action-valence increased.¹³ In short, they found that participation tended to increase both satisfaction and the tendency for students to take meaningful actions to fulfill their needs. McPartland also found participation produced direct results in terms of both academic and social goals. He summarized his findings as follows:

¹²Sarane S. Boocock and E. O. Schild, (eds.), Simulation Games in Learning, Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications, 1968.

¹³R. G. Barker and P. V. Gump, Big School, Small School, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964.

"Participation can come in different forms, and each extra element adds a potentially different effect on students. Participation to increase social integration affects students' general satisfaction. If participation also adds new peer group mixes, new student norms will be developed, often emphasizing academic interest. If decision-making experiences are added, responsibility and decision-making skill will be increased, with more successful academic pursuits resulting as a by-product."¹⁴

Thus, some case has been built from several sources that participation can contribute substantially to student social self-fulfillment. If student participant roles are supported by an instructional program and relevant motivational and group conditions, then the linkages should prove even more powerful.

Assumption #2: For effective participant roles to be developed, instructional content and methods need to systematically promote students' political competencies.

Some students acquire participant roles rather naturally because they are especially interested in school or community governance. Yet, for most students, the conditions for promoting effective participant roles are not created in any setting -- the family, the community, or the school -- in their formative years. Adelson and others have demonstrated that high school students do have the capacity to develop political competencies necessary for effective participant roles.¹⁵ The problem is thus to create the appropriate conditions for developing these competencies through an instructional program. Instruction which promotes a set of knowledge and skill competencies necessary for effective participation,

¹⁴James McPartland, et. al., Student Participation in High School Decisions; A Study of Students and Teachers in Fourteen Urban High Schools, Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins University, 1971, p. 14.

¹⁵Joseph Adelson, "The Political Imagination of the Young Adolescent," Daedalus, 100, 4, 1971; Jean Piaget, Six Psychological Studies, New York: Random House, 1968; Joseph Adelson and Robert P. O'Neil, "Growth of Political Ideas in Adolescence: The Sense of Community," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 4, 1966.

which gives students relevant experience in a wide range of potential role positions, and which motivates them to take on some participant roles of their own choice should thus create the necessary conditions for fostering effective participant role behavior.

There are four sets of political competencies which seem to capture a wide range of skills necessary for acting in effective participant roles under a competency-based approach to participation. One is political knowledge which provides students with ways of abstracting important ideas and behaviors from political situations, data to bring to bear on decision-making, and, as important, an appreciation of basic commonalities in political life across a diverse range of political experiences which include many situations beyond the students' immediate experience. One component of the program must focus on providing relevant, generalizable knowledge about political life which will provide a context and a justification for responsible participation.

Other political competencies are equally as important as political knowledge. Students need fundamental intellectual skills to analyze political situations and to have sound criteria for evaluating actions and outcomes. They need participation skills such as decision-making, leadership, and group organization skills which will aid them in putting their ideas into action. Finally, students need to develop attitudes toward political knowledge and participation which will facilitate their action in effective and responsible ways. Each of these competencies form key components of any instructional program designed to promote effective participant roles leading to social self-fulfillment.

Research evidence that sustains the linkage between instruction which systematically promotes political competence and the development of effective

participant roles is scarce, yet there are quite a few participation projects that have been undertaken as some part of school curriculum offerings. An example of such a project is the Boulder Experiments in which students interested in the environment tried their hand at several experiments with traffic and pollution control in Boulder as part of their high school classes.¹⁶ Another project, the Multi-District Institute for Political Education, has established a set of political participation projects for students focusing on campaigning, interest group formation, and policy advocacy which are structured as electives in the New Jersey school system.¹⁷ In each of these cases, student participation is part of an instructional program. Yet, few systematic linkages between an integrated course of study, the development of participation competencies, and involvement in sustained participation experiences were attempted by either of these projects, and evaluation studies have yet to be done.

The import of making student participation an integral component of a school instructional program is illustrated by a seminal study done by the Educational Change Team at the University of Michigan. In a study of different types of student governance in schools, Wittes and others concluded that:

If students are to exert satisfactory control over their school lives, then not only must their school's governance support student power, but so also must its instructional process.¹⁸

¹⁶Karen Wiley, Boulder Experiments, op. cit.

¹⁷Multi-District Institute for Political Education, Barry Lefkowitz, Director, P.O. Box 426, Glassboro Woodbury Road, Pitman, New Jersey 08071.

¹⁸Glorianne Wittes, et. al., Innovative Governance Structures in Secondary Schools, Ann Arbor, Michigan: Educational Change Team, 1972.

Wittes found that across different types of changes in varying types of school settings, students knew very little about how to participate, were rarely given opportunities to learn such skills, and the knowledge, skills and experiences needed to promote effective participation in any setting were not being promoted in the school curriculum. She concluded that instruction based in curriculum offerings is a necessary support for the development of effective student participant roles. While it certainly is not the intention of this program to directly intervene in school governance, it is very much its intention to attempt to use school experiences in order to provide instruction which promotes effective student participation in a wide range of settings in their everyday lives. Others' results point positively toward the potential of this effort, yet the systematic linkages between instruction and participation have not yet been developed.

Assumption #3: Both this information and school social-organization environments need to be maximally used for developing the kinds of instruction which will promote student political competencies. For decades, the informational environment has influenced the directions in which curriculum development efforts have moved. Obtaining and organizing knowledge has been a major concern to curriculum developers and has caused much debate. Yet people have only recently become acutely aware of the basic school resources necessary to carry out a curriculum effort and the effects of the school social-organizational environment on the development of student competencies. Our thesis is that school environments are rich in opportunities for planned instructional activities which will help promote student political competence and that the school setting itself can be utilized as an instructional resource.

Evidence to support the effective use of the information environment for the development of instructional programs is replete throughout various types of literature. Clearly, national projects in curriculum development during the 1960's attempted to put the best available disciplinary knowledge to use in curriculum development. Other projects have also attempted to do this by including data, scientific methods and other practices and questions current in the social science disciplines in development efforts. Evaluation studies have normally not been focused on the effects of different types of information on student competencies, yet they have demonstrated that programs based on the conceptual structures of academic disciplines can have a distinct impact on students' knowledge and intellectual skills.¹⁹

In order to promote basic political competencies, the most appropriate disciplinary information needs to be supplemented by a wide variety of other source materials. Information from non-social science sources and popular material needs to be used both to hedge and concretize concepts and generalizations. Yet, the disciplinary information itself, because it cannot be presented as an end in itself, must be selected and interpreted in ways useful for developing political competencies. Thus, while the program needs to be based on a systematic framework which will encompass generalizable information, it also needs to be directly applicable to practical political situations.

This link between theory and practice is fundamental to the development of the content base of the program. Therefore, while students are provided with

¹⁹John J. Patrick, "The Impact of an Experimental Course, 'American Political Behavior,' on the Knowledge, Skills and Attitudes of Secondary School Students," Social Education, February, 1972.

generalizable information about political life across local, national and international political systems, they must also be provided with information useful in practical political situations. Thus the program will focus on politics as an important set of ideas and skills such as decision-making and leadership, it will demonstrate that these ideas and skills are as applicable to understanding and acting in political life in international groups as in local school and community groups, and it will attempt to show the utility of these ideas and skills in everyday political life.

Few development efforts have focused on utilizing the social-organizational environment of the school for instructional purposes. Yet, a great deal of research has been done on the effects of school social and political climates on student behavior. Classroom climates have been shown to have demonstrable effects on student learning.²⁰ Social-organizational climates have also been researched, largely demonstrating the negative effects of student peer interaction and authority patterns on learning.²¹

Willis Hawley has suggested several researchable hypotheses on school-student relationships such as:

²⁰Lee H. Ehman, "An Analysis of the Relationships of Selected Educational Variables with the Political Socialization of High School Students," American Educational Research Journal 6, November, 1969, pp. 559-580.

²¹James S. Coleman, op. cit.; Richard Schmuck and Matthew Miles, Organization Development in Schools, National Press Books, 1971; Seymour B. Sarason, The Culture of the School and the Problem of Change, Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1971; William G. Spady, "Lament for the Letterman: Effects of Peer Status and Extra-Curricular Activities on Goals and Achievement," American Journal of Sociology, 75, 1968; James V. Mitchell, Jr., A Study of High School Learning Environments and Their Impact on Students, New York: Rochester University Press, 1967.

1. Students in schools in which free expression is encouraged and where controversial issues are discussed openly, are more likely to develop a strong commitment to that value and to understand its civic utility;
2. To the extent that students are involved in the actual formulation of school and classroom policies, they will develop a predisposition to participate actively and democratically in the political process, and the capacity to do so; and
3. To the extent that principals, teachers and other staff members treat each other with respect and deal with important issues in a democratic way, students will be committed to democratic approaches to decision-making.²²

Research done by both Glorianne Wittes and John DeCecco tends to confirm these effects of environment on student development.²³ This research tends to indicate that a viable linkage can be welded between school experiences and instruction which will aid students in developing political competency and effective participant roles.

The evidence supporting the use of the school environment for instructional purposes tends to lead to the conclusion that only democratic school environments effectively support participation activities. Yet, if participation is considered to be a broad concept encompassing everyday group activity, surely even the most elite school organization supports member participation. While students do not have a voice in administrative decisions in an elite school, they continue to

²²Willis D. Hawley, "Political Education and School Organization," Theory Into Practice, December, 1971.

²³Wittes, op. cit.; John P. DeCecco and Arlene Richards, Civic Education for the Seventies: An Alternative to Repression and Revolution, New York: Teacher's College, Center for Research in Education in American Liberties, June, 1970.

participate in peer groups in which activity significant to their personal goals is undertaken. As long as the program is fundamentally competency-based rather than action-based in its approach, the school environment, regardless of its organizational structure, can be effectively utilized to promote an instructional program which includes viable participation experiences. The determination of how environmental differences effect the ways in which promotion of such instruction is actually carried has not been researched and will be part of the program evaluation discussed in the final chapter of this paper.

Assumption #4: The introduction of a program which promotes student social self-fulfillment, participant roles and political competencies will have demonstrable effects on the social organization of a school. If the school environment is used to provide settings for developing political competencies and offering participation experiences, then schools are bound to be affected by the program. The idea that school is a "place" where political inquiry is facilitated through classroom instruction is expanded to include schools as both the subject matter and often the object of the inquiry process. Students do research on schools and use that information to make an active contribution to school political life. As a result, actors in school political life must change their image of the school as a formal, apolitical institution to one which includes networks of human interaction which are as dynamic as any other group setting. There is very little research which indicates how images and actions are effected by this type of instructional activity, yet some speculations can be presented here.

Certainly, more than the image of schools will change as a result of the program. The school's actual, everyday social-organization fabric will be demonstrably influenced by increased information and activity. Most schools will have more information about how they function as social-organizational units than ever before. Most will also experience more purposive student activity. The dynamics of these conditions are hard to predict. There will certainly be errors made by both students and teachers in participation activity. Yet in many senses, schools are one of the few controlled environments responsible for housing errors as part and parcel of the learning experience. In another dimension, there is no real reason why radicalization should be a necessary outcome of the program because, perhaps for the first time, students will have a stake in contributing something to the political life of their school. Thus, the pulse of political life in the school will change dramatically, though not necessarily negatively, as a result of the program.

Individual roles will also change as a result of the program. Teachers will expand their roles from traditional classroom instructors to coordinators and implementors of participation activities. Because part of the program is designed as a flexible set of substitutable individual and group activities, teachers will be faced with many choices about which activities should be undertaken both in the classroom and the school. They will also do much of the initial negotiating and bargaining with other school personnel in order to set up student study and participation experiences. In the course of these experiences, teachers and students will be put in the position of working together to plan and implement activities and explore the political life of the school. The program thus opens a new dimension of the school experience

for teachers which should not only get them out of the classroom into the school, but should weld different types of relationships with students. For teachers who are used to the isolation of a classroom setting and dominant authority relations with students, the new dimensions of activity and role relationships will be a real change.

Just as the dimensionality of the teacher's role changes as a result of the program, so the role of students changes. Students who have traditionally occupied spectator roles in the classrooms will now uniformly take on actor roles. This applies across the board to the potential dropout as well as the student council president. Civic education has traditionally supported the aim of educating all citizens, not just college-bound students. The program will give each student repeated opportunities to take an active part in his own learning and to make a positive political contribution to the school community of which he is a member.

What kind of actor roles will students take? The flexibility of the laboratory activities allows students to have relative freedom of choice in constructing their own learning experience. There are limits to this, of course, as the program is designed to teach certain concepts and skills which can only be learned if some group of students selects to do each of the activities. Yet over the range of the program, students still maintain a great deal of choice. In addition, students are actors in another way, for they also, to a large extent, determine the contributions that will be made to their own social and political environment. The success of the program in many ways depends on how well they can assume new roles as contributors to school political experiences.

Unless these types of changes occur as the program unfolds, its goals will be considerably shortchanged. Students know a "fake" attempt at accommodating their participation in the school community. If they are to adopt effective participant roles in any setting, the school is the most controlled place for them to begin. However, the school and its various political actors must demonstrate considerable flexibility and tolerance for this to happen. Schools that want "real" curriculum reform of the type outlined here must assume a major burden for making the program a success. Yet, if it is successful, many schools may find dynamic involvement and contribution on the part of their personnel a welcome and needed resource for present and future needs. These types of implications will be examined in the evaluation work that is done for the program.

Each of the four assumptions and the evidence produced to support them generate an argument for the approach to social studies education introduced in Diagram 1. This argument is both logical and deductively powerful. It can be summarized as follows:

1. Social self-fulfillment is a primary goal of social education.
2. If students engage in multiple participant roles in group contexts, then social self-fulfillment will be promoted.
3. If students are exposed to useful knowledge, skills and experiences through instruction, then they will effectively engage in multiple participant roles in group contexts.
4. If instructional methods aid rather than inhibit the acquisition of useful knowledge, skills and experiences, then students will engage effectively in multiple participant roles in group contexts.

5. If the informational environment provided by the disciplines and other sources is utilized to its maximum, then the knowledge, skills, experiences and methods of instruction to which students are exposed will have necessary backing for successful instructional design.
6. If the social-organizational context of the school is utilized to its maximum, then the knowledge, skills, experiences and methods to which students are exposed will have necessary backing for successful instructional design.
7. If social education maximizes use of the informational and school social-organizational contexts for instructional purposes and if it includes instruction which promotes competent student activity in multiple participant roles, then social education will promote student social self-fulfillment.

The argument forms a logical, tight-knit theory of social education which allows the development process to proceed in full recognition of the assumptions which underline curriculum efforts.²⁴ With the addition of the outline of various ways that the program can affect the school environment, the implications of the program can be understood and provision can be made for giving necessary support for changes.

The benefits of developing a logical, consistent, empirically supportable approach to social studies education are many. First, the normative commitments of the project are made explicit. The value implications of the curriculum effort can thus be compared to those of other projects and assurance is given

²⁴The theory proposed here has a deductively powerful logical structure. Major terms are defined as: SED = social education; SSF = social self-fulfillment; P = effective student participation; I = instruction which promotes political competency; IE = information environment; SE = social-organizational environment. Major axioms derived from the assumptions are thus: $SED \supset SSF$; $SSF \equiv P$; $I \equiv P$; and $IE \wedge SE \equiv I$. These axioms can be utilized to provide proofs for the following theorems: $SED \supset P$; $SED \supset I$; and $SED \supset IE \wedge SE$. The theorems, in turn, generate the following deduction: $SED \supset SSF \equiv (SED \supset (I \supset P)) \wedge (SED \supset (IE \wedge SE \supset I))$. This logical formulation formally demonstrates the theoretical power and potential of the verbal argument developed here.

that the commitments are consistent. Second, the empirical assumptions can be researched in order to demonstrate whether or not the assumptions are valid. Finally, the clear statement of a theory offers pragmatic guidelines for the development of instructional objectives and materials. Altogether a systematic foundation is laid for developing a competency-based instructional approach for the development of student participant roles.

Conclusion

The above discussion outlines one rationale for a competency-based instructional approach to the development of student participant roles. Its principal purpose is to provide students with knowledge, skills, attitudes and experience necessary for taking more effective participant roles in political life. Each of the four main elements of a competency-based approach have been outlined utilizing the example of the Comparing Political Experiences program. Within this program, students gain basic political knowledge competencies through a framework which promotes comparison and explanation of common political experiences across many types of political systems and many levels of analysis. Students also gain basic intellectual and participation skill competencies through participation in class and school activities. Finally, they develop actual participation competencies through continuous activity in school political life. Each of these elements have been interrelated into an instructional theory and its assumptions and implications have been underlined.

The approach presented here is one alternative, one that aims to increase students' social self-fulfillment, among many that could be articulated under a competency-based approach to participation. The overriding goal in the program could have been to prepare students for particular political roles,

and specific competencies necessary to fulfill those roles could have been posited. We could also have posited a single dimension of participation, such as the development of skills in determining the costs and benefits of participating in various political situations. The point is not that the alternative presented here is the only or best way to develop a competency-based approach to participation, but that whatever scheme one uses needs to be spelled out in enough detail so that its empirical and normative assumptions and implications can be evaluated.

The outline of assumptions and implications has surfaced a great many problems and prospects in this approach. Basically, a competency-based approach in general and this one in particular calls for a different way of looking at political life and at instruction in participation. Without some conceptualization of common political experiences and linkages between inquiry and action activities, competency-based participation cannot succeed. Also, the approach carries with it a great many operational problems, not the least of which is providing structured and significant experiences through which students can apply their knowledge and skills.

As great as these problems are, the prospects of the program are both unique and exciting. If participation competencies are operationalized and become working objectives for an on-going instructional program and if a laboratory can be effectively created which will offer students continuous opportunities for participation experience, then the program could well promote habits of participation for students that would transfer beyond the course itself. If so, then students would have the skills necessary to decide what participation activities were most suited to their needs and would have some

reasonable expectation of successfully contributing to group political activity. Both during the program and after, they would, perhaps for the first time, be taking an active role in contributing to their school or community.

While the prospects of this approach lead us to advocate participation, the advocacy is hedged. The approach is not designed to train students to take any particular political role, but to give them the capacity to choose and implement roles which they find attractive. Competency does not guarantee system support, nor does it foster dissent. Neither does it remove frustration or alienation at the individual level. It does not imply a "participant" society in any activist sense, but it does promote the capacity to lead a more active life regardless of the choice of role or context. In this fundamental sense, a competency-based instructional approach to the development of student participant roles provides one effective way to constructively advocate participation without promoting particular political structures, roles or issue positions.