Reconceiving Citizenship: The Social Education of Seven Members of Students Against Driving Drunk.

Cheryl Jeannette Edwards
Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/gradschool_disstheses

Recommended Citation
https://digitalcommons.lsu.edu/gradschool_disstheses/6667

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at LSU Digital Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in LSU Historical Dissertations and Theses by an authorized administrator of LSU Digital Commons. For more information, please contact gradetd@lsu.edu.
INFORMATION TO USERS

This manuscript has been reproduced from the microfilm master. UMI films the text directly from the original or copy submitted. Thus, some thesis and dissertation copies are in typewriter face, while others may be from any type of computer printer.

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleedthrough, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send UMI a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

Oversize materials (e.g., maps, drawings, charts) are reproduced by sectioning the original, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and continuing from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. Each original is also photographed in one exposure and is included in reduced form at the back of the book.

Photographs included in the original manuscript have been reproduced xerographically in this copy. Higher quality 6" x 9" black and white photographic prints are available for any photographs or illustrations appearing in this copy for an additional charge. Contact UMI directly to order.

UMI
A Bell & Howell Information Company
300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor MI 48106-1346 USA
313/761-4700  800/521-0600

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
RECONCEIVING CITIZENSHIP: THE SOCIAL EDUCATION OF SEVEN MEMBERS OF STUDENTS AGAINST DRIVING DRUNK

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Curriculum and Instruction

by

Cheryl Jeannette Edwards

B.A., University of Florida, 1974
M.Ed., Southeastern Louisiana University, 1978
Ed.S., Southeastern Louisiana University, 1984

May 1998
Acknowledgements

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of Janet O. Corkern Arnold. She was a fellow teacher and a most dear friend who encouraged me to pursue a doctoral degree.

I will remain forever grateful to the participants in this study for allowing me be a part of their lives. Without their consideration, this research would not have been possible.

I offer my appreciation for their assistance to members of my doctoral committee: Dr. William Doll, Dr. Wilson Marston, Dr. Spencer Maxcy, Dr. William Pinar, and Dr. Joyce Jackson. I especially want to thank Dr. Petra Munro, my faculty advisor and chairperson of my committee, for her careful reading of several drafts and for her faith in my ability to complete this project.

To my dear friends and colleagues who have supported me in countless ways throughout this project, I extend my sincerest gratitude. In particular, I want to express my thanks to Lynda Dugas for being my friend and mentor. She made me believe that even a "turtle" can achieve her goals.

I would like to thank the most important people in my life—my family. My children Mary Beth and Matthew, and now their families, are the greatest source of happiness in my life. Loving and being loved by them have meant more than words can say. To Bit, my husband and partner in life, I extend my undying love and appreciation for his patience and great kindness as I have pursued my career and educational goals. I
also want to express my love and gratitude to my mother Mercedes Lee, a great lady who read poems and stories to me when I was a little girl.
# Table of Contents

Acknowledgments ................................................................. iii

Abstract ................................................................................... viii

Chapter

1  Introduction ................................................................. 1
   Connecting SADD and Social Education ..................... 2
   Students Against Driving Drunk (SADD) ..................... 4
   Focus on Citizenship ..................................................... 6
   Unrealized Social Studies Reforms .............................. 10
   Rationale ...................................................................... 13
   Research Questions ..................................................... 14
   Overview of the Study .................................................. 14
   End Notes .................................................................... 15

2  Literature Review ............................................................ 18
   Part 1: Researcher's Background ................................ 18
   Part 2: Researcher's Theoretical Stance ...................... 21
   Part 3: Social Studies Reform—Progression, Regression,
           and Reconceptionalization ............................... 37
   Part 4: Social Education in the Extracurriculum .......... 61
   End Notes .................................................................... 77

3  Methodology ................................................................. 81
   Qualitative Research ................................................... 81
   Case Study ................................................................... 83
   Access to Site ............................................................. 85
   Data Collection ........................................................... 87
   Analysis ....................................................................... 91
   Ethical Issues ............................................................. 93
   End Notes .................................................................... 94

4  Liza's Story ................................................................. 95
   Reunion ...................................................................... 96
   Liza's Family ............................................................. 98
   Leadership in SADD ..................................................... 99
   The Worst Night of Liza’s Life ..................................... 102
   Dimensions of Caring ................................................ 112

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>Civic Involvement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>Postscript</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>End Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>Charlie’s Story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>It’s No Problem; It’s Just Heart</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>Home Bound and Bondage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>Beer is Free and Sex is Fun, We’re the Class of ‘91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133</td>
<td>Striking Out on His Own</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td>Outside In</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144</td>
<td>The Right to Gripe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>Cathy’s Story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>Preface</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>An Image of Cathy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152</td>
<td>The Significance of Christian Values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>The Value(s) of Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>Significance of SADD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167</td>
<td>Belonging: SADD and Citizen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174</td>
<td>End Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175</td>
<td>Janie’s Story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>177</td>
<td>Janie’s Family: Separation and Dead End to Discussion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>182</td>
<td>Janie’s Surrogate Family: Attaching and Moving On</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185</td>
<td>Accepted Exclusion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>190</td>
<td>Learning In School and In SADD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>194</td>
<td>Civic Involvement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>Molly’s Story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201</td>
<td>Reunion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>203</td>
<td>FamilyTies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>204</td>
<td>Personal and Social Responsibility</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>216</td>
<td>Cynical Citizen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>225</td>
<td>End Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226</td>
<td>Helen’s Story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226</td>
<td>Reunion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>227</td>
<td>“All-American” Family</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228</td>
<td>Other Image/Self Image</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends and Faith</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caring and Control: Contradictions in Leadership</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman by Design</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End Notes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guy's Story</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reunion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Growing Pains</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Steps to SADD</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Well-Worn Road Less Traveled</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>You Have to Be Carefully Taught</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soul Searcher</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epilogue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End Note</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joining Stories: Analysis of Case Studies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Un)social Studies</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reconceiving Citizenship</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End Notes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epilogue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>References</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix A: Chronology of Events</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix B: Letter to School Principal (1989)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix C: Letter to School Principal (1990)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix D: Parental Permission Form</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix E: Guide for Interviews</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix F: Statement of Consent</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix G: Open Letter to the Research Participants</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vita</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Abstract

This qualitative study centers on education for citizenship, a topic which is explored through an analysis of case studies of seven participants who were members of Students Against Driving Drunk (SADD) in high school. Data was collected in two phases. The first phase occurred between September of 1988 and May of 1991. During this period, the researcher was a participant-observer and conducted individual and group interviews with members. Phase two took place in 1995, with follow-up interviews being conducted with seven former members who served as key informants for the study.

The primary research questions addressed in this study are: (1) What meanings did the participants give to their experiences in SADD? (2) What are the implications of those meanings for social education? While the questions focused specifically on the participants’ experiences in SADD, their experiences in other aspects of their lives also contributed to their understandings of citizenship.

While SADD is an extracurricular organization, the analysis of the case studies revealed several salient points for reconceiving citizenship as a curricular goal. Explored in this study are notions concerning abstract ideals and concrete experiences, universal and particular (contextual) understandings, and plurality in terms of common values and difference. The analysis features discussions focusing primarily on the processes and purposes of citizenship and the way in which these relate to the social education of students.
Chapter I

Introduction

This study centers on education for citizenship, a topic which is explored through an analysis of the experiences of seven participants who were members of Students Against Driving Drunk (SADD)\(^1\) in high school. As will be explained, the study evolved over a number of years, taking an unanticipated turn which inspired me to pursue a course of investigation focusing on citizenship in social education. Through their stories, the participants revealed complex ideas about what it means to be a citizen in a democracy. And it is the complexity of this subject—the concept of citizenship—which became the focus of this study. As they discussed their experiences in SADD, in school, and in other aspects of their lives, several themes emerged which raised fundamental questions regarding democracy and citizenship. Explored in this study are notions concerning abstract ideals and concrete experiences, universal and particular (contextual) understandings, and plurality in terms of common values and difference.

While I am a researcher on this project, my career has been as an educator for twenty-five years. For approximately fifteen years, I was a teacher of children in preschool and elementary school, adolescents in junior high school, and young adults in college. The subjects taught for most of those years were social studies and language arts. For the past ten years, I have worked as an educational consultant, primarily with
high school students in extracurricular service and issues-oriented programs. Over the years, I also have been a volunteer for non-profit organizations, like Mothers Against Drunk Driving.

Connecting SADD and Social Education

To begin, it is necessary to explain the initial connection I perceived between the extracurricular organization of SADD and the curricula of social studies. From there, the steps which led to the central questions of this study will be retraced.

My decision to pursue this line of research evolved from the intersection of two separate interests: academic study in the field of social studies education and my involvement in Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD), a non-profit organization with the dual aim of preventing drunken driving and assisting victims of drunken driving crashes. At the time the study was conceived, I was employed as the Youth Programs Coordinator for a state office of MADD, a position which was funded by a grant from the state’s Highway Safety Commission. In the course of my work, I had an opportunity to attend a meeting of the newly-formed chapter of SADD at Parish High School. About fifty students had gathered for an evening meeting in the school’s Commons. As I sat in the back of the room observing the group, I was intrigued by the way in which the students interacted as they discussed the issue of drinking and driving and planned for an upcoming public awareness activity. Reflecting on the meeting as I drove home that evening and throughout the subsequent weeks, first a spark of recognition and then an incipient awareness began to take shape. In several
ways the students were enacting an approach to social studies described variously as issues-oriented and problems-centered education. They had identified a social issue of concern to them. They were discussing the issue, exploring options to address the issue, and taking action which they hoped would benefit themselves and their fellow students. It was an idea which, I believed, warranted further investigation. What could I learn from these students about an issues-oriented (or problems-centered) approach to social studies education?

What began as a one-year project to explore an issues-oriented approach to education became a study which spanned almost a decade. It evolved from a case study of the Parish High Chapter of SADD to its present form, a reconceiving of citizenship in social education. The research for this qualitative study occurred during two phases. In phase one, I was involved with the group as a participant-observer, attending meetings and participating in the group's activities, talking to members informally, and conducting formal interviews with them. Phase one lengthened to three years. By the end of that period, circumstances forestalled the continuation of the research.

When the project was revisited two years later, it was incumbent upon me to rethink the project in light of the changes that had occurred, primarily that the members of SADD with whom I had worked had graduated. Through discussions with my faculty advisor Dr. Petra Munro and additional reading on case study research and feminist theory, in particular, a revised version of my research began to unfold.
The case study of the SADD Chapter was transformed into case studies of seven members of the group. The period of time between the end of phase one of my research and my decision to continue was fortuitous. It provided me an opportunity to conduct interviews with the participants (phase two of the data gathering) at a time when they could reflect, as young adults, on their experiences in high school. What I hoped to learn from these interviews was the meaning of their experiences from their perspective as young adults and to fill in gaps in my understanding of the context of their lives during high school and in the interim.

**Students Against Driving Drunk (SADD)**

Following the lead of researchers, such as Newmann and Rutter (1983), Oldendorf (1989), Resnick (1987), Berk (1992, cited in Pinar et al, 1995), and Damico et al (1996), I ventured outside the confines of the high school classroom to investigate students’ learning. The students who became participants in this study were members of the Parish High Chapter of SADD.

SADD is an extracurricular organization that was founded in 1981 by Robert Anastas, then Director of Health Education for the Wayland Public School System in Wayland, Massachusetts. At the time, drinking and driving crashes were considered the #1 killer of young people in the United States. To address this problem, the purpose of the organization is “to organize students from across the country to combat the #1 killer of their age group—death due to drinking and driving.” By 1995, the organization
had grown to thousands of chapters, functioning as school-based affiliates of the national organization.⁷

The original program developed by Mr. Anastas was a health education curriculum focusing on alcohol and driving for high school sophomores. In addition to the curriculum, victims and experts in related fields were invited to speak to students. Recognizing a need for parental participation and support, Mr. Anastas developed the SADD Contract for Life, a contract between parent and teenager in which both parties agree to discuss the issue of drinking and driving and to seek safe transportation if faced with a situation in which a driver has been drinking or using other drugs. Another document, the SADD Chapter Handbook and Curriculum Guide (1983), was developed and is distributed to schools interested in establishing a chapter.

By the mid-1980s, SADD had become primarily an extracurricular student organization. The curriculum was adapted for use as a guide for meetings, ideas for public awareness and prevention activities were offered, and information on topics, such as leadership and organizing were provided.

In Louisiana, Parish High School was one of only a few high schools which had established chapters by the late 1980s.⁸ Organized over the summer of 1988 by a group of cheerleaders and their faculty sponsor, the group began recruiting members and initiating activities when the school year commenced. Over the course of the three years of the chapter's existence, during which data for phase one was gathered, participation in the group waxed and waned, with membership in the group ranging from
approximately 10 to 15 percent of the student population. The majority of members were white females, even though the enrollment of males and females was similar (in 1991, 780 females and 753 males). African-American students were less than 10 percent of the student population in 1991. A chronology of events, beginning with the newspaper story accounting the death of two students in a traffic crash, is included as Appendix A.

Focus on Citizenship

Throughout the history of social studies, the overarching goal has been the education of young people for citizenship. Traditionally, this has meant teaching students about the foundations, structure, and processes of government. A citizen, then, would know about these things and participate in processes, such as voting to elect leaders and serving on a jury when called. For young men, it also would mean registering with Selective Service. While most participants in this study stated that they had learned about these things in school and participated in these processes, they also expressed other understandings about democracy and citizenship. Two basic understandings were revealed in the participants' responses to my question about the meaning of citizenship and the way in which they talked about their activities in SADD. They emphasized that citizens take a stand and act on their beliefs and that being a citizen meant that one belonged to a group (e.g., family or a community).

Being a citizen [is] when you like go out and do something. [Liza, Age 24]
[Being a citizen means] participating in elections and social issues that affect you or someone you know...being aware of your history and not trying to repeat it. [Charlie, Age 23]

[To be a citizen means] to belong somewhere....I mean, it’s like this is my home.... I have a say in elections and, you know, I am a voter. [Cathy, Age 22]

I still wonder [what citizenship means]. Someone is running for office [will] listen because I can make [him/her] not go back into office. [Janie, Age 22]

[A citizen is] somebody who believes in everything they’re doing. [Molly, Age 17]

To be a citizen...means you have to be involved by doing things that [are] community outreach. You have to be involved by standing up for what you believe in. [Helen, Age 21]

[Citizenship means] standing up for what you believe in....Vote, abide by laws of the United States. [Guy, Age 21]

Reflected in the participants’ understandings of citizenship are curriculum proposals of prominent educators. Two themes that are pertinent to this study are the social character of learning and the need to engage students with ideas and issues which are relevant to them.

The most notable educator who emphasized these themes is John Dewey. His educational theory focused on the “social” as a medium of learning (Seigfried, 1996, p.7) and problems which would engage students (Stanley, 1992, p.7). Robertson (1992) interprets Dewey’s theory thus:

If children are to become genuine inquirers, they must have real questions to answer; they must encounter problematic situations rather than wondering what the teacher wants. They must be active
agents, doing things in order to discover the consequences, not mere passive recipients of facts discovered by others (p.340).

During the same era as Dewey, social reconstructionists, like Harold Rugg and George Counts, also emphasized the importance of students’ engagement with problems. They went further, however, to advocate for education to effect social change. Stanley (1992) notes that reconstructionists believed that “education can and should be employed to help solve problems and reconstruct the social order to create a more ideal society” (p.6). While I agree that it is important to engage students in addressing social issues, I turn away from the reconceptualists in their project to promote “social control” (Evans, 1987, p.87) to realize a utopian goal (Stanley, 1992, p.6).

Several contemporary scholars have discussed issues relevant to citizenship. The most prominent figure among them is Paulo Freire (1983), whose educational approach is transformative and involves students in critical reflection on and action in the world.

During the 1970s and 1980s, Fred Newmann was among the social educators calling for a new approach to citizenship education. In 1983, he and Rutter proposed civic competence as a purpose of social studies education and suggested that competence was more than the technical application of content (Newmann and Rutter, 1983, p.373). Newmann recommended an approach which would involve students in a process of social critique, encourage civic action for the public good, and engage students in the creation of social knowledge (Newmann, 1985, p.8). Others, such as Engle and Ochoa (1988), also proposed the goal of effective democratic citizenship to promote
civic competence (p.8). In the late 1980s, Whitson and Stanley (1989) proposed what they referred to as a new rationale for education—practical competence. Stanley (1992) explains that practical competence necessitates praxis, which "represents a fundamental human interest that encompasses all dimensions of human thought and action, including a basic ethical dimension, a quest for the good or human betterment" (p.215).

Throughout all of these proposals, the focus was moving away from an understanding of democracy as a form of government and a set of procedures to one which grasped the complexity of citizenship in the postmodern world. Missing in these proposals, however, was explicit recognition of issues concerning gender, race, and class.

In 1992, the National Council for the Social Studies alluded to these issues in its definition of social studies. The primary purpose of social studies, a 1992 NCSS position paper states, is "to help young people develop the ability to make informed and reasoned decisions for the public good as citizens of a culturally diverse, democratic society in an interdependent world" (NCSS, 1992).

Feminist educators Nel Noddings and Lynda Stone have brought their perspectives on gender issues to the conception of citizenship. Stone (1996) critiques citizenship as a goal of education, questioning the utility of any conception of citizenship which does not consider contributions of postmodern and poststructuralist feminisms which, among other attributes, "value multiplicity, diversity, and difference..." (p.51). Noddings (1992, 1996) points out the exigency of including the
concerns of women in the curriculum. Seigfried (1996) suggests that we do more—that we look to the experiences of women as the subject of inquiry (p.142).

While the foregoing has been a brief overview of proposals which inform the topic of citizenship, there have been few real and lasting changes in the practice of educating students for citizenship.

**Unrealized Social Studies Reforms**

Shaver (1989) notes that the predominant instructional mode in classrooms is didactic and textbook-oriented (pp. 193-195). Evans (1989) concurs, stating, “Instruction is primarily textbook-oriented with little interdisciplinary teaching and little attention to the issues” (p.176). Engle and Ochoa (1988) also note that, notwithstanding reform efforts, the content, structure, and methods of instruction has remained virtually unchanged. Engle and Ochoa (1988) state:

> It is our observation that the current practices...places undue emphasis on content and methods that foster rote memory and increased loyalty. In part, reports that have been issued by the National Science Foundation confirm this observation when they point out that social studies instruction is overwhelmingly based on the textbook and predominantly employs a lecture-recitation mode that ignores or sidesteps intellectual development (p.32).

The participants in this study concurred with the foregoing description of their classes. From their perspective, content was often irrelevant and easily forgotten, and methods were bland and predictable. Even those who enjoyed their classes described them in terms of learning facts about governmental structure and processes. Reporting
on their experiences as students in social studies classes, three of the participants summed up the problem for them all.

Well, in my social studies class, it’s not—we never have discussions. It is just like take notes, answer questions, and take a test. That’s it basically, and if we do have discussions, it’s not anything—it’s something stupid, you know, like somebody threw a pencil across the room. [Janie, 1989]

See, most of it was sooo -- empty. You know, it was just another class. You learned it, took your test and went on. [Molly, 1995]

In civics, I’ve learned a lot. They teach you about the federal government, which right now we’re on politics....I’ve learned about the branches of our government, the Executive Branch and the checks and balances. I know a lot about all that now. [Guy, 1990]

A review of research indicates that the participants’ experiences are not unique. But even more, the research also seems to indicate that many students are not learning what their teachers are purporting to teach or what theorists are promoting.

Newmann (1989) contends that there is a crisis in civic life “caused in part by society’s reliance on a view of citizenship that sees democracy as essentially a set of procedures for pursuing private interests” (p.359). Pointing out the reasons for the necessity of programs that involve young people in addressing problems in the real world, Berman (1990) cites the findings of research by Jerry Bachman. An average of almost half of the high school seniors polled annually since 1978 indicate that they felt powerless to affect social change (p.75). In a review of this and other research, Berman (1990) also concludes that the most effective way to assist
students to develop a positive and empowered relationship with society is “to give them the opportunity to enter and engage the real world around them” (p.76).

Fowler (1990) laments the sad state of affairs regarding youth and civic involvement. Reporting on “Democracy’s Next Generation,” a 1989 study conducted by People for the American Way, Fowler (1990) states that cynicism about politics was common among students and adults. The study found that most of the more than one-thousand 15-24 year olds surveyed were not involved in public life (p.10). On a question which asked them to rate a series of seven possible goals, ranked last was “being involved in helping your community be a better place” behind career and financial success, a happy family life, and “enjoying yourself and having a good time.” When asked to describe in their own words what constituted being a good citizen “most equated being a good citizen with being a good person....Their notion of a good citizen rarely had a social or political dimension, and only 12 percent believed that voting was an important part of citizenship” (p.11). The study also indicated where students were learning about citizenship: the strongest influence was parents, at 70 percent. A distinct second of approximately 20 percent said teachers, and about 10 percent identified peers (p.11).

Dynesson (1992) and his associates also wanted to learn the meaning students ascribed to citizenship. In a survey of high school seniors, they found that “students rated an ability to make wise decisions and concern for the welfare of others as the most important good citizenship characteristics” (p.57). Rated lowest
by the students were knowledge of government and participation in community and school affairs (p.57). While the students’ in Dynesson’s study did not rate community participation favorably, we cannot assume that the questions referenced activities similar to SADD. We are cautioned to investigate further to identify the meaning students ascribe to terms like community affairs.

While the results of these studies are mixed, they do indicate that many young people do not consider voting important, that they do not believe they can influence social change, and that there is confusion about the meaning of citizenship.

Rationale

I propose that we can learn salient information about educating students for citizenship by looking to the experiences of young people. Siegfried (1996) suggests that we consider experience as the subject of inquiry (p.142). Freire (1983) and Britzman (1991) also suggest that we approach research by problematizing reality. This, in effect, is what the participants in this study did in regard to drinking and driving. Although it was not my original intent, this is what occurred through my research. When I began this study ten years ago, I wanted to know:

What can be learned from a case study of a SADD Chapter that will advance understanding of an issues-centered approach to social studies education?

It was the qualitative research methodology that was employed in this study that provided an opening for the project to change course. As I listened to the participants, it slowly became clear that a case study of the entire group (the SADD
Chapter) was not viable. Each of the participants had their own story to tell. As they told their stories, it was a focus on citizenship that began to emerge. Even though they expressed cynicism about politics, all of the participants said that they voted and all of them believed they could influence social change. But it was the “why” and “how” of their perspectives and actions that fostered the idea of reconceiving citizenship in regard to social education. What began as a case study of a group of students to inform an approach to teaching social studies became case studies of seven participants to explore fundamental questions concerning citizenship, the overarching goal of social studies.

Research Questions

1. What meanings did the participants give to their experiences in SADD?

2. What are the implications of these meanings for social education?

These two questions guided the second phase of this study. While the questions focused specifically on the participants’ experiences in SADD, their experiences in other aspects of their lives also contributed to their understandings of citizenship.

Overview of the Study

In the second chapter, I begin with aspects of my own story that influenced this research. An explanation of my theoretical stance establishes my beliefs about education and citizenship and the manner in which this study was conducted. The remaining sections of the literature review provide background information on social...
studies reform efforts and research findings regarding citizenship education and the extracurriculum.

Chapter three deals exclusively with the methodology employed in this research. The methodology is qualitative, specifically case study research. Included in this chapter is also information regarding access to the site (Parish High School) where most of the data for phase one was gathered. Data collection techniques and the approach to analysis of the data are explained.

Chapters four through ten are case studies of the participants. The stories are my representation of their experiences and the context of their lives. The seven participants selected for this study were those who had been involved in SADD for at least two years and with whom I had developed more than a casual acquaintance.

The final chapter presents an analysis of my findings. While each of the participants' stories represents their uniqueness, there were several themes that emerged through their stories. The themes which are central in the analysis are: notions concerning abstract ideals and concrete experiences, universal and particular (contextual) understandings, and plurality in terms of common values and difference. The analysis features discussions focusing primarily on the processes and purposes of citizenship and the way in which these relate to the social education of students.

End Notes

1When the organization was established in the early 1980s, SADD was an acronym for Students Against Driving Drunk. In 1997 the organization was officially renamed Students Against Destructive Decisions. The change reflects an
expansion of the organization’s efforts to include destructive decisions other than drunken driving.

2While my work has continued to focus on youth and social issues, I have been self-employed as an educational consultant since 1989.

3Parish is a pseudonym for the high school featured in this study.

4The Commons is an area of the school that serves as both the cafeteria and auditorium.


7In a 1995 study sponsored by the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, it was estimated that there were peer groups in 16,000 high schools in the United States with the primary purpose of preventing underage drinking, drinking and driving, and riding in a vehicle with a drinking driver. The authors state, “Most programs with the main focus on anti-drinking and driving referred to themselves as SADD Chapters.” Source: “Evaluation of Youth Peer-to-Peer Impaired Driving Programs” (1995), a study conducted for the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration by Preusser Research Group, Inc., p.iii.

8According to SADD National (1997), in the decade since the research began in 1987, hundreds of chapters throughout the state have been organized. While the name SADD is used throughout the research, it is noted that the name of the Parish High organization was changed from SADD to STAND by the members during the 1990-91 school year. The new name, an acronym for Students Taking A New Direction, was intended to reflect the group’s growing concern with issues other than drinking and driving. Other issues of concern were underage drinking, drug abuse, and teen pregnancy.

9In contrast to theorists’ preferences, Leming (1989) argues, there is evidence that teachers do not attach the same importance to citizenship and are more inclined to favor socialization and control (p.405). He notes that the High School and Beyond Study (reported by Rutter, 1986) found that “social studies teachers ranked citizenship education fifth as a goal of education behind basic literacy, good work habits and self-discipline, academic excellence and personal growth” (p.405). Citing McNeil’s 1986 ethnographic study of social studies teachers in six school districts,
Leming (1989) states that McNeil found “that a major preoccupation of social studies teachers was a concern that students maintain positive attitudes toward American institutions” (p.405). Findings of a study by Ziegler (1967) and another by Washburn (1977) were supported by McNeil’s study (Leming, 1989, p.405). Ziegler determined that social studies teachers do not view the classroom as a proper forum for the discussion of controversial issues, and Washburn concluded that social studies teachers view their students as uninformed and uninterested in politics and political issues (Leming, 1989, p.405). Citing Fontana’s 1980 survey of 1000 social studies teachers, Leming (1989) says that “only 54 percent agreed that promoting activity in social and political organizations was an important goal of social studies” (p.405). While not all studies report teachers’ low rating of citizenship education as a goal of social studies education, there is disparity in theorists’ conception of the term. In a review of a study by Levinson (1972), Ehman (1977) explains that Levinson analyzed data from a 1965 study in which a national sample of 317 high school social studies teachers were interviewed about their beliefs concerning citizenship education. Ehman (1977) states that ninety-two percent of the teachers agreed that good citizenship should be taught in social studies. Ehman (1977) notes, however, “From this cross tabulation of this ‘good citizenship’ variable with three others, he concluded that ‘teachers who view the aim of social studies as the teaching of good citizenship tend to value obedience in children, are somewhat more reticent to publicly express their political dissatisfaction, and are more likely to erect barriers around freedom in the classroom’ ” (p.59).

10The organization focuses on First Amendment Rights, particularly in regard to censorship issues.
Chapter 2

Literature Review

Part 1: Researcher's Background

Over the twenty-five years of my career as an educator, my core beliefs about education have not changed significantly. Rather, they have been expanded and refined with each new experience, whether personal or vicarious. Of course, there were those experiences which were more consequential than others.

As an idealistic undergraduate in the early 1970s, I read Postman and Weingartner's (1969) Teaching as a Subversive Activity, a book that heightened my awareness about what it means to teach. The book focused on a "new" pedagogy, one in which the teacher was a questioner rather than a giver of information. Students under the "old" regime did their time in school and exited "as passive, acquiescent, dogmatic, intolerant, authoritarian, inflexible, conservative personalities who desperately need to resist change in an effort to keep their illusion of certainty intact" (p. 217). Those educated the "new" way developed into the kind of person who is

an actively inquiring, flexible, creative, innovative, tolerant, liberal personality who can face uncertainty and ambiguity without disorientation, who can formulate viable new meanings to meet changes in the environment which threaten individual and mutual survival (p.218).

Also significant in becoming a teacher was my introduction to the concept of Open Education during my preservice experiences in the teacher education program at
the University of Florida. Central to this approach to education was Dewey's philosophy, with its child-centered focus (students’ interests) and emphasis on quality educative experiences, which are determined in part, but not solely, by students’ interests. As Dewey maintained, not all experiences are equally educational. For most of his professional life, Dewey (1938) grappled with the issue of discriminating between more or less valuable experiences, a process made more complex because both the learner and the context of learning were to be considered (p.33).

Education for citizenship occurs in the specific situations in which students interact with each other, their teachers, and others as they struggle with ideas and experiences to expand their horizons and search for understanding. I maintain that the most consequential ideas and experiences are those with which students struggle most assiduously and with greatest hope for the achievement of a more democratic, just, and caring society. I was particularly drawn to the notions that understanding develops within a context, and that, as students encounter subject matter that is of interest to them, they are engaged in a way that is more alive (qualitatively superior) than schooling which provides answers and requires rote memorization of the facts. Reading about these differences influenced my own practice as an educator, as well as my perceptions as I observed students and teachers in other classrooms.

Later, as a graduate student, I was drawn to the projects of Progressive Era (1920s and 30s) social reconstructionists like Harold Rugg and George Counts, who advocated for education to affect social change. Although there were definite differences between
them, they shared a conviction, as Stanley (1992) asserts, "that education can and
should be employed to help solve social problems and reconstruct the sociocultural
order to create a more ideal society" (p. 6). Aspirations for an ideal society are not
unique to the reconstructionists, although the particular views espoused and the
methods for realizing it are. My departure from the reconstructionists is the way in
which I conceive the role of education in social change. It is my view that education for
citizenship requires that students participate in the process of exploring and identifying
issues, indepth study, reflection, and action on problems and issues. This is in contrast
to the reconstructionist view that "some form of collectivist planning and social control
was inevitable and that the schools should play a critical role in its creation" (Evans,
1987, pp. 86-87). Furthermore, Evans (1987) notes that George Counts, a leading
reconstructionist, advocated a fairly explicit form of social control which amounted to
indoctrination" (p.87).1

The conception of citizenship I support is reflected in the work of Freire (1983)
who proposes a problem-posing method of education in which students are "critical
co-investigators in dialogue with the teacher" (p.68) and which "strives for the
emergence of consciousness and critical intervention in reality" (p.68). His approach is
transformative and involves students in critical reflection on and action in the world.
Other contemporary educators (i.e., Boyer, 1983; Engle and Ochoa, 1988; Evans, 1989;
Gross, 1989; Newmann and Oliver, 1970; Parker, 1989; Shaver, 1989; Stanley and
Maxcy, 1984; Whitson and Stanley, 1989; and Wood, 1988) support various
approaches to education that run contrary to the traditional approach to education, such as the “banking” concept described by Freire. My stance as researcher is rooted in these and other understandings that have taken shape over the years.

Part 2: Researcher’s Theoretical Stance

Throughout much of my career I have resisted identifying my theoretical stance for several reasons, not the least of which is the difficulty of naming a position which is informed by diverse philosophical-theoretical approaches and traditions. While I have not been a classroom teacher for more than ten years, my work since then has been as an educator in other community settings. I have considered myself a practitioner, concerned foremost with the practical aspects of whatever activities in which I was engaged, primarily those focusing on citizenship education and social activism.

Of others’ theories and philosophical insights, I’ve asked: How can this be useful to me? While these theories and insights have served to inform and guide my practice and have been implicit in it, there has been a tension between my practice and a search for a theoretical grounding. Developing an explicit theoretical base of my own has not seemed a very practical thing to do. Additionally, the young people and adults with whom I worked and the situations in which teaching/learning occurred have been central determiners of my approach. As such, my own intentions and methods have been open to change, and thus, evolving.

After years of reflection, although intermittent, at this juncture I pause to name an approach from which I can continue my growth as a student, teacher, and researcher.
With prudence, I designate the approach as conservative critical feminist pragmatism.

There is nothing novel in the ideas that underpin this approach, which reflect the affinity of my views with those of past and contemporary thinkers. Among those whose work has informed mine are:

- John Dewey, Jane Addams, and other early pragmatists and feminist pragmatists;
- Cleo Cherryhomes, a critical pragmatist;
- Chris Weedon and Deborah Britzman, poststructural feminists;
- Charlene Haddock Seigfried, a pragmatist whose work is informed by feminism; and
- Paulo Freire, a theorist and teacher in the critical tradition.

Before I was introduced to the work of Charlene Haddock Seigfried on feminist pragmatism/pragmatist feminism, I was drawing upon feminist, pragmatist, and critical theories to critique, extend, inform, and transform my ideas in the building of my theoretical base. But it was Seigfried’s feminist critique of pragmatism and revelations about early feminist pragmatists that clarified and in some ways modified my ideas. Seigfried (1996) invites her readers to join her on a journey that recaptures the contributions of early feminist pragmatists and explores what she views as mutually beneficial concepts and characteristics found in feminism and pragmatism, pointing out the tension between the two that can be either helpful or harmful. Seigfried states, “It is a fruitful tension insofar as lived experiences and theoretical appropriations continually challenge and enrich each other. It is harmful tension insofar as either distorts or unfairly denies the validity of the other” (p. 8). Seigfried (1996) defines pragmatism as “a philosophy that stresses the relation of theory to praxis, takes the continuity of experience and nature as revealed through the outcome of directed action as the starting
point for reflection” (p.6). Specific to feminist research is the centrality of women’s experience and outcomes that benefit women. While there are differences, pragmatism and feminism share a number of features, among them an emphasis on experience, particularity/context, democracy and pluralism (inclusive of women’s and other marginalized voices), the rejection of correspondence theories of truth, and the interdisciplinary and non-neutral character of research and other educational enterprises.

There are three broad categories of feminist theory: social and political, radical or critical, and literary and cultural. Each is affiliated with those of early pragmatists—William James’ theories with the literary and cultural branch and those of Dewey, Addams, and Mead with the other two (Seigfried, 1996, p.10).

Characteristics of my theoretical approach are explained in the sections to follow. Included are: experience, context, and plurality; outcomes (purposes), anti-foundationalism, fallibilism, and conservatism (gradualism); and critical inquiry, which includes the rejection of dichotomies and value neutrality. These characteristics are salient to my approach as a researcher, but they also inform the project of reconceiving citizenship in regard to social education. Considered are questions regarding the processes and purposes of democracy and the role of citizens. Dewey, for instance, regarded democracy “as an experience rather than simply as a form of government” (Tanner and Tanner, 1990, p.113 in Pinar et al, 1995, p.106). If democracy is understood as an experience, how should we educate citizens?
The sections which follow are forced and blurred categories, but are essential, nonetheless, to explicate inherent notions that join strands of the philosophies and theories from which it proceeds. Taken together, they are the ideas which undergird this research—procedural (method) and content. Also in line with the approach, that which follows is necessarily partial and contingent.

Experience

Central to pragmatism, feminism, and critical inquiry is experience and, thereby, the problems of everyday life. Issuing from experience is praxis—reflection and action, which, in turn transforms experience. Seigfried (1996) maintains that for pragmatists and feminists, "philosophical reflection begins with experience....For both, experience is inextricably personal and social. Pragmatism needs feminism to carry out its own stated program, since feminists are in the forefront of philosophers addressing the social and political issues that affect women" (p. 37). To further explicate, Seigfried (1996) draws upon analyses of feminists Sandra Harding and Dorothy E. Smith. Feminist research, such as that proposed by Harding, is concerned with the lived-experiences of women as "the basis of social analysis" (Seigfried, 1996, p. 37). It recognizes the transactive character of experience (a pragmatist notion), in that it is through interaction between the subject and environment that both are constituted. Furthermore, transformation can be intentional by deliberately transforming initial conditions "according to ends-in-view, that is...into a subsequent state of affairs thought to be more desirable. Knowledge is therefore guided by interests and values" (Seigfried, 1996, pp. 6-7). In this study of
SADD, it is the experiences of adolescents which form the basis for analysis.

Considering the experiences of people in their everyday world grounds citizenship in a way which is different from an understanding that democracy is a set of abstract ideals (freedom, equality, justice) to be realized.

Seigfried (1996) relates the views of Dorothy E. Smith, who, she says, "captures this pragmatist sense of the experimental character of everyday experience in a book aptly titled The Everyday World as Problematic: A Feminist Sociology:

If we begin where people are actually located in that independently existing world outside of texts, we begin in the particularities of an actual everyday world. As a first step in entering that standpoint into a textually mediated discourse, we constitute the everyday world as our problematic (Smith, 1987, pp.109-110 cited in Seigfried, 1996, p.160).

Feminist and pragmatist theories recognize that as experience is both social and personal, any change that occurs in either affects the other—hence, the feminist maxim "the personal is political." This idea has implications for civic involvement. If the "personal is political," then participation means more than voting or serving on a jury.

Seigfried (1996) states that this is "a developmental process that can be nurtured, frustrated, succumbed to, or redirected. This insight was as empowering for early feminists as it was for later ones who rediscovered political dimensions of personal experiences through the practice of consciousness raising. Reflection arises in response to problematic situations, and thinking is a powerful means of bringing about social change (pp.78-79)."
Bouchier (1987) also discusses the personal and political (private and public) character of experience. The process of change, he says, begins with the personal and extends, not without effort, into a broader realm through an “examination of taken-for-granted institutions and legitimating ideologies...” (p.149). While there were distinct differences in many of their views, the early pragmatists (Peirce, James, and Dewey), Bouchier (1987) says, agreed that instead of seeking “a delusional truth located in some utopia of the mind and bending political action towards it, they argued that useful political knowledge comes from the practical, experimental business of making choices” (p.149).

Rather than relying on experience alone, which, Seigfried (1996) maintains, “is problematic on many levels,” experience itself becomes the subject of inquiry. Both pragmatists and feminists, she states, develop theories out of experience, as well as theories of experience (p.142). These theories, Seigfried (1996) adds, are tested by the way in which they clarify lived-experiences and “facilitate valuable transformation of everyday experience...” (p.173). In other words, we can examine the experiences of citizens to determine the realization and outcomes of ideals such as social justice.

Context

Integral to pragmatism, feminism, and other critical inquiry is the role of context (or particularity or situatedness) in education, research, and social change (Britzman, 1991; Munro, 1991; Cherryholmes, 1992; Seigfried, 1996). Seigfried (1996) points out that pragmatism and feminism can influence each other by focusing on specific aspects
of context. While pragmatism puts forth the necessity of considering context in philosophical thought, Seigfried says, "[f]eminism cogently and extensively shows how gender, race, class, and sexual preference are crucial parts of context that philosophy has traditionally neglected" (p.39). Consideration of context results in situated notions of citizenship, with multiple definitions, rather than one universal definition.

Wallerstein (1988) points out that essential to Freire's critical pedagogy is an understanding of the importance of context. She adds that the aim of Freire's approach "is critical thinking or posing problems in such a way as to uncover root causes of one's place in society—the socioeconomic, political, cultural, and historical context of personal lives" (p.55). Seigfried (1996) notes that Elsie Ripley Clapp's (1952) proposal for education was to consider the "whole community as an educational resource" (p. 52). This was the context in which education would occur. It was important because it rejected "the practice of elites imposing solutions on communities" and supported the principle that "theories arise out of an understanding of the possibilities and limitations of concrete, historically specific situations" (p.52). Clapp and Lucy Sprague Mitchell, both contemporaries of Dewey, developed feminist versions of pragmatism "by deliberately bringing politically informed points of view as women to their work as educators" (Seigfried, 1996, p.65).

Plurality

Bernstein's (1991) thematic characterizations of pragmatism include plurality (pluralism). He contends, "We can best appreciate the vitality and diversity of this
tradition when we approach it as an ongoing engaged conversation consisting of
distinctive--sometimes competing--voices' (p.324). These voices should also include
those marginalized. Lesko (1996) raises our awareness that the voices of adolescents are
among those that have often been marginalized. Seigfried (1992), for example, notes that
social reform, such as that engaged in by the early feminist pragmatists, did not exclude
the voices of those who would be most affected by reform. Social reform, she says,
arises "out of the community's own experiences, guided by intelligent reflection,
projection, enactment, and revision based on actual outcomes" (pp.57-58). Feminist
(Seigfried, 1996) and critical pedagogy (e.g., Freire, 1983) also ascribe to this view.

Bernstein (1985) maintains that at the heart of pragmatism "is a defense of the
Socratic virtues: 'the willingness to talk, to listen to other people, to weigh the
consequences of our actions upon other people' " (p.198). The type of pluralism
which represents, according to Bernstein (1991), the best in our pragmatic tradition" is
"engaged fallibilistic pluralism," which means

taking our own fallibility seriously--resolving that however much we
are committed to our own styles of thinking, we are willing to listen
to others without denying or suppressing the otherness of the other
(p.336).

In both pragmatism and feminism, each person's experiences and ideas are valued
(Seigfried, 1996, p.223). In contrast to self-interested motivation, engagement with
pressing issues of personal significance considers the consequences of actions for others.
When the idea of plurality or multiplicity is considered, we approach deliberation on
topics such as the "public good" by asking questions relative to who is the "public" and what "good" means for different groups of citizens.

Outcomes

Outcomes sought by critical pragmatists and feminists and others working in a critical tradition are similar in that their focus is educational, social, or political reform and an understanding which recognizes the tentative and contingent character of knowing. They are different, of course, in the specific goals and means selected to attain those goals.

In pragmatism, actions and beliefs are judged by their practical effects (Thayer, 1968, p.431). But while outcomes are central, they are not specific, predetermined ends (telos). Thus, neither can democracy and citizenship be defined in regard to the final attainment of an abstract ideal. Seigfried (1996) states that

for pragmatists--feminists and nonfeminists alike--scientific attitudes and methodology were consciously goal-directed and reform-oriented, and any outcomes its use brought about could not be justified by authoritative appeal to a superior scientific enterprise. By sympathetically attending to the concrete situation and what could actually be effected by concerned persons, pragmatist experimental methodology sought to replace both the palliative sentimentalism of charity work and the destructiveness of technocratic arrogance (pp.182-183).

In schools and other educational settings, students and teachers would be involved in the pursuit of understanding with the same considerations. In regard to Freire’s theory of pedagogy, Wallerstein (1988) states, the transformation of social conditions would issue from praxis (an interaction of reflection and action) and the educator’s role would be “to contribute outside information once the group raises important themes for
mutual reflection” (p.61). In the sense that Freire’s theory is purposeful, it also is pragmatic.

Critical pragmatism, as set forth by Cherryholmes (1988) requires the testing of ideas by their practical effects only when they are determined in a way that brings “a sense of crisis to considerations of standards and conventions” (p.14). He adds,

Critical pragmatism considers not only what we choose to say and do, along with their effects, but also what structures those choices. Critical pragmatism pursues the fundamental questions asked by poststructural analysis into the design as well as the operation of our social practices and institutions. Critical pragmatism is concerned with evaluating and constructing the communities, educational and otherwise, in which we live and work (p.14).

Commenting on Rorty’s pragmatism, Bernstein (1985) states,

If, as Rorty tells us, the legacy of the pragmatists is to call for a change of orientation on how we can best cope with ‘the problems of men,’ how to live our lives so that we can ‘combine private fulfillment, self-realization with public morality, a concern with justice,’ this demands a critical analysis of those practices that characterize our lives and of the conflicts embedded in them (p.205).

As Seigfried suggests, feminist critique can continue to inform and enhance pragmatist theory and practice—for the achievement of goals which are developed, discussed, and evaluated by those for whom they are intended.

Anti-foundationalism and Fallibilism

Pragmatism also rejects foundationalism (Bernstein, 1991; Quine, 1953, cited in Cherryholmes, 1992, p.16), although, as Bernstein (1991) notes, anti-foundationalism was a not term used by early pragmatists (p.326). Cherryholmes (1992) explains foundationalism as “the view that grounded meaning and truth can be determined once
He adds, "Pragmatists believe the important point is that we should give up the idea that we will ever be able to pin down 'underlying causal entities'..." (p.15). Bernstein (1991) states that Peirce presented arguments against "the idea that knowledge rests upon fixed foundations, and that we possess a special faculty of insight or intuition by which we know these foundations" (p.326). While this rejection of foundationalism may seem to contradict the possibility of recognizing problems, such as unequal gender power relations, it only suggests that these are open to a continuing development of understandings. Students can never fully comprehend the impact of such a problem, but exploring the problem in regard to democracy, for instance, can heighten their awareness and deepen their understanding.

Addressing a related concern, Bernstein (1991) says that the rejection of foundationalism and the concomitant seeking of absolutes does not lead to skepticism or relativism because of another pragmatist notion—that of fallibilism. This, Bernstein (1991) asserts, is the realization that although "we can never call everything into question at once...there is no belief or thesis--no matter how fundamental--that is not open to further interpretation and criticism" (p.327). Maxcy (1995) has taken up this project in his critique of frameworks thinking, through which he proposes a research methodology that progresses beyond frameworks (and paradigms) and their incumbent elements (i.e., concepts, terms, theories).

Fallibilism is a defining characteristic of pragmatism (as discussed in Thayer, 1968; Stuhr, 1987, cited in Seigfried, 1996; Rochberg-Halton, 1986, cited in
Cherryholmes, 1988; Bouchier, 1987; Cherryholmes, 1988 and 1992; Bernstein, 1991; Stanley, 1992; Putnam, 1995; Seigfried, 1996). To be fallible is to be capable of making an error; therefore, fallibilism requires acceptance of uncertainty and partiality and a view that knowledge is open to change and evolving. Considering this “engaged fallibilistic pluralism,” we can look for commonalities, yet recognize that conflict is not necessarily adversarial. It is assumed, Bernstein (1991) maintains, that “the other has something to say to us and contributes to our understanding” (p.337). Notwithstanding this goal, it is important to add that this does not preclude the identification of prejudices (e.g., racism) and other actions harmful to others which cannot be tolerated.

Related to pragmatists’ claims of knowledge as fallibilistic are poststructural, postmodern, and feminist theories regarding “truth” and “meaning.” Most feminist researchers consider knowledge as partial and contingent. In a discussion of validity, for instance, Munro (1995) states that the concept assumes an absolute, fixed truth which can be measured, validated, and verified (Grumet, 1990; Wolcott, 1990). Feminists, among others, have sought to disrupt the safest ideas about truth and to force them to stand up to examination against other facts, standards, experiences, and perspectives (Lather, 1993; Personal Narratives Group, 1989; Smith, 1993). The recognition of truths as partial, contested, intersubjective, and illusive has raised challenging methodological questions (Anderson, Armitage, Jack, and Wittner, 1990) (p.139).

Postmodernism asserts “the impossibility of any final meaning” (Pinar et al, 1995, p.468); and “poststructuralism shows meanings to be shifting, receding, fractured, incomplete, dispersed, and deferred” (Cherryholmes, 1988, p.61). In regard to democracy, this view precludes the possibility of the final and full realization of a set of
ideals for all persons. The goal of justice, for instance, will always be an issue to be addressed in regard to particular people in specific circumstances.

Conservative Emphasis

The term ‘conservative’ precedes ‘critical feminist pragmatism’ to distinguish the approach from those promoting radical ideological agendas which are revolutionary (in contradiction to a conservative emphasis) and which endorse selective pluralism (the selective exclusion of voices). Gradualism, the conservative feature of pragmatism which underpins my approach is described by Bouchier (1987): “Gradualism is inseparable from pragmatism. Very complex institutional arrangements and cultural habits cannot be changed suddenly; even if such change could be managed, it would be destructive and uncontrollable” (p.148). The idea of gradualism urges caution and patience in addressing institutional and cultural change. Time is needed to listen and observe closely. This characteristic also supports a view of democracy and civic involvement as ongoing, incremental, and long-term—evolutionary, not revolutionary—and emphasizes inclusiveness, involving all stakeholders in the process.

Critical Inquiry

Rejecting dichotomies and neutrality and problematizing the world are aspects of critical inquiry with import to this study, as well as ideas about democracy and citizenship. At issue are basic questions, such as those regarding race, gender, and class. Whose concerns are addressed? Who has an opportunity to participate in a process of
addressing those concerns? How do these concerns and actions influence the social and political milieu?

Dichotomies or dualisms, a hold-over from modernism/positivism, is rejected by postmodernists, poststructuralists, and feminists. But it also was rejected by early pragmatists (Thayer, 1968; Putnam, 1995; Seigfried, 1996). With rejection coming from all quarters, it no longer seems necessary to say much more. One point of significance, however, is the problem of hierarchical thinking in relation to gender and dichotomies/dualisms. Examples of these are theory/practice, facts/values, cognitive/affective, justice/caring, and public/private. Deweyan pragmatism began by subverting the split between public and private (Seigfried, 1996, p.92). Pragmatist analysis of women’s experience, Seigfried (1996) notes, identifies and rejects “philosophical dualisms that have systematically distorted our understanding of everyday experience...” (p.146). Feminists, in particular, have raised our consciousness concerning this issue in regard to hierarchical thinking, in which one half of the dichotomy, that relating to patriarchy, is raised to a position of prominence. Hence, facts have been favored over values, cognitive over affective, justice over caring, and public over private. A feminist critique continues to subvert these and other dichotomies/dualisms. As will be shown, the dichotomies of public/private and justice/caring are salient to this study.

Related to the rejection of dichotomies/dualisms is the rejection of the notion that education and research are neutral undertakings. Feminist, pragmatists, and critical
theorists agree that no standpoint is neutral. Drawing upon the work of Sandra Harding, Seigfried (1996) says that a "feminist researcher is not a neutral observer, but is on the same critical plane as the subject matter" (p.37). It is acknowledged that both the researcher and teachers and subjects of research and students are affected in intentional and unintentional ways in the process. The transactive character of pragmatic research assumes that which is studied will change, as will the investigator (Seigfried, 1996, p.57).

Other essential features of critical inquiry are the unification of theory and practice and concern with emancipatory/liberatory interests (Lodge-Peters, 1988, p.3). Central to poststructuralism is the identification of unequal power relations as culpable in subverting the realization of these interests (Weedon, 1987; Cherryholmes, 1988).

Like Seigfried's (1996) appropriation of feminism to critique and inform pragmatism, Weedon (1987) calls upon poststructuralism to do the same for feminism. According to Weedon (1987), feminist critical practice, which is informed by poststructuralism shows us "ways of understanding social and cultural practices which throw light on how gender power relations are constituted, reproduced, and contested" (p.vii).

The idea of problematizing is inherent in poststructuralism, feminism, and critical pragmatism. Stanley (1992), for instance, maintains that critical pragmatic inquiry focuses on critique, rather than judgment, and "involves treating our criteria and standards as themselves problematic" (p.188). And in her study, Britzman (1991)
began her research project by rendering problematic the process of learning to teach. Seigfried (1996) points out, however, that long before poststructuralism, Dewey and early feminist pragmatists focused on these ideas in the establishment of their theories/practices.

Simply recognizing problems is not sufficient in pragmatic inquiry. Seigfried (1996) notes that action is imperative (p.193). Similar to this view is Freire's notion of conscientization or critical consciousness which moves beyond consciousness-raising (Wallerstein, 1988; Britzman, 1991; Kenway and Modra, 1992). Critical consciousness "requires collective action to transform reality for the purpose of realizing a more just world" (Britzman, 1991, p.26).

There are two ways of approaching an issue: either we recognize the possibility of change or we do not. Kenway and Modra (1992) differentiate between consciousness-raising and conscientization, stating,

Consciousness-raising...can be engaged in a way that is not articulated with action: after all, one might very well develop a heightened awareness of pain and contradiction but may still feel powerless to resolve problems....On the other hand, critical consciousness facilitates analysis of the context of problem situations for the purpose of enabling people together to transform their reality, rather than merely understand it or adapt to it with less discomfort (p.156).

Exemplified in these processes is the concept of gradualism which requires a building of consciousness concerning a problem in a community of inquirers with effort and over time. If this does not occur, there is a risk of ideological imposition.
Conclusion

The foregoing ideas in regard to pragmatism, feminism, critical inquiry, and conservatism form the basis of my approach as a teacher and researcher. In particular, revelations concerning the contributions of the early feminist pragmatists, contemporaries and students of Dewey, and later feminists, some of whom are contemporaries of mine, have been reaffirming and inspiring. These ideas have influenced my selection of a SADD Chapter as the vehicle by which I examine educational theories and assumptions in regard to citizenship. Further discussion relevant to my theoretical stance is found in Chapter 3: Methodology.

Part 3: Social Studies Reform—Progression, Regression, and Reconceptualization

The history of social studies is the history of attempts to reform the field. In this section, assumptions regarding citizenship education as the overarching goal of social studies will be examined. Three items relevant to this study—the reconceiving of citizenship in regard to the social education of the participants—will be explored: the determination of issues or problems for inclusion in the curriculum; the processes by which students learn about citizenship; and the purpose of citizenship education, particularly in respect to the curricular purpose of developing students’ “ability to make informed and reasoned decisions for the public good” (NCSS, 1992).

Reform in Historical Perspective

Wading through the sea of rhetoric and proposals, the evolution of social studies has seen tidal changes between maintaining the status quo (socialization, transmission)
and social change (countersocialization, transformation). The NEA Report of 1916 emphasized the necessity of "common learnings to provide for a sense of community and socialization of the child" (Evans, 1989). But by the Progressive Era (1920s and 1930s), John Dewey, Jane Addams, George Counts, and other philosophers and educators of that period recognized that students would become adults who would be called upon to actively participate in sustaining a democratic society and building a better world. Dewey was among those, Grumet (1989) states,

who encouraged educators to develop curricula that would provide children with structures for negotiation and decision-making and with learning experiences that would help them develop the ethical and rational powers to participate responsibly in the shaping of their shared world. School, Dewey thought, is the place to practice making a better world" (p.21).

Goals were realigned to reflect a more global orientation. Some, like George Counts (1932), urged school people to assume the lead in refashioning the nation as a progressive force to promote social change, while Dewey and Addams focused on the needs of youth and attention to their experiences as the basis of education reform.

By the late 1930s, the pendulum was swinging back to the emphasis on socialization of the children. The social sciences, too, were gaining prominence and there was an undercurrent which recognized the need for citizens to contribute, not only to the maintenance of democratic principles, but to the nation's economic growth. In 1938, the Educational Policy Commission set forth four broad goals for the social studies: civic responsibility, self-realization, human relationships, and economic efficiency (Dynneson, 1992).
Since then, social studies philosophers and theorists have continued to discuss the reformation of social studies in schools with the hope of preparing students to assume their adult roles as citizens of the United States of America (i.e., Dewey, 1938; Fersch, 1955; Newmann and Oliver, 1970; Evans, 1987; and Engle and Ochoa, 1988). The remaining half of the 20th century would see the resurgence and suppression of themes introduced during earlier times.

With attention focused on World War II in the 1940s, it was not until the 1950s that the educational establishment acknowledged new intellectual and economic challenges. These wrought an educational climate which again emphasized the need for the nation to compete on a global scale. There was a resurgence of concern for the necessity of intellectual and economic capital for the United States to retain its leadership, if not dominance, in world politics, as well as the need for citizens to join together to thwart a common foe. Born in the late 1950s and early 1960s was the “new” social studies which stressed students’ understanding of key concepts and generalizations which were relevant to their relationships with society and the world (Evans, 1989). Efforts included producing a new synthesis and defining “the nature of the relationships of the social sciences and humanities disciplines in the schools.” In response to the internal political unrest in the United States during the 1960s and early 1970s, the social studies were once again embroiled in controversy and reform upheavals which focused on content, skills, and pedagogy. The federal government responded in turn, releasing funds for special projects which emphasized social issues and political
socialization. According to Barr, Barth, and Shermis, the (1977) 1982 SPAN Report notes,

The mixture of definitions with purposes and means is well illustrated in the summary by Joyce Alleman-Brooks (1980) of the definitions of social studies given by 22 textbook authors. “Some of the respondents’ definitions stress social action, inquiry, and problem solving, some stress individual needs and self-fulfillment, others ascribe great importance to one’s interaction with the immediate environment, and still others emphasize the social science disciplines” (p.18).

But the recognition of the need for progress in the sociopolitical arena was tempered by the need to sustain basic principles upon which the nation was founded and the manner in which a new generation of students were to be taught to participate as citizens. Evans (1989) notes that in 1966 the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) put forth the field’s most important aim:

> to help young people learn to carry on the free society they have inherited and to make whatever changes modern conditions demand or creative imagination suggests that are consistent to the basic principles and to hand it on to their offspring better than they received it (p.180).

Oliver and Newmann (1966) de-emphasized the need for social reform in favor of a focus on problem solving as a way of preparing citizens for participation in a democratic society (Shaver, 1967).

The last twenty years of the social studies field (roughly 1978 to 1997) can be characterized as a period in which the overarching goal—citizenship education—was firmly established, albeit for competing purposes and means, and students are perceived, primarily, as citizens-in-waiting. A 1979 NCSS position paper states that the overarching goal of social studies is the preparation of young people “to be humane,
rational, participating citizens" (SPAN Report, 1982, p.18). Almost a decade later, Jan Tucker, 1987 NCSS President, states in his presidential address, “Assuredly, responsible citizenship is at the top of the social studies profession’s priority list” (p.209). The next year, then NCSS President Mary McFarland (1990) noted the long-term commitment NCSS has made to citizenship education as a major goal of this decade and into the next century. In her "President's Message," McFarland referred to participatory citizenship as a leadership theme which has grown out of that commitment (p.2). And first on the list of ten essential characteristics of a social studies curriculum for the 21st century, as stated in the 1989 publication, Charting a Course: Social Studies for the 21st Century, report of the Curriculum Task Force of the National Commission on Social Studies in the Schools, is:

A well-developed social studies curriculum must instill a clear understanding of the roles of citizens in a democracy and provide opportunities for active, engaged participation in civic, cultural and volunteer activities designed to enhance the quality of life in the community and the nation (p.3).

Newmann (1985) explores implications of six reports on reform of the 1980s that in some ways inform the discussion on social studies. “Each of the reports,” he notes, “endorses citizenship or civic understanding as a basic purpose of schooling” (p.5). The problem lies in the conception of citizenship the reports endorse, the same as that endorsed by most schools for years. Newmann (1985) maintains:

Repeatedly they call for an understanding of history and human institutions, implying that fundamental issues in social organizations have been essentially resolved (e.g, through the U.S. Constitution, the Bill of Rights, capitalism, and modern technology); if only people understood the foundations of democratic civilization, peace and justice would prevail....But
no report emphasizes the need to build a social critique, to stimulate assertive citizen action toward a higher public good, or to participate in the generation of social knowledge itself. [T]he reports' goals for social education represent no fundamental change in the language of citizenship, and they could probably be adopted without controversy in most schools...(pp. 7-8).

Battistoni (1985) also criticizes reports of that period. With the exception of the 1983 reports by the Carnegie Foundation and the Twentieth Century Fund, he notes, there is a lack of attention to civic education. In regard to the report of The President’s Commission on Excellence in Education, Battistoni (1985) points out that, while the report offers a brief discussion of high school social studies requirements, “there is very little mention of actual goals of citizenship education of American high schools” (p.6).

Following on the heels of these reports, others (i.e., Clark, 1989; Boyer, 1990) commented on the need for schools to prepare students for their role as citizens. During the period, various themes again began to reemerge. Newmann and Rutter (1983) and Berman (1990) discuss, respectively, movements to promote civic or social responsibility. The goal of civic virtue was promoted by Parker (1989) and in Civitas: A New Framework for Civic Education (1991). The most common, however, was variations on the theme of competence. Resnick (1987) discusses the kind of competence required for participatory citizenship; Engle and Ochoa (1988) propose the goal of effective democratic citizenship to promote civic competence (p.8); and Newmann (1989) states that civic competence is needed to increase social participation and “increase student competence to participate as public citizens” (p.359).
particular, Newmann (1989) maintains that the crisis in civic life (i.e., apathetic, non-participating citizens) is caused in part by society's reliance on a view of citizenship that sees democracy as essentially a set of procedures for pursuing private interests. Instead, participation should be informed by a conception of the public citizen. If we can help students resolve these issues, their civic participation should reduce individual alienation and enhance public life (p.359).

The movement, then, was a de-centering of citizenship as a "set of processes for pursuing private interests" (Newmann, 1989, p.359). A more broadly conceived notion of competence (variously referred to as civic, practical, or social) was being promoted. Heeding the call for such reform, the NCSS House of Delegates (Nov. 1992) voted to accept a definition of social studies which continues to stand as the official guiding statement of the organization. It is an inclusive definition which seems to have accommodated the views of various factions. Social studies is defined as the integrated study of the social sciences and humanities to promote civic competence. Within the school program, social studies provides coordinated, systematic study drawing upon such disciplines as anthropology, archaeology, economics, geography, history, law, philosophy, political science, psychology, religion, and sociology, as well as appropriate content from the humanities, mathematics, and natural sciences. The primary purpose of social studies is to help young people develop the ability to make informed and reasoned decisions for the public good as citizens of a culturally diverse, democratic society in an interdependent world (NCSS, 1992).

The focus term was now "civic competence." Newmann and Rutter (1983) were two of the first who suggested that competence was more than the technical application of content, stating that "the performance of a socially desired service in a
technically proficient way will not necessarily result in greater social responsibility, commitment, or political action” (p.373). Whitson and Stanley (Whitson and Stanley, 1989) suggested rethinking the rationale for social studies. Rather than citizenship, Whitson and Stanley (1989) propose practical (social) competence. Stanley (1992) states that practical competence necessitates praxis, which “represents a fundamental human interest that encompasses all dimensions of human thought and action, including a basic ethical dimension, a quest for the good or human betterment” (p.215).

More recently, feminists like Nel Noddings (1992) and Lynda Stone (1996) have brought their perspective to the conception of citizenship. Noddings (1992), for instance, points out that the experiences and concerns of women should be included in the social studies curriculum. However, I disagree with Noddings in her differentiation of activities in the home with acts of citizenship. Stone (1996) supports the ideal of pluralism in her critique of citizenship as an educational goal. She questions the utility of any conception of citizenship that does not consider contributions of postmodern and poststructuralist feminisms which, among other attributes, “value multiplicity, diversity, and difference...” (p.51).

These most recent rationales and conceptions are added to the list of aims, purposes, and rationales for social studies or social education. In fact, the rhetoric of reform proposals evokes a confusion of terms and meanings: citizenship education, civic education, civic learning, political education, social education, and issues-centered (or -oriented or -based), alternative education and so on. Added to this tangle of terms
and meanings is their usage by proponents of competing traditions and approaches, such as (but not limited to) those identified by Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977): citizenship transmission, structure of the disciplines, and reflective inquiry. Although each aims to promote citizenship, the differences lie in the philosophical-theoretical bases, the way in which citizenship is conceived, and the methods and content employed.14

Socialization and Countersocialization

Throughout the history of social studies, there has been an ongoing debate concerning the fundamental purpose of social studies (or more broadly, school itself): socialization (transmission) or countersocialization (transformation). But it has been the 1916 NEA Report's identification of the need to socialize youth that had sustained prominence in practice. Socialization, according to the Report, is teaching youth a set of common learnings which are founded on basic democratic principles and values. (Leming, 1989).

Critics of socialization (i.e., Cremin, 1965; Dewey, 1990; Engle and Ochoa, 1988; Dynesson, 1992; LeRiche, 1992; Newmann and Rutter, 1983; Kahne and Westheimer, 1996) conceive the role of schooling otherwise. Educational historian Lawrence Cremin (1965) observes that while children are socialized by agencies other than education, schools should serve to counter the socializing forces. Cremin (1965) argues that “training children always to accept passively what they are taught is counter to the role of an effective citizen in a democracy,” and that school should be a place where
questions, not answers, are focal (Woolever and Scott, 1988, p. 82). Engle and Ochoa (1988) also propose the necessity of countersocialization, which "emphasizes independent thinking and responsible social criticism" (p.30).

But as Engle and Ochoa (1988) also point out, the goal is to achieve a balance between the need to transmit democratic traditions, principles, and values to new generations, yet in a way that encourages critical reflection, inquiry, and action. Dynesson (1992) states, "Because the citizenship movement of the 1950s was based on a specific set of characteristics, critics of the time feared that citizenship education would lead to indoctrination of students..." (p.55). Dynesson (1992) adds, "One of the great unresolved problems associated with citizenship education was finding a proper balance between the need to educate for citizenship and relying on excessive forms of indoctrination" (p.55).

Objectives and Practices

Also issuing forth from this polysemy of terms and traditions is a discord of pedagogical objectives and practices. Only through close examination can the theoretical basis and intent be determined. According to the NCSS 1993 Position Statement, one of the things exemplary social studies programs should do is develop social and civic participation skills that prepare students to work effectively in diverse groups to address problems by discussing alternatives, making decisions, and taking action; to pursue social and civic agendas through persuasion, negotiation, and compromise; and to participate actively in civic affairs (e.g., writing opinion letters to newspapers) (p.215).
That the authors chose the preceding example to illustrate their position is a case in point. While not denigrating the importance of expressing one's position in such a way, other examples would have been more apropos, considering the statement "exemplary activities." Barber (1989), for instance, points out that civic education has primarily been "associated with civic knowledge and the cultivation of cognitive faculty thought to be identical with political judgment (private judgment on public issues" (p.355).

On the other hand, while Parker (1989) discusses democratic citizenship as the overarching goal of social studies, setting forth four issues-oriented goals (knowledge, skills, values, and participation), his writings clarify the intent of his proposal. He considers the necessity of critical reasoning on civic (public) issues through deliberation and action in heterogeneous groups (Parker et al, 1993), and states, "Among the most valued outcomes of social studies curriculums is the student's ability to understand--and practice--democracy" (Parker, 1995, p.84). Proctor and Haas (1993) explain that the ultimate goal of citizenship involves practices which prepare students for involvement, defined as social and political activism (p.381). Although Battistoni (1985) uses the term political education interchangeably with civic education and citizenship education, he nonetheless differentiates political education from political socialization, explaining that more than maintaining the status quo, political education means "to consciously and directly educate active democratic citizens" (p.5). Stanley (1992), too, qualifies his statement that "the primary purpose
of social education is to enable students to become competent citizens” (p.206). “Put another way,” he explains, “we need to help students acquire the ability to make critical judgments regarding the nature of society and how they might act, if necessary, to make it better” (p.206).

With the aim of citizenship education (or some variation on the theme) uppermost in social studies education, at least for theorists, certainly a failing of reform efforts results from the ambiguity incumbent in the terminology and rhetoric of reform. A goal, then, is for educators— theorists, teachers, and other school people— to search for understanding by employing those methods proposed as most appropriate for the education of our students— reflection, deliberation, and participation focusing on important and relevant problems and issues.

Considering the breadth and variation of intent, content, and practices in reform proposals, it is necessary to set parameters for further discussion which is relevant to this study. Held in abeyance will be specific references to the content and teaching of history courses and social sciences (structure of the disciplines) tradition. Rather, the focus will be on those aspects of social studies proposals and research which feature education for citizenship or civic competence, namely the way in which students, particularly high school students, are engaged in reflection, discussion, and action which addresses social problems and issues.

The centrality of problems (or issues, concerns, controversies, perplexing questions) in social studies education is a recurrent reform theme. Richard Gross
(1989) notes that the critical examination of problems is "central in an ideal social studies program" (p.186). How are "problems" (or related terms) further defined?

Problems appropriate for the social studies are variously described as public, civic, or social; perennial, persistent, historical, or contemporary; local, national, or international; unique or everyday and common; complex and messy; and real and relevant. However they are defined, social problems are ever-present. Some are unique to each generation and some are common to all.

Who identifies the problems or issues to be included in the curriculum? Rather than drawing directly upon pre-defined and pre-selected topics from the social sciences, history, and politics, some theorists and researchers propose methods which involve students in this process. Engle and Ochoa (1988) note that "the experiences and issues encountered by citizens in real life are far broader and more complicated than those represented by all of the social sciences" (p.50). Engle and Ochoa (1988) recommend students' involvement in identifying problems/issues, stating,

Learning is influenced by the individual's perception of the environment. At any given point in time, the individual selects from the environment those factors that are of interest. An individual's perception of the environment is influenced by past experiences as well as by his or her view of the future. The family, the peer group, religious institutions, and the media combine to shape the framework each individual brings to learning and decision-making (pp.77-78).

Interpreting Dewey's vision of education, Emily Robertson (1992) notes, "If children are to become genuine inquirers, they must have real questions they want to answer; they must encounter problematic situations other than wondering what the
teacher wants. They must be active agents, doing things in order to discover the consequences, not mere passive recipients of facts discovered by others” (p.340). By engaging in a practice of problematizing reality, students begin to relate social life and its incumbent problems to their own lives and the lives of others. Whitson and Stanley (1989) also note that the development of practical competence, an alternative rationale for social studies, “requires that students be confronted with problematic situations they come to see as genuine...” (p.18). In SADD, the students identified a problem of concern to them and the broader society and were active agents in addressing the problem.

Freire (1983) proposes a problem-posing method of education (p. 68). Kenway and Modra (1992) further explain that the goal of Freire’s notion of conscientization is “dialogical praxis which embodies a developmental-sequenced problem-posing education, in which students and teachers move from magical through naïve to critical consciousness...” (p.156). This process, according to Kenway and Modra (1992) is differentiated from consciousness-raising. The crucial difference is that while consciousness-raising problematizes reality (making us consciously aware of a problem), critical consciousness “facilitates analysis of the context of problem situations for the purpose of enabling people together to transform their reality rather than merely to understand it or adapt to it with less discomfort” (Kenway and Modra, 1992, p.156).
Whether historical or contemporary, local, national, or international, there is no lack of problems to be posed or reality to be problematized. But while teachers and students are aware of social problems, they are rarely broached in school (Massialas, 1989; Goodlad, 1984).

While Engle's (1989) proposed approach strongly emphasizes the study of social problems as one component of a social studies curriculum, he qualifies them as "broad." Examples he offers of broad social problems include the environmental crisis, poverty, and the threat of nuclear holocaust (Engle, 1989, pp.189-190). Ianni (article, 1989) lists social problems that are present in students' everyday lives: drug and alcohol abuse, crime, suicide, teen pregnancy, delinquency, and dropping out of school. He adds, however, that these problems confronting youth are also those which affect all of society (p.674). Persistent problems identified by Garrod et al (1992) are limited educational resources, drug abuse, AIDS, violence, and racism. Added to the list of contemporary problems are sexual assault, including date rape, drunken driving, race relations, and civil liberties. This and more is the reality of students' lives. Many of these issues are addressed in schools, more so in health, science, driver education courses, and special prevention programs, it seems, than in social studies classes.

Exemplified in a high school civics textbook, Participating in Our Democracy, is one way in which students are introduced to issues and informed of their role as citizens to affect change. Chapter 23 is entitled "Confronting Society's Problems."

Stated in chapter are the themes of responsibility and participation:
It is the responsibility of citizens to help government find solutions to public problems. While government has the power to make public policy, concerned citizens can make their opinions known and participate actively in bringing about change" (p.495).

The chapter features two problems as examples of society’s problems: AIDS and disposal of household and industrial trash and garbage. Students are told, "By looking at these two problems and how people are trying to solve them, you will get a better idea of the role citizens play in our democracy. You will see that even while we debate the actions government can take, you can find ways to make a difference as individuals" (p.495).

In a section of the chapter entitled Problems and Public Issues, the problem of a high accident rate among teenaged drivers is raised. This was offered in contrast to the private problem of deciding whether to do homework or watch a favorite television show. The problem about the accident rate is a public problem, it says, because it affects many people. It reads: “A situation becomes a problem when it does not ‘fit’ with a person’s values. If the situation does not fit the accepted values of the community, it is a social problem. If enough people believe a situation needs to change, they will begin to take action” (p.496). A social problem becomes an issue when it becomes “a point of conflict or matter to be debated” (p.496). The book adds, “When people ask government to help solve a problem, the issues that arise are known as public issues” (p.497). This very notion--public versus private--became central to this study and will be explored in the analysis (Chapter 11).

In a 1961 paper entitled “The Contents of Human Problem Solving,” Sarason (1982) differentiated between studies of problem solving when someone is presented...
with a problem and the process of solving a problem. The latter approach focuses on problems which “arise spontaneously in the course of human development (p.189).

Sarason’s view is that “the traditional conception of solution was inappropriate for social action” and that one did not “solve” problems completely or once and for all (p.190). LeRiche (1992) also notes that there are no final solutions to some social problems (p.136). Newmann (1970) says,

Instruction on social problems...usually avoids the study of what students might do to affect the destiny of the problems examined. Likewise critical thinking skills are seldom applied to personal choices about ways to exert influence. Instead, inquiry and critical thinking is most often directed to questions arising from the academic disciplines ....Finally, the teaching and preaching of democratic values often seem hypocritical to students. Unqualified endorsement of values fails to recognize the existence of genuine conflicts among the 'sacred' principles themselves. The school is not run democratically, and the curriculum fails to help students reconcile the gap between the ideals promulgated and the realities of the world around them (p.5).

More often than not, students in social studies classes are asked to check societal problems at the classroom door because the “values” questions raised are those which are not sanctioned by the schools.

Referencing Oliver and Shaver’s 1966 book Teaching Public Issues, Evans (1989) says that “their purpose was to explore an area of public controversy, to encourage the students to find where he or she stood, and to defend that position” (p.181). As Shaver (1989) explains, their’s was a jurisprudential approach which emphasized perennial legal-ethical issues of public policy (p.192). In Clarifying Public Controversy: An Approach to Social Studies, Newmann, with Donald Oliver (1970),
describe their approach to the discussion of public issues which is in keeping with a central theme carried throughout Newmann's writings. In *Education for Citizen Action*, Newmann (1975) says,

The notion of citizen participation has been defined in such a way that educational practice neglects the most crucial component in democratic theory: the right of each citizen to exert influence in (in contrast to 'thinking critically about' or taking an active interest in') public affairs. The curriculum may emphasize the duty of everyone to keep informed, to register, to vote, and even to contact one's representatives between elections. The study of social issues may assist students in deciding which policies to favor or oppose. Yet instruction of this sort does not realistically deal with what it takes to make an impact on public policy. Little or no attention is paid to action research or to developing skills in persuasion and organization. A person who wants to exert influence finds little help in current approaches to citizen education (p.4).

Addressing a social problem through direct contact with the system has the potential for not only raising students' awareness of the workings of the system, but also for learning to confront and deal with the incumbent frustrations of achieving one's goals. Newmann is critical of citizenship education that fails to assist students in learning how they might go about exercising influence within a public realm.

Many writings on education for citizenship center on the need to teach and provide opportunities for students to engage in civic talk on public issues (Parker, 1989; Engle and Ochoa, 1988; Barber, 1989; Newmann, 1989; Shaver, 1989; Newmann and Oliver, 1970).

Both Barber (1989) and Parker (1989) contend that civic participation is more than voting and providing oversight of political representatives. It requires that students learn how to engage in what is referred to as political (or civic or public) talk,
a specific type of talk which, they say, is different from other types of conversation.

According to Barber (1989), the purpose of political talk is to make and remake the world (p.356). It is
talk in common among a community of citizens about common issues--the public good, for example....[It] is much richer and is characterized by creativity, variety, openness and flexibility, inventiveness, capacity for discovery, subtlety and complexity, eloquence, potential for empathy and affective expression, and a deeply paradoxical character (Barber, 1989, p.355).

Civic talk is central to Parker's (1989) proposal, as well. He refers to participation as deliberation on public problems and aspirations. One of three major components of Parker's (1989) proposal for “civics in the strong sense” is “rich opportunities for students to participate in democratic practices, such as rigorous discussion of real public problems, past and present” (p.353). Concomitant with this is assisting students to acquire in-depth knowledge of history and politics and conduct themselves as communities (Parker, 1989, p.353). Parker’s proposal stands in contrast to the weak side of education, the common fare which either ignores civic education, teaches only the mechanics of government, or sponsors “civic rituals such as reciting the pledge of allegiance and singing the national anthem” (p.353).

Hardwood and Hahn (1990) also assert the importance of the discussion of issues in the classroom, but, like Parker (1989) and others, note the lack of such discussion in social studies classrooms (p.3). They contend that dialogue on public issues is the essence of a healthy democracy and, therefore, should be central to the education of citizens. Hardwood and Hahn (1990) define a controversial issues
discussion as "reflective discussion about an issue on which there is disagreement" (p. 1). The focus of controversial issues discussion, they add, can be social, political, and economic policies. Hardwood and Hahn (1990) cite two studies which looked at the effects of controversial issues discussions. In a study by Patrick during the 1960s, which measured the political efficacy of adults, those who remembered participating in discussions and debates in high school scored higher than those who did not.\textsuperscript{17} In the 1970s, Long and Long found a positive correlation between the discussion of controversial issues in school and political discussions with family members and friends, as well as following current events in the media.\textsuperscript{18}

In a recent qualitative study, Rossi’s (1995) looked at his own issues-oriented social studies course\textsuperscript{19} for high school sophomores. Central to the class was discussion, Rossi states, "by which students interpreted and gave meaning to their knowledge" (p. 105). While institutional and pedagogical dilemmas presented obstacles for both the teacher and learners, Rossi’s (1995) findings suggest that this type of class "promotes dispositions desirable for informed and thoughtful citizens" (p. 116). While Rossi (1995) study focuses primarily on discussion of issues and the concomitant necessity of students to acquire information and grapple with social issues, most reform proposals also include elements of reflection and action. Parker (1989) states, "Civic talk...is talk in common about common issues, and entails listening not less than speaking, action no less than reflection" (p. 354).
The importance of students’ active participation in projects which address social, political, or civic problems or issues is highlighted by proponents of these approaches. Newmann (1975) and Engle and Ochoa (1988), among others, have recommended an action component. And Evans explains that action is implicit in definitions of issues-centered educational approaches.\(^{20}\) When action or active student participation is recommended, most often it is in the form of a community service component of a course or as a requirement for graduation. Boyer (1983) and others (i.e., Barber, 1989; Engle and Ochoa, 1988; Clark, 1989) are among those promoting this objective. As part of his core curriculum proposal, Boyer (1983) includes a civics course that would involve students in active learning in the form of projects. An example he provides to highlight this approach, however, appears to lack a purpose which would be meaningful to students. The project he relates is one in which students worked to have the street adjacent to their school renamed. Boyer (1983) states, “They lobbied the city council, secured citizen support, and filed appropriate papers. The city commission was responsive. The name of the street was changed” (p.105). We are left to wonder whether this was more than performing tasks in a technically proficient way. What was it that led the students to believe in the importance of the name change, if they did? Did the presentation to the city council pose a challenge to the students? Would there have been some reason for the council not to grant the request? Boyer’s (1983) example of civic action and the questions it raises points out the importance of continuing discussion concerning the purposes of
citizenship education and the activities designed to achieve those purposes. Newmann explains the range of choices facing educators. A very broad definition of community involvement Newmann offers is, "any activity in which students work together in or with groups..." (p.8). The range of activities could include tutoring to organizing cleanup projects to marching in a demonstration (p.8). A very narrow definition of social action "might restrict social action to any activity in which students actually attempt to influence public policy in the community beyond the school..." (p.8).

Barber (1989) recommends that students should be required to perform community service, which, he says, empowers them to engage in "pertinent school decision-making processes, that give them practical political experience, and that make them responsible for developing public forms of talk and civic forms of judgment" (p.355). Barber (1989) further notes that this process extends "out of the world of pure reflection and into the world of participation and action..." (p.355).

In contrast to the dominant conception in which citizens advance their private interests by electing representatives and who support democratic procedures and institutions, Newmann (1989) promotes a conception put forth by other scholars of citizenship (i.e., Barber, 1989; Pratte, 1988; Battistoni, 1985). Newmann (1989) recommends an increased emphasis on social issues for the purpose of helping students to develop the competence needed to exert influence in public affairs (p.24). This competence is a melding of action and reflection. Newmann (1989) asserts that the quality, not quantity, of participation is foremost and that "participation alone is
unlikely to offer much educational benefit unless it is accompanied by solid, in-depth study and rigorous reflection" (p.357). The purpose is the education of students for democratic citizenship.

In the report on their study of eight exemplary community service programs, Newmann and Rutter (1983) note that the emphasis of the programs was on self-development and career exploration rather than on civic responsibility. While participation had positive effects on the development of students' social relationships and personal development, Newmann and Rutter (1983) conclude that “the performance of a socially desired service in a technically proficient way will not result in greater social responsibility, commitment, or political action” (p.373).

Building on the work of Newmann and Rutter, Kelly (1989) conducted a study which asked: “What conditions associated with community involvement appear to make a difference in the development of students as democratic citizens?” Based on his findings, Kelly (1989) recommends that the focus of community involvement for youth should be "public-minded social advocacy" in which students are involved in formulating a policy position, working in cooperation with others to win support for the position, and deliberation and advocacy that considers the common good.

Obstacles to Reform

Considering the long history of efforts to reform social studies, and in some instances to reconceive its purpose and goal, it is surprising that there have been so few broad and lasting changes. Then again, education is an institution with firmly
entrenched traditions regarding structure, content, and practice (Engle and Ochoa, 1988; Engle, 1989; Evans, 1989; Gross, 1989; Leming, 1989; Massialas, 1989; Rossi, 1995). Factors mitigating against change include the inertia of traditional student-teacher roles (Ross, 1995), conservatism of teachers (Leming, 1989), inadequate preparation of teachers (Engle and Ochoa, 1988), the reliance on textbooks (Engle, 1989; Massialas, 1989), required coverage of content (Massialas, 1989; Rossi, 1995), pressures from the community to follow familiar patterns (Massialas, 1989), and the reluctance of administrators to risk change (Massialas, 1989). Perhaps there is an undercurrent of fear of the unknown from all quarters.

We might pause to reflect on the NCSS Position Statement of 1993 as Hazel Hertzberg did on the NCSS guidelines of 1971. Mullen (1995) notes that Hertzberg remarked that “the document provided ‘the illusion of coherence without its substance’” (p.13). Mullen (1995) adds, “Hertzberg did not devote a great deal of energy to defining the social studies in any abstract way....Far more important for her than verbal formulations were providing concrete models of social studies in action” (p.16). If we hope to “prepare students to work effectively in diverse groups to address problems by discussing alternatives, making decisions, and taking action,” as the 1993 NCSS Position Statement (p.215) urges us to do, perhaps we should continue to seek ways for students to do so.

Social studies research can support this effort by asking questions of consequence. In a report on his review of social studies research, Fraenkel (1987)
notes that there was a paucity of qualitative studies and that many questions remain to be investigated. Among the questions to be asked he suggests are: How do students think about social problems? And why do so many students dislike social studies; how can this problem be remedied (p.204)? Nelson (1989) recommends that we move away from looking at research findings for the purpose of making generalizations, as doing so can “sacrifice the particulars which would enhance understanding” (p.316). The particulars are the meanings students bring to their experiences and the context in which these experiences take place. In addition to experience and context, we should consider other features of critical pragmatism and feminism, such as pluralism and fallibilism, in discussions of democracy and citizenship, and subject beliefs and assumptions to feminist critique.

Part 4: Social Education in the Extracurriculum

In an effort to qualify meanings, Fraenkel (1987) distinguishes social studies from social education, while Reische (1987) broadens the scope of the term citizenship education. Fraenkel (1987) notes that the distinction to which he subscribes was put forth by Nelson and Shaver (1985). Social education, they maintain, is “a term inclusive of the broad concerns of social knowledge, social relations, social development, and social improvement, which are among the goals of social studies, but go beyond schooling practices in their intentions, activities, and research implications,” whereas social studies identifies “the schooling part of social education.” Reische (1987) draws upon a definition of citizenship education put forth by Walter McPhie.
whose goal for citizenship education was the development of competent citizens. His definition is much broader and more inclusive than high school courses alone; and, while courses can make fundamental contributions, McPhie argues, "citizenship education also occurs continuously and incrementally outside of class as the emerging citizen interacts with situations and everyday models. 'It occurs at home, in play, in church, and in every room and hallway of the schools. In short, it occurs as one goes about living'" (p.20).

Engle and Ochoa (1988) also recognize the importance of students' experiences outside the school walls. Although they note that students' firsthand experiences alone are not sufficient content for the social studies, they say, "Lessons learned outside the context of life experience....are likely to be sterile and unconvincing" (p.50). Engle and Ochoa (1988) add, "The real life of citizens includes significant learning that is influenced by home, the workplace, and religion, as well as by exchanges with peers and adults, the media, and the world of entertainment: all contribute to citizens' knowledge and influence their attitude profoundly" (p.50).

Regardless of the terminology used, these authors agree that the education of competent citizens can and does occur in non-school settings. Dewey (1921) reminds us that "an educational result is a by-product of play and work in most out-of-school conditions" (p.196). Therefore, we should explore all settings in which students are learning to become competent citizens, recognizing that data derived from studies on students' activities outside the classroom can inform the theory and practice of social
studies in schools. We also must critique the research projects and findings in terms of the way in which citizenship is conceived.

In what sites and situations does out-of-school learning occur? While learning a wide array of competencies necessary for active citizenship occurs at home, at church, in the workplace, and other settings, it is the extracurriculum that is touted as a most important aspect of high school students' education. In Shopping Mall High School, Powell et al (1985) note that the extracurriculum “is regarded by school people and students as anything but extra; it is an integral part of the educational program, an often indispensable way to attach students to something that makes them feel successful” (p.21). According to Berk (1992), Gallup Polls conducted in 1978 and 1985 demonstrate public support for the extracurriculum (reported in Pinar et al, 1995, p.790).

Pinar et al (1995) state that “the extracurriculum refers to those activities and events sponsored by the school which occur outside the formal school curriculum” (p.789). The extracurriculum is also referred to as the co-curriculum, the third curriculum, and the informal curriculum. Powell et al (1985) add the services curriculum, which is sometimes included as one form of extracurricular activity. While students have been involved in such activities for about sixty years (Klesse, 1994, p.1; Lewis, 1989, p. K3), data on the actual numbers of students involved in extracurricular activities is scant. Reporting on findings of the longitudinal “High School and Beyond” study, conducted by the Center for Statistics, Klesse (1994) says that almost 80
percent of 1982 seniors reported taking part in at least 1 of 11 cocurricular activities” (p.5). And Lewis (1991), reporting on a 1984 national study conducted by the NASSP (National Association of Secondary School Principals), notes that more than 80 percent of those students surveyed reported that they had been involved in some type of school-related activities within the preceding year (p.K5).

SADD is an extracurricular student organization which addresses drinking and driving and other problems confronting youth. In a review of the literature on the extracurriculum, the organization was not mentioned, and only a couple of articles referenced student involvement in activities that focused on drinking and driving.

Most of the research on the extracurriculum can be included in one or more of three broad categories: personal (i.e., personality, self-esteem, psychological development, and moral development); educational (i.e., cognitive, intellectual, and school performance; and civic (i.e., social development, civic knowledge, and political participation). A review of those studies which are relevant to this research follow.

Research on Educational Gains

Lauren Resnick (1987) looked beyond the classroom in her research on the development of students' cognitive skills (contrasting in-school learning and out-of-school learning). Resnick (1987) determined that the most effective school programs shared several key features that are characteristic of out-of-school cognitive performances. One feature is that they involve “socially shared intellectual work...organized around the joint accomplishment of tasks, so that elements of the
skill take on meaning in the context of the whole” (p.18). Many of the programs include elements of apprenticeship; that is, they “make usually hidden procedures overt, and they encourage student observation and commentary. They also allow skills to build up bit by bit, yet permit participation even for the relatively unskilled, often as a result of social sharing of tasks” (p.18). Lastly, learning is contextualized in that “programs are organized around particular bodies of knowledge and interpretation--subject matters...rather than general abilities” (p.18). Emphasizing the civic function of education, Resnick (1987) envisions “a culture of reason, analysis, and reflection based on certain shared knowledge” (p.19). Rather than ceding to “experts,” Resnick (1987) calls upon educators to involve students in “interested discussion,” by which she means that “people most effected by any decision have maximum information and know how to use it” (p.19, emphasis in original). The SADD members were learning in a way suggested by Resnick (1987). The members were involved in socially shared intellectual work...organized around the joint accomplishment of tasks” in a meaningful context (p.18).

Powell et al (1985) note, “Most teachers and students regard the extracurriculum as constructively educational. It supplements the rest of the curriculum and lures many students and teachers even when academic credit is not given” (p.29). Involvement in the extracurriculum has been shown to be correlated to, and in some cases contributed to, academic growth and/or the enhancement of learning in the classroom (Manners and Smart, 1995; Kuh, 1993; Rombakas et al, 1995; Conrad and
Hedin, 1989; Klesse, 1994). Results of studies, however, are mixed (Kraft and Krug, 1994, p.205).

Kuh (1993) found that the development of college students’ cognitive complexity included reflective (critical) thinking and the ability to examine different points of view (p.290). The students also reported that their involvement in extracurricular activities helped them bridge the gap between theory and practice and “to use information presented in class to other classes or to other areas of life” (p.290). Only a quarter of the respondents in Kuh’s study, however, said that they applied knowledge from classes in their extracurricular experiences. This raises a question regarding conventional or modernist thinking which separates theory from practice or the acquisition of knowledge from the application of knowledge. This notion is evidenced in a remark by Klesse (1994) in his book on the extracurriculum. Klesse says, “Student activities offer young people a place to try out their academic skills in an eclectic, community-like environment” (p.1, emphasis added). He fails to recognize that the two instances of learning—curricular and extracurricular—are part of a whole and integrated, with each contributing to the other.

While most studies find correlations between participation in extracurricular activities and academic growth and other related outcomes, they do not demonstrate the character or level of influence of one on the other. It is not expected that they could do so because of the complex nature of learning and the myriad of factors involved.
Specific relationships (positive correlations) that have been identified focus on the extracurriculum and higher grades (Holland and Andre, 1987 reported in Lewis, 1991; Marsh, 1992; Stevens and Pettier, 1994; Romabakas et al, 1995; Brown and Steinberg, 1991; Klesse, 1994); less absenteeism (Stevens and Pettier, 1994; Marsh, 1992); higher educational or career aspirations and attainment (Holland and Andre, 1987 reported in Lewis, 1991; Marsh, 1992; Spay, 1970 reported in Stevens and Pettier, 1994; Klesse, 1994); and higher scores on college entrance exams (Holland and Andre, 1987 reported in Lewis, 1991).

A few studies note correlational variations in regard to factors such as the level of involvement (number and intensity), the form of extracurricular activity, and students' socioeconomic background. In their review of research on service programs, Holland and Andre (1987), for example, found that a relationship existed between extracurricular participation and higher career aspirations and attainment, particularly for male students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds (Lewis, 1991, p.K4). Marsh (1992) notes different outcomes related to the type of extracurricular activity. She reviewed data from the High School and Beyond Study, looking at variables that influenced growth and change in educational outcomes over the last two years of high school. After controlling for variables, Marsh (1992) found that, overall, participation in extracurricular activities was significantly and favorably correlated to 17 of 22 senior and post-secondary outcomes, among them social and academic self-concept, educational aspirations, course work selection, homework, absenteeism, academic
achievement, and subsequent college attendance (pp.4-5). Marsh (1992) notes, however, that the "benefits of participation also differed substantially depending on the particular activity. Participation in sports, honor societies, student government, school publications, school subject-matter clubs, church organizations, and community service organizations was consistently beneficial..." (p.5).

Results of a study by Brown and Steinberg (1991) show differences in the level of academic achievement across types of activities. They analyzed the responses of 8000 high school students in two school systems (one in Wisconsin and the other in California) to a self-report survey questionnaire to determine the impact of four influences: family, peers, part-time employment, and school-sponsored extracurricular activities on achievement patterns of high school students. Regarding the influence of extracurricular participation, Brown and Steinberg (1991) point out as obvious that "to even the most casual observer of high schools that students' interests and efforts in school work are affected by 'non-instructional' factors..." (p.1). Focusing on the processes of influence in each area, the researchers found that extracurricular participation was associated with positive school outcomes, even after controlling for background differences (academic ability, SES, etc.) between participants and non-participants. The more extensive a students' participation—in terms of number of hours, number of activities, or number of types of activities (sports, performing, leadership, clubs, and interest groups)—the more time was devoted to homework and the higher was the students' GPA (p.5).
Brown and Steinberg (1991) note, however, that those involved in sports or performing arts had significantly lower academic achievement that those involved in leadership activities, clubs, or interest groups. Also, in contrasting extracurricular programs with jobs, even when the number of hours dedicated to the activities was similar, the academic achievement of those involved in extracurricular activities was enhanced, while the academic achievement of those working students was not (p.5).

Rathunde (1993) reports on a longitudinal study involving 200 predominantly white middle class teenagers talented in music, the arts, and/or athletics. He concludes that, in comparison to other school activities, specifically schoolwork and socializing, extracurricular activities are the most consistent source of interest and experiences requiring the coordination of high-level skills and challenges for students (pp.3 & 6).

Klesse (1994) notes that results of studies he reviewed are mixed in regard to correlations between gender and race and increases in self-esteem, educational aspirations and attainment, and social skills (pp.6-14). He finds, however, a modest, yet significant, negative effect on achievement from involvement in community activities in comparison to activities connected to the school (p.5). This finding must be regarded with caution, however, because participation in most school-related activities is usually contingent upon students maintaining a satisfactory grade point average.
Research on Civic Involvement

Most salient to this research are those studies which examine the relationship between students’ participation in extracurricular activities in high school and their involvement as adults in politics or other civic affairs. Yates’ (1995) research findings suggest that students involved in service activities come to view themselves as agents for change. Hanks (1981) investigated the effects of adolescent participation in voluntary associations on early adult political activity. He used survey data from the National Longitudinal Study of the High School Senior Class of 1972 and follow-up surveys one and two years later. Independent of the variables social class, ability, academic performance, and self-esteem, a relationship between adolescent participation and later political activities in early adulthood was found (p.221). Hanks qualifies his findings by pointing out that it seems likely that young persons who are interested in and relatively proficient in citizenship activities are attracted to voluntary associations in adolescence, but there is no measure of political interest, predisposition toward citizenship activities, or some other factor, during adolescence, to act as a control (p.222).

While some studies report outcomes such as increased political participation (e.g. Kraft and Krug, 1994; Damico, 1996) or social responsibility (e.g., Newmann and Rutter, 1983; Stockhaus, 1976), it appears that the outcomes usually sought and valued are those which promote the socialization of youth. Battistoni (1985) even qualifies his remarks in his assertion that if the recent findings of socializations studies...are correct, student involvement in any extracurricular school activities may contribute to
improved adult political participation and participatory attitudes. Just by encouraging increased extracurricular activity in all students, especially those from lower-income backgrounds, high schools can help promote greater civic knowledge and awareness along with a propensity to participate in politics in adult life (p.191).

Among the array of possible effects of students' participation in extracurricular activities, the area least considered in the research are those related to the development of citizenship or civic competence. Those available focus most often on extracurricular programs in which students are involved in community service or service-learning. It is noted, however, that the focus of purposes and processes is on those traditionally public (civic/political) actions. Centering all discussion on this type of participation (i.e., voting, serving on a jury, attending town council meetings, supporting a political candidate), serves to limit our understanding of citizenship.

In their study on the sociopolitical effects of participation in high school community service volunteer programs, Newmann and Rutter (1983) report a modest increase on a measure of social responsibility. The program failed, however, to show benefits regarding political efficacy, future affiliation, and future political participation. Reports on other studies note that participation in extracurricular programs promotes civic participation, although not necessarily that concerned with political issues. In their review of research, Andre and Holland (1987) conclude that extracurricular activities promote positive behavior and establish lifelong habits of civic participation (reported in Lewis, 1989 and 1991). Outcomes reported by college students in Kuh's (1993) study include the development of "more sophisticated" social and political values (p.294). In their review of forty studies on service-learning, Kraft and Krug...
(1994) report positive outcomes, noting Marsh’s (1973) conclusion that there were increases in students’ participation in community affairs, interest in politics, and support of political issues (Kraft and Krug, 1994, p. 201). Bourgeois (1978) concludes that involvement in community activities fostered the development of civic competence (Kraft and Krug, 1994, p.201). Here, too, we see that civic competence is conceived in terms of traditional political and civic concerns and activities.

Participation in extracurricular activities has also been shown to promote improved relations among diverse groups. Lucks (1981) reported that high school students involved in community service gained a positive attitude toward others (Kraft and Krug, 1994, p.201). An outcome reported by college students in Kuh’s (1993) study was the importance of “learning about and gaining experience with people from different racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds” (p.297).

Accounts of student activism note a continuity of interest and involvement throughout adulthood. In New Voices: Student Political Activism in the ‘80s and ‘90s, Tony Vellela (1988) states, “Many of today’s politicians, bureaucrats, labor leaders, organizers and public servants were campus activists, and honed their skills and their ideologies during their undergraduate days and nights” (p.1). In a Chronicle of Higher Education article (June 6, 1990, pp. A30-32) about a celebration marking the anniversary reunion of the SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) and the anniversary reunion of the ASA (American Student Union), 1930s activist Max Richardson notes that motivation for involvement of his group was the same as that
for students in other eras. They realized what was happening in the world and objected to it (p.32). In *Freedom Summer*, a story about the 1964 Mississippi Freedom Summer campaign, Doug McAdam (1988) states that many of the civil rights activists involved in this event continued their efforts, though perhaps addressing other social issues. Regarding the differences between those who remained involved and those who did not, McAdam (1988) maintains,

> Those volunteers who remain active today are distinguished from those who are not by virtue of their stronger organizational affiliations and continued ties to other activists. Attitudes dispose people to action; social structures enable them to act on these dispositions (p.237).

A longitudinal study by Damico et al (1996) concludes that extracurricular activities during high school has lasting effects on the levels of citizens’ civic and political activism as adults (pp.1-2, 7). Other earlier studies have shown correlations between political beliefs/attitudes and factors other than social studies course work. Damico et al (1996) cite studies by Ehman (1980) and Klassen (1992), two studies that were limited, they say, because students’ experiences were examined at a “specific moment in time” (p.2). Ehman (1980) found a consistent relationship between participation and political attitudes (Damico et al, 1996, p.3), and Klassen (1992) concluded that “classroom and school climate are more important than course work in shaping students’ political attitudes and beliefs” (p.2). Ehman also noted that the relationship between school participation and later political participation had not been studied.
The study by Damico and his associates (1996) begins to fill this void. The researchers' analysis is based on data from "Surveys of the Senior Class of 1972" by the National Center for Education Studies. The follow-up study tracked African American and white students through young adulthood and into their early to mid-thirties. Surveys of the 1972 high school seniors were conducted in four subsequent years: 1974, 1976, 1979, and 1986. Their primary aim was to "trace the impact of high school extracurricular activity participation on the acquisition of democratic beliefs and subsequent patterns of...adult community and political participation" (p.3). Damico and his fellow researchers began with the basic assumption that "what people learn is often a function of how they learn it and whether the 'how' links the 'what' to something meaningful in their own experience" (p.2). This explains, they believe, "why social studies courses do not have much lasting impact upon students' level of political awareness or whether they become involved in their communities" (p.2).

The major finding of the study by Damico et al (1996) is that extracurricular involvement in high school has lasting effects for both African Americans and whites. There was a consistent relationship between participation in extracurricular activities, valuing democratic processes, and community and political activism. Those students who were most active in high school were most likely as adults to be members of organizations and leaders in their communities, to engage in political discussions, and to be involved in political activities (pp. 7-11). Other aspects of their study generated
findings related to race, gender, socioeconomic status, and tracking in schools.

Regarding gender, Damico et al (1996) found that men appeared to become more involved in their communities in young adulthood but that the pattern reverses in early to mid-thirties. Based on their finding that people with preschool age children are less politically active (p. 11), it is not surprising that women of this age are less active as they are more commonly the primary care-givers. Noddings (1992) considers child-rearing as an important consideration in the education of students, but dismisses the idea that good parenting is an act of citizenship. Although neither the number of social studies courses taken nor curriculum track were predictors of adult behavior, Damico et al (1996) note that students in academic tracks were significantly more involved in extracurricular activities. While they found no significant differences between African American and white students, there were differences in regard to curriculum tracks and socioeconomic status (SES). Curriculum tracks, they assert, “follow SES markers which, in turn, mirror inequalities between white and black households” (p.6). Even so, Damico et al (1996) found that African Americans were, on average, “more civically and politically engaged than whites” (p.7).

Conclusion

According to Damico and his fellow researchers (1996), “life is one of the most important sites for citizenship education” (p.11). This conclusion supports the claim that social education (Fraenkel, 1987) or citizenship education (Reische, 1987) does occur outside the classroom. While the extracurriculum is understudied and findings of
studies that have been conducted are mixed or otherwise inconclusive, the
extracurriculum has endured due to wide support.

Commenting on the findings of a review of research by Andre and Holland
(1987), Lewis (1991) says that researchers conclude that “further research is necessary
before the role and effect of participation in extracurricular activities can be determined,
despite the well-articulated rationales for the co-curriculum” (p.K3).

It is a foregone conclusion that research in this area is needed. But what should
be the character of the research? Regarding community service programs in particular,
Conrad and Hedin (1989) suggest that “a practice so varied and complex demands
assessment through equally complex and varied ways” (p.25). They add,

Sometimes the rigid reliance on paper and pencil surveys and tests can
obscure the most obvious and meaningful data of all....When people feel
strongly that they have learned a great deal, they probably have done so,
but it is not always possible for them or others to articulate just what they
have learned (pp.25-26).

According to Andre and Holland (1987), the kind of research that is needed
includes the effects of participation in different types of activities and “whether or not
there is a ‘critical period’ when participation has greater or lesser effects” (Lewis,
involvement in the extracurriculum, including who participates (p.225). And
Rombakas et al (1995) state that further research is needed, especially studies which
examine processes rather than outcomes alone and those which focus on areas other
than participation in athletics (pp. 9 & 25). Concluding her 1987 AERA presidential address, Resnick (1987) states,

When we speak of the civic function of education, then we envision a culture of reason, analysis, and reflection, based on certain shared knowledge. Realizing this vision will require a civic consciousness that goes beyond the individualistic one of current classroom learning models and draws on models of shared intellectual functioning such as we see in our best work environments. Building on such civic consciousness, by long apprenticeships in the special kind of community that only school has both the distance and the engagement to create, may be the most important challenge facing educational research and reform today (p.19).

Research has shown that investigations focusing on social education and citizenship education can occur with youth people outside of the classroom. Qualitative studies can explore the meanings that students give to their experiences and the understandings. I agree with Resnick, though, that school is a “special kind of community” that offers unique opportunities for educating students.

End Notes

1Evans rephrases this point made by Hazel Hertzberg in the early 1980s. (Note: While a page number is provided in Evans’ text, there is no indication as to which citation he is referring.)

2Freire is critical of what he terms the "banking" concept in education in which students are seen as receptacles and teachers as depositors of information.

3This definition is Seigfried’s contribution to The Cambridge Dictionary of Philosophy, Ed. Robert Audi (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming).

4Seigfried draws upon the work of feminist researcher Sandra Harding who identified three distinctive features of feminist research: that research “begins with women’s experience as the basis for social analysis,” that its “aim is to benefit women,” and that the researcher “is not a neutral observer, but is on the same critical plane as the subject matter” (Seigfried,1996, p.37).
As the theories of William James are allied with those of the literal and cultural branch of feminism, they are not central to this research.


Bernstein (1985) and Stanley (1992) discuss criticisms of Rorty, such as the nihilistic tendencies of his theories.

As this relates to disagreements between individuals or groups, another topic for consideration comes into play. Pluralism, Bernstein (1991) believes, can be achieved without falling back on “what Popper called the ‘myth of the framework’ where we are prisoners caught in our own theories--our expectations, our past experiences, our language--’and that we are so imprisoned in radically different frameworks’ “ (p.337).


Civic competence is defined in Civitas (1991) as “the capacity to participate effectively in the American political as well as social systems” (p. 1).

Citizenship transmission is aligned with socialization and enculturation; social sciences with Structure of the Disciplines, and reflective inquiry with social and political competence. The latter, according to Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977) is “decision making in a sociopolitical context” (p.64). To these categories, Evans (1989) adds the “problems” or “issues” approach, which is similar to reflective inquiry but which focuses on the development of critical consciousness and student empowerment for the greater purpose of achieving social justice.
Two sources of funding for prevention programs are Safe and Drug-Free Schools and Communities and Offices of Public Health.

This textbook was in use during the period in which participants in this study were attending high school.

Patrick's 1967 study is reported in Hardwood and Hahn, 1990, p.2

Long and Long's 1975 study is reported in Hardwood and Hahn, 1990, p.2.

The one semester course was based upon a model developed by Oliver, Shaver, and Newmann.

Personal communication with Ron Evans, Nov. 2, 1993.


In his study focusing on college students' participation in out-of-class experiences, Kuh (1993) concludes that such experiences contributed substantially to the development of students' personal competence, which included self-awareness, autonomy, confidence, social competence, and a sense of purpose (pp.285 & 300). An earlier study by Newmann and Rutter (1983) concerning high school students' involvement in volunteer programs found a modest increase in students' sense of personal competence. B. Bradford Brown (1988, cited in Lewis, 1991) states that "the strongest conclusion that one can draw from existing research is that the effects of extracurricular participation on secondary school students' personal development and academic achievement are probably positive, but very modest, and are definitely different among students with different social or intellectual backgrounds" (pp.K4-K5).

Newmann's ideas about civic participation and social responsibility include an array of extra-voting activities, but they generally are focused on traditional public/civic activities.

Although Kraft and Kraft (1994) identify the studies reviewed as service-learning, it is noted here that the term itself was not in use at the time the studies were conducted. These were studies in which students provided community services, some of which may have been connected to the curriculum.
Extracurricular activities considered by Damico et al (1996) are athletics, student government/media, expressive (arts), subject matter clubs, and vocational clubs.
Chapter 3

Methodology

Qualitative Research

This is a qualitative study because its purpose is to understand human experience. In this research, the focus is the meaning the participants gave to their experiences in SADD and in other aspects of their lives. Erickson (1990) points out that this qualitative method looks to the “immediate and local meanings of actions, as defined from the actors' point of view” (p.78). The principal techniques for collecting data in qualitative research are participant observation and in-depth interviewing, both of which were used in this study.

Other criteria of qualitative research which are satisfied in this study are that it is holistic and naturalistic. It is holistic because both the meanings the participants gave to their experiences and the context of their lives were considered in the collection and analysis of data. Context was important in this study because it helped me to understand the way in the participants were shaped by the social, cultural, and family environments in which they lived. The study is naturalistic because much of the data was gathered by observing and interacting with the participants in natural settings, such as at SADD meetings and other activities in which the participants were engaged. Bogdan and Biklen (1982) state that qualitative research is referred to as naturalistic because “the researcher hangs around where the events he or she is interested in
naturally occur (p.3). Associating with the participants in the places where their experiences were occurring afforded me the opportunity to discern certain aspects of their meanings that would not otherwise have been available. Being there, I was able to see the participants' expressions and hear the tone of their voices as they expressed their views and engaged in activities. This also was a context in which the participants came to understand their experiences.

Qualitative research also recognizes that knowledge is constructed. Denzin and Lincoln (1994) state, "Human beings do not find or discover knowledge so much as construct or make it" (p.125). This is a salient point in this study because the processes by which the participants constructed their knowledge was integral to what I hoped to learn about the participants' education, particularly in regard to citizenship.

The method employed in qualitative research is inductive, because the researcher is looking to the meaning of participants for direction. While the researcher initially frames the study by asking one or more broad questions, it is through the data that themes and theory emerge. Theory is not predetermined, although the researcher's theoretical base is recognized. The researcher begins by gathering as much data as possible about the case (or cases) being studied. The number of rounds of data collection and analysis are determined by the needs of a specific study. (Further discussion on data collection and analysis are found in separate sections of this chapter.)

To further inform this research, I have drawn upon critical feminist ethnographic approaches to inform all phases of my research (i.e., Chris Weedon, 1987; Deborah
Britzman, 1991; Petra Munro, 1995; Charlene Haddock Seigfried, 1996). Particularly important to me is sensitivity to the participants' views. My analysis and interpretation of the data is from a perspective that is centered in an understanding of the world in which identities (subjectivities) are constituted by and embedded in (social, cultural, economic, political) contexts and power relations involving class, race, and gender. While I approach this research as a woman whose subjectivity has been formed in this world and who has a particular viewpoint on education, I recognized (sometimes with difficulty) my own subjectivities, listened closely to the participants' stories, and tried to remain faithful to them in my representation.

Case Study

Qualitative research is the term used to subsume several types of studies (Eisner and Peshkin, 1990), research strategies (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982), or interpretive techniques (Van Maanen, 1983), among them ethnography, naturalistic inquiry, life history, and case study. For this particular research, the type of qualitative research employed is case study. Case study is defined as:

- a detailed examination of one setting, or one single subject, or one single depository of documents, or one particular event (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982, p.58).

- an examination of a particular phenomenon such as a program, an event, a process, an institution, or a social group (Merriam, 1988, p.84).

One of the reasons case study is employed as the methodology in this research is its "n-of-one character" (Yin, 1994, p.1). While the focus of the research was transformed during the course of the study—from a case study of the Parish High
Chapter of SADD to case studies of seven participants, the “n-of-one character” was maintained. Parish High SADD was one of many SADD Chapters and each of the participants was one among many SADD members. This research also satisfies another criteria of case study identified by Yin (1994). Case study is an appropriate strategy, Yin (1994) notes, when ‘what’ questions are posed, particularly in exploratory research (p. 1). In this case study, the research questions are:

1. What meanings did the participants give to their experiences in SADD?

2. What are the implications of these meanings for social education?

Various authors have categorized case studies according to types which are determined by the study’s purpose. However, the assignment of a particular study can be arbitrary, as there is overlap across types described by different authors (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982; Yin, 1994; and Stake, 1995) and because a single study can fall into more than one category type. For instance, this study satisfies criteria for inclusion in two of Stake’s categories. It is intrinsic because I am interested in learning about particular cases (participants), and it is instrumental because I am seeking insights into educational theory and practice (Stake, 1995, pp. 3-7). The study also satisfies Bogdan and Biklen’s (1982) criteria for an observational case study in which “the major data-Gathering technique is participant observation and the focus of the study is on a particular organization...or some aspect of the organization” (p. 59). This research is a collection of case studies of members of one organization—SADD. It is an intrinsic,
instrumental, and observational case study which employs both participant-observation and interviews with participants.

**Access to Site**

Parish High School, a pseudonym, is a public school in a semi-rural community in Louisiana. Its student body is comprised of approximately 1500 students in grades nine through twelve. Students come to Parish High School from several feeder schools in the town of Parish and surrounding communities. This particular chapter of SADD was selected over others in the state for two reasons: (1) its location which is a short drive, about thirty minutes, from either my home or office; and (2) groundwork had been laid because of my prior association with several SADD members and the faculty advisor.

Through my work at the beginning of the research as a coordinator of educational services for the state office of MADD (Mothers Against Drunk Driving), a non-profit organization, I had the opportunity to meet the faculty advisor and several charter members. Having received the SADD advisor’s approval, I attended the second chapter (first schoolwide) meeting. Intrigued by what I heard at the meeting, I decided to attend other meetings during the school year and began recording my observations and reflections in a journal. Beginning as an interested observer, over the course of the year I began to converse with several members before and after the meetings.

By the end of the organization’s first year, I requested the permission of the students and advisor to conduct interviews and to extend my relationship with the group to one that involved my participation in activities. Having received individual
endorsements and support from the advisor, I asked to be included on the agenda for the monthly meeting in April, 1989. At that meeting I spoke to the group, explaining my research plans and seeking their approval. When I asked the students if there were any questions concerning my request, a couple of them spoke up on my behalf, stating that they knew me and had already told me they would help in any way they could. When no questions were raised, the chapter president looked for direction from the advisor who prompted her to proceed with a vote. Matter-of-factly, the voting proceeded and I received unanimous approval with a show of hands. The students had granted my request and the meeting moved to the next item on the agenda. The principal (the first of three principals during the three years of my research) subsequently gave his stamp of approval to my association with the group.

Having taken these initial steps, I took time over the summer to reflect on what I had seen and heard, to reconsider ideas on social studies theory and practice I had read about and discussed in graduate school classes, and sought out other writings that might inform my study. Considered in toto, there seemed to be parallels between an issues-oriented approach to education and SADD that warranted further investigation.

At the outset of the second year of my work with SADD, the advisor assisted me in gaining further access to the group by introducing me to the new principal. I met with him in September of 1989 to request permission to conduct the research. He asked a few questions concerning procedures, then agreed to grant my request with the
stipulation that I write a formal letter of intent (Appendix B). This, he said, would be kept on file in the school office.

At the beginning of the third year, the third "new" principal was assigned to the school. Although she gave permission for me to continue the research (Appendix C), she curtailed my access to the group during the school day. She allowed me to conduct interviews with students only during their Health and Physical Education class, explaining that excusing students from this class was justified, since the research focused on alcohol and other drug prevention, an issue that was suitable for health education. Subsequently, a Parental Permission Form (Appendix D) was distributed to members of the group. With no objections from the students or their parents, the research proceeded.

Data Collection

Data was collected during two phases. During phase one, from the fall of 1988 through the spring of 1991, the participants in the study were high school student members of SADD. In phase two, which was conducted in 1995, data was derived from interviews with the seven participants, who were now former members of Parish High SADD.

During phase one, my association with the group was primarily as a participant-observer. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) describe four levels of involvement, from complete observer to complete participant. My initial position was as an interested observer, but within a few months of my association with the group, it
became that of observer as participant. Throughout this period of research, my relationship with most of the members remained formal, yet friendly. However, during the course of conversations, some students initiated discussions which were more personal in nature. For them, I became a confidant in regard to personal problems and concerns.

Data was derived from multiple sources: individual and group interviews, observations of meetings and other activities (e.g., all-night lock-in at a bowling alley, state conferences, a mock crash, a mock trial, Christmas parade, rally and balloon launch, graduations, and football games), informal discussions with SADD members and other students, observations of several social studies classes, and various documents, such as newspaper articles and SADD publications. Most observations, interviews, and discussions took place at Parish High School, either in the Commons Area (combination cafeteria and auditorium) or in the Guidance Offices. Over the three years, at least one interview was conducted with each of twenty-eight SADD members. The participants in this study were interviewed at least twice and notes on conversations were recorded in a journal. There were many conversations with the SADD advisor, who was often consulted to learn more about the students and community and to solicit her ideas on the group and the research. At the suggestion of one of the SADD members, I also interviewed one of the teachers who was particularly supportive of the group. All of the interviews and several of the meetings were audiotaped and transcribed, and field notes on meetings, activities, and conversations were recorded in a
journal. Although specific information concerning the context of the participants' lives and their perceptions of their activities in SADD and social studies classes was usually solicited during the interviews and informal conversations, questions were open-ended to allow for the development of dialogue. In the interviews and conversations, students described and reflected on their actions, but they also had opportunities to ask questions of me and lead the course of the discussions.

By the end of phase one (after three years), circumstances forestalled the continuation of the research. At the end of my third year with the group, I decided that it was time to bring data collection to an end. Concurrently, the SADD Chapter was disbanded. Shortly after the period of data collection ended and my dissertation prospectus was accepted, my faculty advisor transferred to another university. Another unexpected outcome of the research during subsequent analysis of phase one was the realization that my approach thus far would not achieve the goal I had envisioned. No matter how hard I tried, I could not force my intention, which was to write a case study of the SADD chapter (the group), and the actual circumstances to mesh—the common "square peg won't fit in round hole" problem. Each time I attempted to analyze data in terms of the group's understandings, I was reminded by the data that, while their were similarities among them, each participant had a unique story to tell. I had come to an impasse. For almost two years, I endured a self-imposed moratorium from my study. Throughout that period, I continued to reflect on the research and finally decided that there had to be a way to proceed. With the assistance
of Petra Munro, my new faculty advisor, I reconsidered my project. Through discussions with Dr. Munro and additional reading on case study research and feminist theory, in particular, a revised version of my research began to unfold.

Phase two of the research began in the spring of 1995 with the identification of seven of the twenty-eight former members of SADD, five young women and two young men. These were selected as participants in this study because of their intense and sustained involvement in the group. Because of this, they became those with whom I had developed the closest relationships. I contacted them to request their participation and to arrange a time and place for interviews.

Between the spring and fall of 1995, I conducted one formal interview with each of the seven former SADD members. Five of the interviews were conducted individually. The other two participants were interviewed together for a practical, logistical reason explained elsewhere. Three of the interviews were held at my home, two at restaurants, one at the participant's home, and another at the participant's college dormitory.

The purpose of these follow-up interviews was to engage the participants in reflections on their experiences in SADD during high school and to gain insights into the longer term outcomes of their participation in the organization. A set of questions (Appendix E) served as a guide for the interviews, which were audiotaped and transcribed. Permission to include the interviews in the dissertation was granted by the participants. A letter of consent which each signed is included as Appendix F.
Analysis

In conjunction with the employment of qualitative methods of data collection, specifically participant observation and in-depth interviewing, this research is guided by the methods of grounded theory research (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). Grounded theory is defined by Parker and Gehrke (1982) as "primarily an inductive system for generating theory" (p.2). It employs a constant comparative method that alternates the collection and analysis of data. Bogdan and Biklen (1982) explain that when this method is used, analysis and data collection occur in a "pulsating fashion...until the research is completed" (p.68). The method employed is also distinctive in that "the general design...is best represented by a funnel" (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982, p.59). Because it is inductive, the researcher begins by gathering as much data as possible about the case being studied. From there the data is analyzed for patterns that are revealed. Data unnecessary to explain identified themes is discarded. Material is arranged according to themes which reflect the research questions, superfluous data is discarded, and so on until only that material relevant to the research questions remains. Throughout the collection and analysis of data, the researcher also consults relevant literature to further inform the study. In this study, I drew upon a wide range of sources, from theoretical writings on pragmatism and feminism to research on adolescent and moral development. Dealing with the uncertainty and indeterminacy of employing the methods of grounded theory research proved a challenge, but I was encouraged throughout by the
work of others who have undertaken this approach. Parker and Gehrke (1982) discussed the inherent problems, stating that:

the traditional requirement of an exhaustive review of the literature prior to development of the study can have a stultifying effect in theory-building research. It is not that grounded theory research requires no familiarity with the area of investigation, but a precipitous reliance on related theory and research can inhibit the researcher's ability to generate theory from the data. In later stages of the analysis, a careful search of the literature becomes desirable. At that point, the theoretical constructs of others may bring insight. Continued reading at this late period in theory development may lead to a wider variety of sources, often carrying them into disciplines not earlier recognized as related (p.3).

Through this long and arduous process, the data was collected and analyzed and themes emerged. The final steps in this research project were writing and rewriting the case studies and the final analysis. As the analysis and writing proceeded, I was reminded of a central assumption of Carol Gilligan's (1993) research. She maintains that “the way people talk about their lives is of significance, that the language they use and the connections they make reveal the world that they see and in which they act” (p.2). Drawing upon the work of M. Sheridan and J.W. Salaff (1984), Petra Munro (1991) advises us to also attend closely to the contradictory statements and actions of subjects. Rather than eliminating them, she suggests, we can learn more by incorporating them (p.172).

The participants' stories include a character sketch and information on their membership in SADD and other aspects of their lives then and since. The stories are necessarily partial, but they convey a sense of the unique character of each and the meaning they gave to their experiences. Even though the research questions guided the
selection of specific areas of focus, I attempted throughout to represent the stories as
told by the participants, hoping to minimize the representation of participants as
disembodied voices. In the final chapter of the dissertation, the participants are brought
together to speak about the ways in which their social education in the extracurriculum
helps us to reconceive citizenship.

Ethical Issues

While the confluence of case study and grounded theory methods provides an
approach that is appropriate for this research, it is necessary to guard against inherent
methodological pitfalls. There were practical and ethical questions concerning the
conduct of the research and outcomes to consider (Roman and Apple, 1990). As much
as possible, I have been mindful of my cultural and philosophical biases. Within the
constraints of the fieldwork situation, I strived to relate to the participants in a manner
that was sensitive to and considerate of their views and concerns, careful not to impose
my views, yet stating them when it seemed appropriate to do so. Although I worked
with them during the fieldwork, it was I who approached them and framed the questions
(at least the initial ones) for my own purpose. As my study comes to a close, I remain
anxious about sharing my representations of the participants' stories with them. Since
they did not ask for my opinion (my interpretation), would this action be an
imposition? What will they think about the way in which I have represented their
stories? On the other hand, their willingness to work with me and my desire to
collaborate with them urges me to be forthcoming and share my accounts. With
consideration of these lingering concerns and doubts, I have written an “Open Letter to the Research Participants,” (Appendix G) which, with a summary of their story, will be sent to each.

End Notes

1 Yin’s (1994) categories include: exploratory, descriptive, or explanatory case studies. Categories identified by Bogdan and Biklen (1982) are: historical organizational case studies, observational case studies, or life history. Stake (1995) classifies case studies as: intrinsic, instrumental, or collective.

2 The demise was precipitated by at least three circumstances. The SADD advisor resigned at the end of three years. The group had earlier decided to change the leadership structure from a slate of officers to an Executive Board. Most of the charter members had also graduated at the end of the year.

3 The signed forms are not included, as doing so would violate confidentiality.
Chapter 4

Liza's Story

Interviews with Liza were conducted while she was in high school and seven years later when she was on her own as a single working mother. I wanted to know, from her perspective, the reasons she became involved in SADD.

When I went out, my family, like my mom, whenever I went out she would say I couldn't drink and she would be waiting up for me when I got home, and we would talk for about 30 minutes or so. So if I would have had something to drink she would have known. So there's no need for me to drink or I would have gotten punished....So I didn't do it, but my friends--whenever we were in tenth grade, they were really heavily into drinking, every weekend, every night of the weekend they would go out and get drunk and stuff, and they would never get me to go with them 'cause they knew I wouldn't drink. So Ms. Patron (the cheerleader sponsor and counselor) knew how I felt and whenever [she received information about how] to start the club [SADD Chapter], she came and got me. [Liza, age 17]

I guess, it's probably what I would have answered--what is it--seven years ago! [She laughs.]...All of my friends, the cheerleaders that I was friends with were heavy drinkers, went out every weekend [and] drank, drank--and I know they didn't even think about worrying about someone to drive them home. It wasn't even thought [pause] and what made me think about it is beyond me, what made me think, well they could get killed in a car accident. I don't know--maybe it was [the accident in which two students were killed]. I wasn't close to them, but I was close to a lot of [the boy's] friends and my brother and I went to the hospital that night and I was there, you know, and maybe that just hit me. [Liza, age 24]
Reunion

Seven years after I met Liza and three years since I had last seen her, shortly after her baby was born, I telephoned her to set up an interview to discuss her involvement in SADD. We scheduled a meeting on one of her days off from work, a Sunday in May.

On that sunny morning, I drove up the driveway to Liza's house, a nice one-story wood-frame structure, not unlike many homes in newly developed suburban areas. Liza was in the backyard playing with her three year old daughter Emily. Smiling, she came to the car to meet me. When I got out of the car we hugged and exchanged greetings, and she invited me into her home. She introduced me to Emily and told her to play outside while we talked. We went inside through the back door to the dining nook, which was set off from the kitchen and living room. Liza left the back door ajar so that she could "keep an eye" on Emily. Liza offered me something to drink before we settled into our places at the dining table. She sat in a chair that was situated in a position that would allow her to see into the backyard; I took a chair across from her with my back to the door. I had felt somewhat apprehensive about the interview (wondering the way in which she would react to my visit and questions), but I was happy that I had an opportunity to talk with her again.

Our conversation began with "small talk"—our delight in seeing each other again and my admiration of Emily (how she had grown and how adorable she is), Liza (how well she looked—she hadn't changed much since high school), and their home (the way she had decorated it). Since I had interviewed her while she was in high school, Liza
was familiar with the procedure. I placed my tape recorder near her on the table, and she gave permission to tape our conversation. She noted that it didn’t matter if the recorder was close to her because, as we both knew, she has a strong voice and would be easily heard. I began by updating her on my research project, explaining that I had selected her and six other former SADD members to interview.

As I began my questions about her life since high school, Emily bounded into the house to tell her mother something, a frequent occurrence during the interview. Leaving the door open to watch for Emily’s safety, Liza’s exchanges with her daughter illustrated her parental devotion to Emily. Liza’s words and manner were loving, sometimes firm, but never harsh.

Satisfied that Emily was at play, Liza settled back in her chair to recount highlights of her life since high school. The summer following her high school graduation she had enrolled in a year-long secretarial education program at the local vocational-technical school. While she was in school, she worked part-time for a chemical plant not far from her home. Upon graduation, she was hired there full-time. Although it is a fairly large company, only she and another woman, the office manager, work in the office. Besides commenting that it was a good job, she provided some particulars about her work responsibilities; and, when I asked, Liza said she had excellent benefits (e.g. health insurance). As she was describing her work, she interjected that a couple of weeks after completing the secretarial course, she “got pregnant” (her words) and, shortly thereafter got married.
Although I had planned to interview her primarily about her involvement in SADD, Liza led the conversation in a direction that focused on personal matters, revealing reasons for joining SADD which were much more profound and complex than her straightforward responses to my questions. Yes, she had become involved because she cared about her friends, but more so, she had inadvertently discovered a way to address related personal issues in the public forum that was SADD. Tensions between caring for others and her desire to exert control in relationships and the concomitant denial of the forces which impelled her to action unfolded in the story she told. Central to her story are relationships with two young men who were substance abusers. One was a boyfriend in high school and the other was the man she married. In both relationships, she tried in vain to “fix” the young men.

Liza’s Family

The home that Liza and her husband built was on a piece of property adjacent to the home in which she grew up. Actually, it was practically in her old backyard. Until she moved “away,” Liza lived with her parents and older brother in a very nice brick home located on a two-lane road in a semi-rural area. Although Liza did not talk about attending church, she once mentioned that her family was Catholic. Her parents supported her involvement in SADD and her other extracurricular activities, which included cheerleading. Liza alluded to her parents’ caring about her when she explained that her mother was always waiting up from her when she returned home from dates. Her mother, she said, wanted to make sure she had not been out drinking. While Liza
did not drink in high school, there are indications that someone's drinking was a factor in her home life. Although she persisted in her denial that anyone in her family had a drinking problem, she related a few instances, discussed later, in which drinking was a topic of conversation in her home.

Leadership in SADD

My conversation with Liza on that Sunday in May covered several topics concerning her life since high school, as well as her recollections of her experiences in SADD and other aspects of her life. Liza was a varsity cheerleader in high school. It was at the cheerleaders' annual summer lock-in (retreat) that Liza and another cheerleader established the first SADD Chapter at Parish High.

My introduction to Liza and other members of the newly organized SADD Chapter was at the group's initial meeting in the fall of 1988. Liza had just entered her junior year of high school and assumed her dual-post as co-captain of the varsity cheerleading squad and SADD president. She was one of the popular students at Parish High, well-liked by fellow students and teachers alike. Those I spoke to regarded her as sweet and fun to be around. She wasn't the prom queen type, but was an attractive slender young woman of medium height, with shoulder-length dark brown hair and dark eyes. If there can be such a thing, Liza was a natural leader--energetic, easy-going and friendly, a manner which attracted people to her.

For more than a year prior to the establishment of the SADD Chapter, Liza said she had expressed concern about her friends' drinking to the cheerleader sponsor, who
was also a counselor at the school. Liza's awareness of the consequences of drinking was only heightened by the deaths of two students in a car crash, allegedly alcohol-involved, on their way home from the May Dance. Coincidental to Liza's growing concern, the counselor received literature about SADD and, knowing how Liza felt, passed it on to her. While those cheerleaders who were "drinkers" were initially reluctant to join the SADD "club," as Liza and other members referred to it, they eventually conceded and became charter members. As the organizer, Liza was chosen as its first president and the counselor and cheerleader sponsor agreed to accept the responsibility as the group's advisor.

With the commencement of the school year, a couple of articles about the newly formed chapter were published in the community newspaper, flyers were posted around the school, and an information table was set up to distribute materials and sign-up members on the day when students came to pick up their class schedules for the year.

At the first and subsequent monthly SADD meetings, Liza's leadership style was fairly consistent. She seemed uncertain in this leadership role, looking to the advisor and vice-president for prompts regarding meeting processes and rules of order. But over time, she became more confident in organizing and facilitating meetings and other events. While she approached her responsibilities with an air of seriousness, exhibited in her matter-of-fact speech, tone of voice, and facial expressions, her demeanor overall was cheerful. She was, after all, a cheerleader. She became a true champion of her cause,
encouraging the members to plan and carry out several awareness programs at the school, including the most ambitious effort, a mock crash.¹

In SADD, Liza was a leader in efforts to prevent drinking and driving by teenagers in her social group and others in the general school population. There was one instance of her message being heeded by her cousins who, at the time, were high school seniors. Teenagers in the area used to "hang out" in the old Wal-Mart parking lot on Friday and Saturday nights. More often than not, the "hanging out" involved drinking or using other drugs. When she was a high school junior, she explained:

A lot of times when I go out, I see like my cousins and they're all drinking and they see me and say, 'Liza, I'm not driving, Andy's driving' and stuff like they are not driving, you know somebody's driving us around. You know, 'cause then they know I worry about them. I'm not in the [SADD] club just to, I mean I do worry about them, especially my close friends and cousins and stuff because I know how much they drink. But they always say, you know, at least we're not doing drugs and stuff. And I say, well yes, you are doing drugs. I mean I tried and tried to get them to come to one [SADD] meeting. They wouldn't. [1989]

Her telling of this episode and other times when friends asked her to go out with them so she could drive while they drank, demonstrates that Liza was having some positive influence. But Liza’s efforts were not always appreciated. While she was not one of the cheerleaders who “partied,” a euphemism for hanging out and drinking alcohol, Liza was the target of criticism from mean-spirited students who perhaps perceived her efforts as a threat to their way of life. In one incident during lunchtime on the day of a football game, she was approached by two male students in the school Commons Area²

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
who asked her to help them unfurl a banner. Assuming it was a banner for that afternoon's pep rally, she unrolled it, revealing the message which read “SADC: Students Against Drunk Cheerleaders.” While embarrassed and angered, Liza left the room without comment.

Liza’s ability to cloak her personal distress was characteristic. As I learned, caring about others and wanting to “get along” were integral to the tragic aspects of her life, particularly in her relationships with her boyfriend, and later her husband. In addition to caring about her friends’ drinking, she had looked to SADD, perhaps inadvertently, to find support for the problems related to drinking she was experiencing in her personal life.

The Worst Night of Liza’s Life

It is perhaps ironic that Liza, who was so concerned about drinking and driving, would chose men who were substance abusers. In high school, Liza was involved in a stormy two and a half year relationship with Tommy, who was known to others as having a drug problem. She said she didn't want to believe it (an instance of denial), but that she finally was convinced and broke up with him. She said that Tommy was mentally abusive [Liza’s term] to her throughout their relationship. At the after-prom party at a hotel in their senior year, Liza got drunk, she said for the first time, and hit Tommy in the face. She explained that the relationship had reached that point because she kept trying to make Tommy a better person.

I think that's the kind of person that I am. It was like, I'm going to make Tommy a better person. I'm going to bring him to SADD
meetings which was way out of his--he even went to the convention [annual state SADD Convention] my senior year....He had no interest in that....They told me he was on drugs when I was dating him, but I refused to believe it. I was like, oh no, there's no way. I was with him all the time, how could he have time to be on drugs? I would have known, you know. I would have known....This is going to work, and, uh, oh. Well, I broke up with him [pause] finally. Every time we broke up, he broke up with me and the last time I broke up with him--this is enough. We had gotten into a big fight at his prom where I had drank for my first time. I mean maybe I might have had a casual sip or so, but this was my first time to drink, and he was like--we were at--they all rent hotel rooms, you know, and we had a group in the hotel room talking and stuff and when he wanted to shoot tequila and I said, well, I'll do it, and so I did and that, you know, for somebody's who never drank and I ended up hitting him. He had a big bruise on his eye the next morning and I don't hardly remember the night. They said I was like hysterical, and I said, well, you know, I was like--we broke up, but I [she pauses and laughs nervously]. [1995]

The relationship exploded with the slap. Liza's drinking contradicted her avowed disdain for drinking and the problems it precipitated. Her relationship with Tommy ended that night, but she rebounded almost immediately by entering into another relationship with a man who had a substance abuse problem. During the beginning of this new relationship, she said, was the only time she didn't think about the drinking and driving issue. They would go out drinking, and, as she stated, "That two months where I didn't really, didn't even think about the drinking and driving issue--it was like out of my mind and, you know." [1995]

Liza married her husband Barry shortly after she found out she was pregnant, but the relationship was not to last. Within a span of five tumultuous years, Liza had ended her relationship with Tommy, graduated from high school, completed a year-long
vocational education program, gotten a job, married, had a baby, built a house, and was divorced. Although Liza talked mostly about the problem with Barry’s drinking, she noted that his infidelity (she said he cheated on her) caused their break-up. I did not ask and she did not offer any explanation regarding this situation. Even so, it seemed that the event she described as “the worst night of [her] life” was clearly a major factor. The event involved an episode of her husband’s drinking over a Memorial Day weekend. Liza stayed at home with their daughter that weekend, while Barry went out with friends. As she had on prior occasions, Liza warned him not to drink and drive and threatened that if he was arrested for driving while intoxicated, she would not get him out of jail. Barry did get drunk and was stopped by the police. Liza was confronted with a situation in which Barry would go to jail without her help. She responded by going to his rescue.

One night he called me from Rivertown (a rural town about twenty minutes from their home where Barry was raised); it was Memorial Day weekend....I was thinking, it was a year ago today that—'I almost died' [not her bodily death, but a reference to her feelings about the event]. He called me from Rivertown and, I don't know what he was doing in Rivertown, I think he was playing volleyball with some friends. And he called me [and said] we're going fishing and something about being at a bar or something and I said, Oh, all right. I wasn't happy that he was going to go out because I just don't believe in that, you know...I wasn't happy about that but I wasn't going to get in an argument with him either. I said, okay. I could tell he was already drinking, and I said stay at your mom's tonight cause they live right there by [the bar]--which is still a drive but better than driving all the way here. And I said, just stay at your mom's tonight. [And he said] Why do you want me to stay at mama's--you mad at me? And I said, no, I'm not mad, I just don't want you on the road, you know, it's Memorial Day weekend, the cops are everywhere, just stay at your
mom's. So he calls me at 11:00 [P.M.] and said, why don't you want me to come home, you have somebody over there? [I said] No, I don't, just please go to your mama's. If you come home it's over, I'm not--I don't want to have to worry about you coming home, trying to get him to stay, and he was like all right. Well, I thought he was going to stay and I stayed up and did some computer work and I went to bed and about 12 or 1, I don't know exactly what time, but I had only been sleeping about 15 minutes, I know I had just fallen asleep and the phone rang and it was the Sheriff's office. [He said] Is this Mrs. Barry Martin, and I went, yes it is. Well, this is the Sheriff's office. And I went, Oh, my God! and he said, no, he's okay but we're holding [him], and he said we have him at the [convenience store] and if you or another licensed driver can come and pick him up, he'll be released--and I always told him [her husband], if he'd get a DWI, don't expect me to go and get you out of jail, I'm not going to do it! I don't agree with that, you know, and I asked the cop, well did you give him a DWI and he said, no ma'am, if you come and get him, we'll let him go, and I said, all right I'm coming. And so I went. And he, they gave him two tickets -- they gave him one for, I think he had his left blinker on for [turning right]--they gave him two, but I don't remember exactly what [for]. My dad went with me, and I drove Barry home--they made me drive his truck home and my dad followed us and it smelled so str[ong]--the liquor smelled so bad in the truck and when I got home I just started throwing up--with [my] nerves plus the liquor [smell]. It was just the worst night of my life--I mean it was terrible!

The next day, Liza explained, she and Barry started talking about the prior evening. He was so drunk, she said, that he was unaware of the events that occurred.

Trying to justify his actions, he blamed his drinking on Liza's nagging. Liza began by asking him:

Do you realize that you could have killed an innocent family coming home from a barbecue or something, you know, somebody like Emily, me, you know, you don't think about that? You could have. I don't know how he made it all the way to the [convenience store]....Anyway, I was like, why didn't those cops give him--take him to jail--just throw him--it made me mad--I was like and I said and Mama was like [that town's] only income is the barrooms. If they
arrested everybody who drove out of them, they'd lose all of their income....I mean I was amazed that they didn't give him a DWI and I didn't realize exactly how drunk he was until the next day when I was talking to him and he had no idea they even gave him a ticket and you know I was like, it was [pause]. Well, after that, I was like you know you're not going to drink anymore, if you're going to drink, you're not--but you're not going to change him and he kept coming. But that wasn't the problem as such. He fusses because I fusses because he would drink one beer. [He said] I work all day, why can't I drink one beer? Because I would say you don't need to drink everyday, and he would be like I work hard all day. Well, at least wait and drink when you get home. And then that just wouldn't work and so we fusses about it and I think that may have been--but that wasn't what ended our marriage. He cheated on me. But to him, that was a major thing that I fusses all the time about that....So, I guess it could have been.....So that's why I'm really scared with him going--with him taking her [Emily] you know, because he has no concept of it--of that drinking and driving, that it's against [pause]...I don't think that he would say, I drank three beers I can't drive home--I know he wouldn't--so, you know.

In this tale, Liza's anger is evident, although she uses the less potent descriptor "not being happy" to refer to her feelings about her husband's behavior. This is in contrast to her expression of anger (her word) with the police who did not arrest Barry. When her husband called earlier in the evening, before his brush with the law, she denied her anger, telling him that she was not mad at him and that she didn't want to argue. Although she had threatened not to help him if he got a DWI and went to jail, when faced with the situation she capitulated and went to his rescue. Since their separation and subsequent divorce, her concern for someone else's family (the innocent family returning home after a barbecue) has become a concern for her daughter. Barry's
visitation rights allow him to take Emily from her home, and Liza is worried that he will drive after drinking, putting their daughter in jeopardy.

On that "worst night" she said that she knew he had been drinking and instructs him (like a parent to a child) not to drive home and threatens that their marriage will end if he does. However, by not carrying through with other threats during their marriage, she has in effect taught him that her words are meaningless. Again, the next day, she "puts her foot down," demanding first that he stop drinking and then qualifying her demand by saying that he can no longer drink away from home. Liza's bodily reaction of throwing up serves as a metaphor for the change she was undergoing in the way she viewed her situation. She was sickened by the smell of alcohol, but also of the circumstances in which she was living. That night she rid herself of more than the contents of her stomach. Her statement, "I almost died," also foreshadowed changes—the beginning of a transformation of self, the old Liza dying, leaving space for the reconstruction of her-self.

A transformation may lead to a break in the tension and an integration of Liza's public and private (personal) selves. Her understandings of "what a woman does" were the source of her actions that were counterproductive to attainment of her well-being. Alcohol abuse has certainly played a part in Liza's life, but the fact that she has "grown up" in a family and culture in which expectations for ways of thinking and behavior are drawn along gendered lines must also be considered.
Rather than accepting the blame, Barry tries to turn the tables by accusing her of "cheating" when he asks if she doesn't want him to come home because she had someone else (another man) with her. Her empty threats throughout their relationship are matched by his pattern of not accepting responsibility for his actions and placing the blame on her because she fusses all the time if he "has one beer." This pattern of drinking and seeking forgiveness is classic misogynist behavior--the "little boy" adult hatred of women, especially those to whom they have pledged themselves in a relationship like marriage.

Leading up to the "worst night" event were many other drinking and fighting episodes. Liza said that Barry would often stop off for a drink with "the guys" on his way home from his job as a construction worker. At issue was Liza’s worry that, because he “didn’t hold his liquor,” he might get a DWI or have a wreck on his way home.

So he’d stop and get one beer before--on the way home, and when he got home it looked like he was drunk, you know, and not only would it just disgust me that he would come home drunk off of one beer, but I would--he worked in [another city about a 30 minute drive from their home] and he would be like [and she’d argue] 'Do you realize that if they stop you they would give you a DWI--not to mention if you would get in a wreck?' you know.

Because Liza had been involved in SADD for more than two years, it was strange that she would consider the possibility that Barry “would come home drunk off of one beer.” That usually is an excuse of suspected DWI offenders who, when stopped by police, explain that they had only a couple of beers and therefore couldn’t be drunk.
Could she possibly believe that Barry could "get drunk" or be charged with DWI after having drunk only one beer? When she talked about the drinking of family members, she indicated that she indeed knew the facts about the effects of alcohol consumption.

I remember when I joined the SADD club, my brother, my family, would fuss at me all the time 'cause I would ask, How many did you drink? [They would say] Well I just drank four, [and I would say] well, I don't think you should drive home. I just drank four!! I mean, I don't remember the exact facts, but it's like an hour for every ounce and I'll say that and they'd go, you are so stupid! I'm not going to wait an hour after every drink, and you know, I'll say, that's the facts. I learned a lot of those types of facts when I started the SADD club, cause I remember I read up on it and I read things like that--and it amazed me, too, an hour to every ounce, you shouldn't drive or whatever--and an hour, gosh!

With the knowledge that she was speaking from an informed position, it was clear that Liza was not naive but in denial about the extent of her husband's drinking. In addition to her comments regarding her concern about her husband's and her friends' drinking and drinking and driving, this passage indicates that these experiences had been part of family life for her, perhaps even before she was a teenager.

Most literature on Children of Alcoholics points out that some persons growing up in an alcoholic home are characterized as "caretakers or heroes" who work hard for approval and mask their feelings of loneliness and inadequacy by becoming high-achievers and "super" responsible for others, as well as entering into relationships that were co-dependent. Through her public attempts as a leader in SADD to raise the consciousness of others concerning the problem of drinking and driving, Liza seems to have been working toward the resolution of her own personal conflicts concerning
drinking and outcomes related to this behavior. Deep feelings about this problem in her own life were forcing their way to the surface, but the recognition of these feelings as grounded in her understandings of the world have yet, from what I have surmised, to be realized.

At no time during any of my discussions with Liza did she note that either of her parents had a problem with alcohol or drinking and driving, although she did mention drinking in relation to her brother, cousins, and other members of her extended family. Her personal relationships with men, both her husband and her boyfriend in high school, however, indicate a pattern that is consistent with a type of behavior of women (and men) who have grown up in alcoholic families. Deutsch (1982), for instance, states that, "Probably the most pronounced pattern involves the choice of an alcoholic spouse." Commenting on my observation that she had had relationships with drinkers, I asked if either of her parents or another person in her immediate family (including grandparents) had/has a problem with alcohol. She said that no one in her family was/is a problem drinker. This new piece of information (or reconfirmation of her statements in prior interviews), left me perplexed about her motivations for "picking" men that needed "fixing."

But, as Liza stated consistently, neither of her parents, grandparents, or others in her immediate family were/are alcoholics or problem drinkers. We do not know if Liza grew up in a home in which a parent was alcoholic (she did not say so), but her words and actions provide clues that alcohol played a part in her "growing up in a family"
experience. However, relying exclusively on characterizations of COAs to explain Liza's motivations and actions serves to essentialize and limit any attempt to understand the development of her subjectivity as a female growing up in her particular family and culture and within the broader society.

Liza's parents have been supportive, but I am curious if their kind of support has allowed her and Barry to take responsibility for their own actions. When Liza was in high school, for instance, she told me that she was not allowed to stay overnight at a friend's home because her mother wanted to see her when she returned home after an evening out. Her mother, she said, would wait up for her and talk to her to make sure she had not been drinking. While in one respect her mother's actions indicate a caring parent, on the other it demonstrates that Liza was not given opportunities to make her own decisions. At the age of nineteen, when she had more autonomy, Liza got pregnant, perhaps her way of cutting the cord from her parents and their ability to control her life.

Liza's parents have tried to help her deal with the problems, but I wondered if her decision to marry Barry was influenced by the family's belief that there was no option other than marriage—that this was the right thing to do. Liza revealed the answer when she explained that after she had broken up with her boyfriend in high school, she was "not herself." She had gone into an emotional tailspin and made some unwise decisions. She said that it had not been her intention to marry Barry, but when she learned that she was pregnant, she had no other choice but to marry him because it was the right thing to do. [Telephone conversation: May 5, 1996]
Liza is a Catholic who follows the dictum of the church regarding abortion. While she became pregnant outside of marriage, her decision to marry is consistent with her belief that people can make mistakes, but that others (her daughter and her parents) should not suffer because of them. In our discussion of drinking and driving, she used an analogy of getting a DWI to getting pregnant before marriage.

It seems like there's been more arrests—more DWIs given, more people looking at, and it's kind of a socially [pause] if somebody's name is in the paper that they got a DWI. It's like getting pregnant before you're married, you know what I mean. You've got people looking down on you. [Whispering and speaking slowly, she continues.] You got a DWI, and for the kids who get them, it's like an embarrassment to them and their family. [1995]

Having become pregnant before marriage, Liza righted the wrong by fulfilling the expectations of her family, church, and community. Sex outside marriage, however, was not outside the bounds of acceptability. She thought the consequences of actions, like sex outside marriage and drinking and driving, were meant to be deterrents. If they were not adhered to, one had to accept the punishment. A friend of Liza's who was captain of the varsity cheerleaders became pregnant before marriage while they were seniors in high school. But unlike Liza, Becky did not marry her "high school sweetheart" until after her baby was born, ostensibly because if she married, the hospital costs would not be covered by her father's medical insurance.

**Dimensions of Caring**

Liza's belief that she had the power to change the behavior of others by caring about them was reflected through her involvement in SADD and in her personal
relationships. But in my last interview with her, she confessed that she wanted her friends to stop drinking so that she could take part in activities with them. The pressure she felt from being squeezed between her parents’ rules, “worrying” about her friends drinking, and her desire to be “one of the gang” (parental and peer pressure) would be channeled into her activities in SADD and later in her efforts to change the behavior of her boyfriend and husband. In conversations I had with Liza while she was in high school, she talked about her desire to be accepted by the other cheerleaders as a motivation to organize the SADD Chapter at her school. This desire to be loved or liked is not unique to teenager Liza, but it stands in contrast to her public persona as a strong and competent leader in efforts to reduce drinking and driving among her peers. As a high school student, she explained her predicament:

There's like none of the varsity cheerleaders who were my friends and that was the reason why I wanted them to get involved [in SADD] so that maybe they could accept me more, you know, which now they do accept me, and they like for me to go out with them so that I can drive them and stuff, you know. But they don't stop drinking. [1989]

Young mother Liza did not refer to her longing for friendship, although she did speak about organizing the chapter for reasons of self-interest.

I don't know what would have made me--like I was telling you at the beginning, I went in to tell Ms. Patron [the SADD advisor and cheerleader sponsor] that—but what made me think of it 'cause I know none of my friends were thinking like we could get killed if we drove—you know—it might have been that I thought that if we started this [SADD]—if we did something, they [her cheerleader friends] would quit drinking and then I could be [pause]—go out with them and enjoy myself. You know what I'm saying—then having all this pressure. [So it might have been [pause]—and there's nothing wrong
with this—it might have been that you were just thinking about yourself.] Right. [I can enjoy my life more (pause)]. If I wouldn't have all the pressure of them. Probably so.

Liza's stated desire to escape pressure was in contrast to her public and personal actions that placed her in situations that were replete with pressure. But only when the pressure built to a point when it could no longer be contained (throwing up on "the worst night of her life" and hitting Tommy) did she make changes that allowed her to relinquish the pressures. Did she place herself in these situations because she sought approval or because she unconsciously sought out these situations as the only way she knew to resolve inner and relational conflicts?

Liza referred to herself as a caring person and acted in this manner as a school leader and in her personal relationships. When I first considered this caring that she felt for others (sometimes stated as "worrying" rather than "caring," about her friends, for instance), I considered it a gender role characteristic of females in our society.

Nel Noddings (1992) discusses "caring" as a central (and alternative) approach to education. Although I concur with her basic premise, she did not provide an answer to my question about caring in terms of gender. Joan Tronto (1989), however, spoke specifically to my query when she answered, "Embedded in our notions of caring we can see some of the deepest dimensions of traditional gender differentiation in our society."

She explained distinctions between caring "about" and caring "for," the latter being more closely associated with females (p. 176). Autonomy is an issue raised in her discussion of caring "for" or an "ethic of care" as it relates to the balance between the giver and
receiver of care. Tronto (1989) is critical of Noddings' analysis that involves a "displacement of one's own interests to the interests of the one cared-for" (p. 180).

Rather than accepting this notion, Tronto draws upon Gilligan's analysis that seeks balance between the two. Tronto states, "Gilligan stresses that there may well be tension between the maintenance of self and relationships; by her account moral maturity arrives when an individual can correctly balance concerns for the self and for others" (p. 180).

In Liza's story, we see this tension between caring-for others and herself in regard to her public actions and personal relationships. As Tronto points out, the traditional way of thinking about caring in contemporary society separates the act along gender lines. Men care-about (in a general sense); women care-for (in a particular sense). This differentiation, she says, is antithetical; and, in contemporary society, this places "male" caring as normal and "female" caring as the opposite (Tronto, p. 184). In the title of her book, Nodding even refers to the notion of caring (the feminine kind) in schools as an alternative approach. If caring-for is understood by women in contemporary society as the displacement of one's own interests to the interests of the one cared-for, it is not surprising that the place in which Liza experienced the greatest difficulty in negotiating a balance was in her personal (particular) relationships—the place where her self-interest came face to face (both literally and figuratively) with the interests of the one cared-for.

This understanding also was demonstrated in her attempts to convince her husband that, even if he did not care-for himself (his safety or not getting a DWI), he should care-for others (her, their daughter, the people driving home from a picnic).
Liza's understanding of what it means to care was revealed in her efforts to convince others not to drink and drive, as well as her desire to re-form significant others in her life. Through her efforts as a leader in SADD to raise the consciousness of others concerning the problem of drinking and driving, Liza seems to have been working toward a resolution of her own personal conflicts concerning drinking and outcomes related to this behavior. Deep feelings about this problem in her own life forced their way to the surface and erupted in her relationships with Barry and Tommy. How, then, can we understand Liza’s motivations and actions? The breaking point in her relationship with Tommy catapulted her into an emotional tailspin, during which, as she explained, she was not thinking clearly [Telephone conversation: May 5, 1996]. The braking point in her relationship with Barry was a release that allowed time for her to reconsider herself and her situation.

Civic Involvement

As a diversion from her tumultuous personal life as a teenager, Liza was involved in many extracurricular activities, including SADD and cheerleading, which provided opportunities for her to express her feelings about issues that were of personal importance. During one of our discussions while she was in high school, Liza said that she had been placed primarily in academic (college prep) classes. Her extracurricular activities included cheerleading, SADD, and other clubs. SADD, however, was the only group that focused on a particular social issue. She said that the Interact Club, a service organization which juniors and seniors were invited to join, had “done a lot of things for
charity.” When I asked if any of her family members had been involved in civic organizations, she said that only her older brother had been a member of Interact. Her father was not a member of groups like Kiwanis and her mother was not involved in any organizations. When I asked if she had gotten involved because she wanted to do things for the community, she responded:

Yeah, I guess. It [Interact] always was just a good group to be in. We did Christmas for the poor [pause/ hesitation] I don’t know if poor—but the children who didn’t have Christmas. We did that type of thing and yeah, it was fun—a charitable thing and I like that kind of thing. [1995]

As she moved into adulthood, a full-time job away from home, her marriage, and the responsibilities of caring for her child have filled most of her time. Even with this busy schedule, she found some time for volunteer community service work. I wanted to know the kind of activities in which she was involved, but also why it was that she participated and the outcomes.

Had she been involved in any civic activities since high school? Her very emphatic initial response was “Oh, yes, I definitely vote! Answering my question about her conception of citizenship or what it means to be a citizen, Liza said that she hadn’t “really thought about it,” but that being a citizen was when you “like go out and do something.” [1995] In an effort to explain what she meant, she talked about the things she had done in high school and the reasons why she had not been involved since her daughter was born.

And I was in a lot of clubs in school—just about everyone and I haven’t done—since I graduated I’m not in anything—even at church I’m not
that involved. I would be involved in more at church if it weren't for
Emily, but I really have a big problem with leaving her—a guilt
problem, you know, so [voice trails off]....Because I work and I don't
like to leave her when I get home. So, you know. [1995]

Except for voting, Liza's conception of citizenship was very different from that
taught in civics. Citizenship to her primarily meant participating in community service
activities and being involved in church and other organization activities. Her initial
response was that she had not been in anything and had not been that involved in church
since high school, indicated that she associates civic participation with being part of an
organized group. As I returned to this topic several times during the interview by asking
related questions, however, she was able to identify instances when she had taken actions
as a concerned citizen. She related instances in which she had argued her position on
zoning at a local [Council] meeting, volunteered with the SIDS (Sudden Infant Death
Syndrome) organization, written to a Senator concerning her beliefs on the abortion issue,
and helped out in a political campaign. All of the issues on which she took action were
those which were of personal significance to Liza. She usually made some reference to
identifying a problem and doing something that needed to be done. Trying to draw out an
answer and getting nowhere, I asked a question to which she responded affirmatively. On
drinking and driving: Was it like a gut feeling? Yes. On her involvement in SIDS: So, if
you had time, you were inclined to do so. She answered, "Yes." She was able, however,
to explain how she came to take actions at the Council meeting and writing to the Senator.
On the way in which she came to know that she could present her case to the Council,
she said,
I think my grandfather let us know about it [the meeting] and so we were like, we can go to the meeting and talk about it? And he was like, yes, so we went and now they send a—we were like, how come people don't find out about things like this? So we made them start mailing us an agenda for the Police Jury meetings so we would know the issue in case we wanted to go and talk to them about it. [1995]

Although her position concerning abortion was born in her religious teachings, the issue was very personal to Liza because she was not married when she became pregnant. She wasn't certain as to how she came to write a letter to the Senator about her feelings on the abortion issue, but she thought she had perhaps read something in the church bulletin concerning Congress taking up this issue. She explained that abortion is a big issue in the Catholic religion and that when the issue is being raised, the priest will ask parishioners to write to their Senator. Liza continued,

And then, you know, when I saw that, I thought I really want to write about this because it's just, um, I feel, like I said, I've experienced what these women who say they've gotten the abortion—not that—I've had all the support in the world from my parents, but it would still kill me to have to tell them—and I was older, too. I wasn't seventeen, I was nineteen years old—not like—but it was still a very difficult thing for my family to go through." [1995]

Because she had identified issues that she felt needed to be addressed, either through some inner sense that she needed to get involved or through discussions or information received from others, Liza took actions that she hoped would bring about changes that she desired. She said that she had not learned about citizen action in her high school classes and that she did not have the model of parents who were involved in this way or who discussed such things.
Interviewer: If it wasn't something that you learned in school. Did your parents do anything like that--were they socially active, not activist, but do you remember talk around home about social issues, that people could make a difference?

Liza: Not really. Nothing.

Postscript

Reading Liza's words and re-writing her story, I've wondered if she would find a way to integrate her public and personal selves and balance her caring-for self and others. I encountered a dilemma: Does my desire to know warrant further intrusion into Liza's life? Am I seeking corroboration (validity) for my representation of her story? Do I simply want to know if there is a happy ending? I decided to ask Liza if she would allow me to ask her a couple of follow-up questions to our last interview. Her reply to my note said that she would entertain my questions, and she informed me that she had remarried. When I telephoned her around noon on a Sunday, about one year after our last interview, she and Brandon, her new husband, were lounging in the backyard watching Emily play in her wading pool. She has known Brandon since high school, and when I asked what he was like, she quickly answered that he has morals. She said that he was a Methodist and didn't attend church, but that he was a good person. He prayed before meals and he was a caring person who was concerned about her and wanted to be with her.

Liza's answers to my follow-up questions provide a sense of closure to this part of her story. Even if she is not an adult child of an alcoholic family, she has “grown up” in an alcoholic and gender-differentiated culture in which her expectations of her-self and others are being constructed as adults who, like Liza, sometimes surmount unconscious
expectations of the way women and men think and act. My representations of Liza's experiences are "snapshots of text" that are exposed through my lens and from a particular angle. But rather than capturing her life events as frozen in time and place, the snapshots taken together form a moving picture of her "becoming." Bloom and Munro (1995) draw upon the notion of "nonunitary subjectivity" in their research. In this sense, "subjectivity is thought always to be active and in the process of production" and constructed at the nexus of multiple subject positions. To have looked at her "just" as a member of SADD would have essentialized her becoming and drawn a curtain on my attempt to understand the way in which she perceived and gave meaning to her involvement in SADD.

End Notes

1 A mock crash is a dramatization of a drunk driving crash, with moulage blood and gore, ambulances, police cars, and screaming victims.

2 The Commons Area was a part of the school building which served as both the cafeteria and auditorium.


4 An alcoholic family is usually one in which a parent is a problem drinker, and in which other family members, particularly children, develop coping mechanisms for functioning within such a family system. Charles Deutsch, Broken Bottles Broken Dreams: Understanding and Helping Children of Alcoholics, New York: Teachers College Press, 1982, p. 8. Deutsch cites Bernard J. Clifford, "A Study of Wives of Rehabilitated


Chapter 5

Charlie's Story

Interviewer: Why did you join SADD?

I heard about it through school when you came to get your schedules, and I saw contracts on the table. When school started I asked [the SADD Advisor] about it and she gave me a Contract. I figured I was doing some good by joining, but I'd heard about it through the announcements and got curious. That's basically how I got involved. [Charlie, age 17]

Well the main reason I got involved was my friends told me about it at the time and it seemed it was pretty interesting so I went to the first meeting because they asked me to, then after that I got to learn stuff and figured out what kind of service it could be and it helped me deal with people after I got out of it--it helped me learn how to deal with people who are and some of the dangers of drinking and driving, but basically I got involved because people asked me to go to the meetings...I stayed involved because I liked the idea of helping people. [Charlie, age 23]

Charlie was a seventeen year old high school sophomore when I first met him at a SADD meeting in January of 1989. Since then, for almost ten years now, we have maintained close contact as friends. Early in our relationship, he told me about the people who were nice to him because he was handicapped and made promises of friendship that often were not fulfilled. For that reason, I made a point to discuss with him the time and other resources that I might be able to give to our friendship, and we agreed that we were under no obligations to each other. We would communicate and see each other when we could and wanted to do so.
Charlie’s story is one of overcoming obstacles and breaking down barriers which had separated him from others. Before he became involved in SADD, he perceived himself as a person who had to fight for himself, and for the most part by himself, to secure that which he needed to survive. Through his involvement in SADD, he became part of a group in which he had something to contribute—to other members of SADD and to the safety of others in his community.

It’s No Problem: It’s Just Heart

Although he was a good student through high school, Charlie was a couple of years older than his classmates because of time lost in school due to several hospitalizations. Shortly after his birth, Charlie was diagnosed with spastic cerebral palsy. Because his parents did not have health insurance at the time, Charlie was born in a charity hospital. As a teenager, he explained what he understood about the circumstances of his birth.

My mama couldn’t touch me for three weeks because I was in an incubator and how I got this way was--basically what I was told all my life was when I was born I didn’t get enough oxygen, so they gave me too much and that the part that controls my legs was damaged, which gave me CP.

Before becoming a teenager, Charlie underwent six surgeries on his hips and legs to improve his chance to walk with braces and a walker. Hospitalized for long periods at a time, even as a young child, he was without family support as the children’s hospital was more than an hour’s drive from his home and his parents could not afford to stay with him. Summoning some inner strength, he said he had to learn to deal with being
away from his parents at a time when he desperately needed them to comfort him.

Following the surgeries were periods of convalescence and intensive physical therapy.

Eventually, it became too much for Charlie; he gave up trying and since high school, has been confined to a wheelchair. There was no respite from the challenges he faced.

When I go to move or something, my muscles fight against me and I get what they call muscle spasms. My muscles work against me constantly....[Physical therapists] don’t realize the pain and stuff we have to go through. If they were thrown in the same place, they would understand. It’s like they’re not in my shoes constantly and don’t have the pain I go through to walk and the muscle spasms and pain I go through at home at night after walking. I walk three times a week and have to wear splints specially made to hold my ankles straight. I’ve had six surgeries and my hip sockets have been broken in half, put at a 45-degree angle and screws at the top. I’ve had my hamstrings cut and my hip come out twice. I’ve been through a lot. [1989]

Charlie also has limited control of his arms, wrists, and hands, making even simple tasks like dressing himself and combing his hair difficult. To lessen the assistance needed from others, he wears his hair in a short crew cut, often sports a beard, and chooses t-shirts over those with buttons.

But while his limbs fail him, the cerebral palsy has not affected his speech, except for slight falters in cadence. One thing that Charlie does well is talk and he is never at a loss for words. Beneath Charlie’s friendly demeanor lies a biting, sometimes dark, sense of humor. His favorite comedian is Andrew “Dice” Clay and, with tongue in cheek emulations of “Dice,” he teases me about our strange chauvinist-feminist relationship. When leaving messages on my voice mail, he often announces himself as “the resident handicapped psychopath.”
Charlie managed to overcome adversity and won awards in Special Olympics weight-lifting competitions. But the challenges he’s faced were not always physical. He’s had to “run the gauntlet” in the halls of his high school, verbally accosted by mean-spirited students. Having to deal with such predicaments, he’s developed what he refers to as emotional character. He jokingly compares himself to a used car, telling others to either take him like he is or leave him alone. He remarked, “I guess it’s just my personality.” Charlie credits his “heart” for the ability to meet personal challenges and to address social problems like drinking and driving.

Our [SADD members’] personalities make us fit together for one purpose—we’re focusing our energies at one thing. It’s amazing to me, I guess, ‘cause my personality, me getting in the group, the first thing people look at is my wheelchair, and they say, How does he do this or that? [I say] It’s no problem; it’s just heart. [1989]

Home Bound and Bondage

Except for escape to school and participation in SADD activities, Charlie had few opportunities to socialize with his peers during high school. And for a period of two years after graduation, he was virtually isolated, physically, from the outside world. His time was spent talking on the telephone, listening to heavy metal music, watching television, and reading. He is an avid fan of professional wrestling, car racing, and football, his favorite team being the Washington Redskins. We often playfully argued about the authenticity of professional wrestling—I would say it’s fake and he would swear on it’s authenticity. He had been to a couple of professional matches and seen the damage up close, he said. His other passion is reading, primarily an eclectic mix of
biographies and autobiographies of both historical figures and people in the news. Considering his limited social interaction, this type of literature provides an alternative way of learning about people.

Charlie’s parents have kept their children, even into adulthood, close in proximity to them. Charlie is the middle child. When we first met, his older sister had recently married and she and her husband built a house adjacent to the parents’ home. Later, when Charlie’s younger brother graduated from high school, he purchased a used mobile home which was parked on the same property, as well. And until he went away to college, two years after high school graduation, Charlie continued to live with his parents.

Life at home was not easy for Charlie. His family’s economic status could be classified as working-class poor. For many of his growing up years and until he left home, Charlie lived with his family in a very small run-down two-bedroom trailer located on a plot of land in a rural area. Among the cheap worn-out furnishings and his father’s ham radio and computer, was a jumble of magazines, clothes, full ashtrays, and other items of daily life. The yard, while mown and clean, except for patches of dirt or mud, depending on the weather, was devoid of landscaping.

Because of the cramped living arrangements, Charlie was unable to maneuver his wheelchair and was forced to crawl from room to room, a movement reminiscent of a sea mammal on land. During the first year that I knew Charlie, there was a wooden ramp attached to the porch at the front of the trailer that allowed him access, as long as
there was someone to push the wheelchair for him. When the wood rotted, the porch was dismantled, and although there were plans to do so, it was never replaced. For Charlie to enter the trailer, his wheelchair was pushed close to the metal stairs at the front door; then like the child’s wheelbarrow game, someone held his legs while he pulled himself up the stairs, an exhausting process. To go down, he sat on the top stair and bumped down on his buttocks.

The family’s only transportation was an old cargo van. The first time I met Charlie was when his mother drove him to a SADD meeting. Waiting outside with some other students, we watched as the van pulled up. His mother opened the back door; Charlie was lying on the floor of the van. We helped her with Charlie’s manual wheelchair and, as he scooted out of the van, we helped while he pulled himself into the chair.

Almost everything for Charlie was an ordeal. While his family undoubtedly cared for him, relationships in the family were often strained. Financial problems were obvious. Through our many conversations, I began to understand the problems Charlie faced and his frustrations with the “system” (as he received Social Security because of his handicap) and his family, particularly his father. Prior to the time I met Charlie, his father had worked for twenty-five years as a sandblaster and painter at local industrial plants. Since he wasn’t working when I met them, I asked Charlie if his father had retired. Charlie said that his father had been laid off years before and hadn’t been able to find work. While it is likely that he had been paid good wages comparable to most
“plant workers” in the area, all indications of the family’s current financial status pointed to a downward spiral into poverty. During most of the time I have known the family, Charlie’s parents and his siblings worked part-time for a local weekly newspaper to make ends meet. Once a week, they would work through a day and night “stuffing” advertisements in preparation for the distribution of the newspaper. The father also worked at odd-jobs, such as grass-cutting for the owner of the newspaper; but except for this part-time work, he has been unemployed. Most of his time is spent as a ham-radio operator. Anyone who meets him probably would come to the same conclusion as I that, although he is probably a man in his mid-fifties, he is unable to do manual labor any longer because he is grossly overweight and smokes two or more packs of cigarettes a day. Upon entering their very modest home, I have been overcome by the smell of smoke, and while he was living there, Charlie’s clothing always reeked of smoke. Charlie’s mother tried to contribute but was limited to low-wage and temporary jobs because she had not graduated from high school. During Charlie’s high school years alone, his mother worked as a clothing factory piece worker, nurse’s aide, fast food restaurant worker, and worked from home selling costume jewelry. Around the time Charlie graduated from high school, his mother attended classes and eventually received a GED, a high school equivalency degree. Only recently has she gained full-time employment, at above minimum wage and with the expectation of pay increases, at a riverboat casino that is located about a thirty minute drive from their home.
Added to this strain was a period of time when Charlie's father had a drinking problem. Charlie explained that his parents had separated for about a year and during this time his father drank excessively. Although his parents' marriage has survived, it is likely that, in addition to love and commitment to the marriage, Charlie's mother has stayed in the marriage for the "sake of the children" and because of her limited economic options.

When Charlie graduated from high school, his teachers and counselors expected that he would attend college. He certainly had the aptitude and there were opportunities to do so. Resistance came from his parents—from his mother who was concerned that he would not be able to care adequately for himself and from his father, likely because the family could no longer rely on Charlie's monthly Social Security checks. The tension in the home during this period was palpable. Charlie's dad resorted to other ploys to keep him at home. When Charlie did have an opportunity to attend a community college in a large city about an hour's drive from home, his dad appealed to a concern for Charlie's safety as a reason he should not attend. Racism, however, was the real reason precluding Charlie's attendance, as Charlie's father did not want his son to attend a college with predominantly African-American students, referring to the college as a "nigger school," and in an area of the city populated with those "types" of people. His father had made other racist comments about the way in which he perceived the government's (the "system's") preference for those "types" as recipients of government assistance.
Charlie did slowly separate himself physically from his parents, eventually moving away from home, although he sustained feelings of guilt for doing so. Because of his handicap he had relied on his parents’ assistance since birth, but his parents, in turn, had relied upon his Social Security checks to partially sustain them financially. To leave home meant that he no longer needed them to “take care” of him and they no longer could depend upon him for financial support. Even after he moved away, his parents continuously urged him to move back home, with the option of buying a trailer home of his own to be near them. This picture of Charlie’s circumstances is presented to demonstrate the dilemmas he faced in forming relationships with those outside his family. School was one outlet which afforded him opportunities to do so.

**Beer is Free and Sex is Fun, We're the Class of '91!**

When the yearbooks arrived at the end of Charlie’s junior year in high school, he asked me to sign it. Leafing through the pages, I noticed that they already were filled with good wishes and warm regards from classmates and teachers. While many were reminiscent of poems and wishes from my own high school days, one statement heralded the unofficial class motto: “Beer is free and sex is fun, we’re the class of ‘91!” Rather than heeding this motto that referred to the fun that could be had through drink and sex, Charlie chose to align himself with SADD and to withstand the pressures. For the most part, Charlie’s high school years were enjoyable, particularly because of the friendships he had made through SADD. He also chose to concentrate on his schoolwork to prepare himself for the future. Because of his limitations, an aide was
assigned to assist him. She accompanied him to classes to take notes and take dictation when he had to write papers. Charlie’s dedication was rewarded with fairly good grades, ranging from As to Cs. While his score on the ACT was only minimal for college entrance, there was every reason to believe that he could succeed in college. He often talked about either becoming an accountant or a counselor, two fields of endeavor in which he felt his handicap would not be an issue.

Considering all he had overcome in his nineteen years, the prospect of high school graduation was exciting. He would be the first student in his resource class who would receive a “regular” high school diploma.

One May 23, 1991, Charlie graduated from high school with his class, among them fourteen other members of SADD. Having received an invitation, I attended the graduation. The ceremony was to be held in the football stadium, but because of rain it was moved to the gymnasium. After the obligatory speeches, pledges, prayers and songs, the graduates’ names were announced and each in turn marched forward to receive their diplomas. When Charlie’s name was called, he was pushed forward in his wheelchair near the podium, where he stood up and, with the aid of a walker, walked to receive his diploma. I had an inkling of what he was feeling because he had expressed concern that he might fall and embarrass himself. But when his name was called, he did it! Groups of his fellow seniors rose from their chairs and began to applaud and cheer and others in the audience began to do the same until everyone had joined in—a standing ovation.
Striking Out on His Own

During the two-year interim period between high school and college, Charlie and I talked frequently on the telephone, his primary means of communication with friends. At least once every couple of months I visited with him or took him out for a few hours. Charlie became increasingly despondent, reminiscing about his years in high school and wondering if he would ever be happy again.

Charlie finally moved away from home to attend a state university more than two hours from his home, experiencing freedom unlike he had ever known. He lived in a one-story dormitory which made it much easier to move about in his new electric wheelchair and he had great fun making his way to classes and other buildings on campus with this mode of transportation.

Charlie’s biggest problem at college occurred when he got to his classes. Because his cerebral palsy also affects his ability to use his hands, it was necessary for him to hire an aide to take notes for him. Over the two years he was in college, three different people served in this capacity. More often than not, however, this help presented Charlie with other difficulties. One young female aide who was pregnant often failed to show up for the classes, so Charlie was without this necessary assistance. Another young woman who served in this capacity did a fairly good job, but she left this part-time job when she was hired for a full-time job. The last aide he employed was an elderly woman who had not attended college and was not a very good note-taker. While he did have use of a tape recorder, the process of listening to tapes was time-consuming,
requiring many more hours of listening and study to prepare for tests. Charlie said that even with the help of an aide it was very difficult to take tests, particularly in mathematics classes, because of the difficulty he had explaining to the aide what is was he wanted her to write down for him. Most of his professors allowed him to take tests orally when necessary, but a few, particularly those who taught survey classes with hundreds of students, had not the time nor inclination to do so. Therefore, Charlie spent a good deal of time making arrangements to keep up with the testing schedules and other assignments. With all of these difficulties, his nervous condition worsened. He wasn’t eating properly and when he did eat he would often vomit. Although he was prescribed medication for his nervous stomach, the medication made him drowsy, making it more difficult to attend to his studies. After two full years of trying and facing academic probation, which would preclude the grant awards necessary for him to continue, Charlie decided to “sit out” for a year. He did not return.

Rather than opting to move back home when he dropped out, he decided to stay in the same town, sharing a rental home with a couple of friends he met in college. Considering Charlie’s father’s racist views, there is irony in the fact that Charlie’s best friend and helpmate in college and later as his roommate, was an African-American young man who had enrolled in school after serving in the Armed Services. Charlie commented that his father respects this young man and is accepting in a way that he has never before been. For this man, then, toleration is a move in the right direction.

Although Charlie had shared his father’s feelings with his friend, they decided that
another's bigotry would not cause them to deny their friendship nor disrupt their living arrangements. Through whatever means available to him during his years growing up, perhaps his understanding of what it means to be a victim of discrimination because of his disability, Charlie did not follow in his father's footsteps.

Outside In

Before joining SADD, Charlie regarded himself as an outsider. The group gave him entree into a circle of friends and he felt like he had found a place to belong. Charlie talked once about *The Outsiders*, a book he was reading in his English class. Actually, his teacher read the book aloud to the class, with the students following along in their copy. He understood the book better, he said, with the teacher reading than if he were reading it alone, because she highlighted important passages and gave them an accompanying list of vocabulary words to learn. Although they had only read through Chapter 8 when we talked, he summarized the story thus far.

It's about two kids, greasers, back in the 60s and they lost a mama and especially this one boy, his name is Pony Boy and he's fourteen and he thinks his brother Derry loves him. And Derry, by the way, is Darryl, and he's trying to cope with it and Derry gets involved in a stabbing with Johnny and it's all about the gang and their trials and tribulations so far. But it's, basically, it's been an interesting book. One person got stabbed and they are on the run. They've just gotten over that and they're not quite through with that yet. Johnny, the one that did the stabbing, got his back broke trying to save these three kids from a fire and they were in this church and there was a fire and a piece of lumber fell on him and broke his back.

I asked him about the phrase in the book that refers to glitter and gold.
That's a poem by Robert Frost and it means that nothing can last forever, everything is going to change is what it means...I got the book in my book sack, but I don't know how it goes—it'll touch you.

While he couldn't recite the poem, "Nothing Gold Can Stay," he understood the meaning. Nothing lasts forever; the end is evident in the beginning. The process that would close Charlie's time in SADD, began on the day he joined. They were three golden years, and although nothing gold can stay, the hue can be remembered and told.

Nature's first green is gold,
Her hardest hue to hold.
Her early leaf's a flower,
But only so an hour.
Then leaf subsides to leaf.
So Eden sank to grief,
So dawn goes down to day,
Nothing gold can stay.

Charlie said that the issue of drinking and driving was important to him because he lives in a wheelchair and "the idea of people taking a 3000 pound car and driving drunk and ending up in one of these—I live in one of these things; I know they don't really want to live in one." [1995]

I don't know about some of these kids here at [Parish High] because you try to like--some of the kids think this [SADD] is stupid and everything. I don't know how else you could reach them, you know, unless they just don't flat care, because drinking's the in thing here, you know....I mean every weekend they have people younger than I am, and I'm seventeen, talking about getting plastered. I mean, it's bad....This group has given them the shock. We may not be able to reach everybody, but you can reach somebody at least. [1989]

SADD provided a place for Charlie to address a significant issue and socialize with other teenagers in a way that was not otherwise possible for him. More than
looking at their facade, however, he said that the group helped him get to know what people were like on the inside. Most of his social activities in high school were in conjunction with SADD activities: attending meetings and out-of-town conferences and recreational activities, such as bowling and football games. Additionally, through our friendship, I was available to take him out to dinner and shopping on a number of occasions.

Perhaps more than anything else, Charlie wanted people to look at him, not his wheelchair. In SADD people did look at him as a human being.

I appreciate how the group just forgets my chair and takes me as I am....I guess everybody in the group realizes that everyone's got their own problems—we just forget. We come together as friends for the love we got for each other—and forget....This group has helped me a lot personally with my social skills and stuff 'cause [others] can go out on weekends. Well, I don't go out on weekends, so I look forward to the meetings each month 'cause I can get with my friends and they don't worry about the chair. It's hard for me to explain it unless you went through it.

Charlie related a story which draws a sharp contrast to the way in which he is treated by the SADD group. In junior high, his resource teacher took a class of disabled students on a field trip to the zoo. Charlie explained:

He took us to [the zoo] and you should have seen the looks we got, like we were something from outer space. People don't realize that handicapped children have feelings too and can hurt and cry....Yes, I have spastic cerebral palsy. It says, don't look at my shell. Look at me....They don't look at me; they look at this [points to wheelchair] and think, he's fragile or something and will break. I'm just like everybody else; it just takes me longer to do everything. I don't consider myself handicapped; what I've got is an aggravation because it won't let me do what I want to do.
The SADD members became like a family to Charlie. He spoke about the character of the group in terms of family: acceptance (not judgmental), trust, support and encouragement. It also was a place to develop friendships with young people who were not handicapped. As he said, it was the first time he had been involved in such a group, one in which his disability was inconsequential.

I mean, by me getting involved, I could get close to the person and help them out if they had a problem with something, you know, building friendships, that kind of thing....That was my main purpose and if they were going to drink and drive, I could have the education to...you don’t want to do this and...make them understand what I’m talking about by saying no, you don’t want to do this. [I had the information] that I wouldn’t have had otherwise if I hadn’t joined.

Charlie often spoke of breaking down barriers. Throughout his life, his wheelchair separated him from those who were not disabled. Participation in SADD provided opportunities for others to get to know him as a person—not for his disability, but for his ability to contribute. Within the group, he said, he didn’t feel “secluded,” although he may have meant that he had been “excluded” from activities because of his disability.

You got to know more about people than you would outside the meetings ‘cause you can ask these questions and find out more personal things than you can outside. You find out that people believe the same as you do and don’t feel so secluded and you get to know people a lot better through the club.

In addition to the barrier to develop interpersonal relationships, the taboo of discussing the topic of drinking and driving is also overcome within the group.

Charlie explained,

You can talk about it [drinking and driving] outside the club, but you’re afraid--you know, you don’t know how to bring it up. You don’t
want to pry 'cause you're afraid they might have something bad to say about it. Where at the meetings you get involved in conversations and the barriers kind of drop. [1989]

As a handicapped person, though, he viewed his participation in SADD as opening possibilities for others like himself. Other handicapped students shy away from organizations, either because they are afraid to venture out or because they like to "party." He often spoke about experience being the best teacher. If others were able to, as he often said, "walk in his shoes" for a day, they would better understand the obstacles he had to overcome. Some have even expressed surprise that he was able to attend and graduate from high school because they equated his physical handicap with mental retardation. He said that people with handicaps don't need people to feel sorry for them. Rather, what they need is encouragement and someone to encourage them. He added, "If my body could only do what my mind wants, I'd be playing football and everything else." "My being handicapped," he said, "may break down some barriers of other handicapped children, because maybe with me in here they could join more--feel less inhibited."

Charlie also credited SADD with helping him learn about the viewpoints of others and how to express his views.

Because before that, I hadn't worked with very many people on a project....I was used to doing things one on one, and I didn't really; I listened well, but I wasn't able to help. Now, going through SADD, I've got some sense of different types of problems like suicide and all that stuff to know if somebody's talking about it, they're pretty serious about it and not take it lightly....I've learned how to express my point strongly but not to tread on people's feelings or dog them out because they don't think like I do, you see, but I'm able to sit down and listen to people's point of view,
accept their point and say my own without hurting people's feelings--but
to have a heated discussion but to not take it personally. See, most people
can't argue. They take it personal and then defenses start up and it's
like--I learned you can't do that....Before I got involved I was doing it to a
certain extent because I always believed my views were my own and
people were screwed up because they didn't believe what I thought, but I
learned that you can't do that....Well, I learned it through working with a
group of people, listening to their ideas, and then I learned it from people I
was around before that. [1995]

The approach to influencing others that he learned relates specifically to a dialogic
form of speech. By listening to and interacting with persons different from himself he
became more tolerant and learned to communicate in ways which encouraged civil
discussion rather than antagonistic argument. Charlie was learning about deliberation
and consensus-building, competencies which he would incorporate into his life as an
adult citizen.

But Charlie contrasted patterns of communication outside the group with that
within the group. He likened relationships among SADD members as that between
close friends or within a family in which trust is a major factor for the development of
bonds. Among the members, he said, confidences are shared without the threat that
they will be revealed to others.

They'd be afraid to tell something [outside the group] 'cause the whole
school population would start rumors and stuff. At the meetings you
can trust everybody and it's closed off and that way you can tell.
[1989]

Charlie said that the students who have had problems with alcohol or other drugs
can join the club. He sees trust as a reason they can come and talk about their problems
and about staying sober. He said that while the members don’t condone drinking and
doing drugs, they are willing to accept them and recognize that they made a mistake. He
said that the members are trustworthy and can provide help.

It helps them heal and gives the rest of us an idea of what it’s
like....Healing--what I meant by that is to try to help them get over
their problems and it gives them a feeling that they’re helping others.
Understand? [1989]

According to Charlie, SADD serves as a support group for students. When his
younger brother asked him why they wore red ribbons to represent drug prevention, he
explained that the group is against drug abuse and is a support group.

You know, if you’re going to do it [use drugs], you’re going to do it,
but we don’t advocate it. Understand what I’m saying?...We’re not
going to judge them.

Explaining the way in which this trust developed, he said that it had not been
overtly discussed or pledged--that it had “just happened.” Without regard for when the
friendship developed, before joining SADD or through association in the group, trust
was an element of friendship.

Like it was we had something in common--a common bond to trust.
We knew we could say to each other what we couldn’t say to anybody
else ‘cause when we first started we were getting negative views like
what’s SADD for and this kind of stuff. So we couldn’t discuss it
with the rest of the school population. [1989]

Charlie’s motivation was not only caring about and helping others, he also was
interested in benefiting himself. By educating himself about SADD’s issues, he learned
a means of self-preservation. During his first year of college, he remarked,
I will not ride with somebody that’s been drinking. I will not get in a car. I can tell the signs and I will not get in a car with somebody that’s drinking and I make sure before we go out that we’ve got a designated driver and everything else.

The notion of reciprocation undergirded the development of a healthy balance between caring for others and caring for himself. He began to view himself as a contributor and influential person. Through his actions in SADD, he developed a sense of pride in himself that sustained him through difficult times. Regarding his views on the impact of his actions as a member of SADD, he said,

Well, my actions might have made a difference, I believe, ‘cause people saw me as a handicapped citizen doing something positive, and not only that, they would see—they would hear about accidents and people being in a wheelchair. You hear all that stuff, but you don’t get the mental picture. By seeing me in a chair, then they get the full effect of what can happen and you don’t want to live in this, so it’s like, and it might have done some good, but I didn’t really do it thinking about if it would do any good or not. I just did it to be helpful....You know, I didn’t get involved to say, for society, to say I got involved. I did it for my own benefit...Well, I figured I would help maybe one person. If I got involved and helped one person, then it was worth it....Well, my chapter, I think it [the activities and publicity] got people thinking about what we were trying to do. At least it got them talking about it, whether positive or negative, the focus was to bring attention to it, which I’m glad, in a sense, that I helped with. You understand? So it’s like positive and negative. I couldn’t tell you about the community, but I think it brought awareness to [Parish High] that wouldn’t have been there otherwise if we hadn’t of got started....I think I was one of the first people to get involved because, especially in this state, about five or six years ago, [drinking and driving] was a lot higher than it is now. And if it hadn’t been for one of my groups getting—with my chapter getting started, other chapters wouldn’t have gotten started...so, it’s like we were pioneers, at least in my [county] anyway.
He also saw himself as a role model, particularly for handicapped children. Charlie noted that, as a handicapped student, his involvement in SADD helps the community realize that “handicapped people are out there and helps them deal with us more. It helps handicapped students...’cause I set an example for them.”

While Charlie was never nominated as an officer in SADD, he carried through on his unfailing commitment to the organization by attending most meetings, participating in activities, and serving on committees. There was one incidence in which he wished to serve as chairperson of the committee to plan the year’s culminating awareness activity, a mock trial, but he was not elected to do so. Nonetheless, he accepted the decision with grace. While he did not express it verbally, it was clear that he was disappointed. He did, however, assume a leadership role, making first contact with the principal to secure her support for the project.

Toward the end of his junior year in high school, Charlie and I reflected on the SADD group’s activities for the year. He said they hadn’t done as much as they had the previous year. When I asked why he thought the group was important, he said,

It does public awareness. It’s important--the need to be in something. For me, it’s important because it feels like I’m giving back to the school which has helped me. But that’s an individual’s feelings. But for each individual, it’s different.

Charlie maintained that his activities in the group were “hands-on” experiences about the dangers of drinking and driving and alcohol. This was in contrast to methods in his classes. He added,
I mean, you learn from all kinds of seminars in high school, but it really doesn’t sink in until you get involved in activities and really see, through films and talking to people who got hurt by this, how it affects you, that you don’t learn in any of my classes, because at the time, none of that stuff was discussed in any of my classes....The only time it was discussed was at the [SADD] meetings; in classes it wasn’t discussed.

The Right to Gripe

Charlie’s characterization of SADD as like a family and a community of like-minded persons with a common cause was in contrast to his ideas about citizenship. He said, “I just thought SADD was a community activity. I didn’t think it was a civic project. I just thought it was a community service type thing.” When I interviewed Charlie the college student, we talked at length about citizenship. I did not realize at the time that we were speaking from two distinct points of view. For most of the time I knew him, Charlie was functioning within two parallel discourse-practices: (1) citizenship (inclusive of government and politics), and (2) community involvement (e.g., SADD). While I was referring to citizenship in broad terms that included activities like voting, as well as community involvement, Charlie saw them as mutually exclusive.

How had Charlie developed these understandings? In one circumstance, he saw his relationship with the state (the systems of government) as adversarial and often ineffective. In the other, he perceived himself as part of a community that was influencing positive social changes.
Charlie learned about citizenship in relation to government and politics in his civics class, from following politics in the media, and from his dealings with representatives of the system. From his civics class, he said, he learned about his rights and responsibilities.

My civics class is what made me want to vote and sign up [with Selective Service] and everything....Because it showed me the importance of it. My teacher showed me the importance of voting and that if you didn’t have at least some voice in it, then you have no right to change anything or expect change unless you get involved (1990).

He described his high school civics teacher as a “die-hard Republican” and explained that in her class they had learned about the local government and the branches of the state and federal governments. Charlie added that they “broke down each branch of government piece by piece, so I learned what each were and how many people served, and I learned that if we vote we have a voice and if we didn’t--she believed in voting.”

Charlie is an avid follower of political goings-on, watching TV news and political programming and reading about current events in newspapers and magazines. But as he explained, experience is the best teacher. The government, he remarked, “has always been a stickler for me because I have to deal with the federal government through federal loans and SSI and everything.” His views developed through his experiences with the realities of the world, whether through government programs that have purported to assist him as a disabled citizen, federal programs to assist him with
his education, or the inequalities he has experienced as member of a lower economic class. Expressing one of his cynical yet savvy insights, he commented,

I think most Congressmen vote those kind of laws in to keep their constituents happy. And when it comes election time—'Look! We passed this law!'...But a lot of laws they pass, they know aren't going to get enforced, and if you get politicians behind doors, they can be bought. So it's like, you know.

Nonetheless, he continued to pull the lever, ostensibly for his right to gripe. He maintained,

I have one of these attitudes that you can vote all you want but nothing's going to change. But I vote to have my right to gripe....[Voting] doesn't change much but at least by you doing it your name's on the roll and you can say you voted to have some voice in it....And I always believed in the adage that if you don't do anything then you have no right to gripe.... My idea of citizenship is like participating in elections and social issues that affect you or someone you know and, like I said, being aware of your history and not trying to repeat it. That's my conception, and like I'm a registered voter and every election, major election, I voted in. That's just my deal--voting. It might not do any good, but it's my constitutional right and I'm going to take advantage of it. [1995]

Charlie remarked, “I don’t think we do much as individuals.... We can vote all we want, but they’re basically going to do what they want.” In contrast to his view that he did not have much influence as an individual (casting his vote), he found that when people joined together, like in SADD, they could influence change. This was another aspect of citizenship.

Through his experiences in SADD, he had learned about another course of action by which change could be effected. During high school, Charlie didn’t think...
of his involvement in SADD as a form of civic activism or learning about
government, but as something to help his community. He talked about the
importance of people working together and that when they did they could affect
change.

Basically...you learn more strength that you can do it 'cause when I
first joined SADD and started wearing t-shirts and stuff and going to
class, I'd get looks like What's he doing? Kids asked me Do I drink, do
I smoke and I tell them no and they look at me like I'm nuts. But you
get more strength and self-confidence when you're not an island, when
more people are with you. See what I'm saying?

By college, however, Charlie began to make a connection between these two
aspects of citizenship.

Hmm—it might be connected. At the time I didn't think it was
connected. Now, it might be connected in the sense that you learned
more about [the state's] laws and certain policies—drinking and driving.
But at the time, I took civics before I knew about SADD, so at the
time it was no big deal....You learn more about local laws and
government going through SADD than you do reading it out of a
textbook. I was learning about the problem of drunk driving. My goal
was to learn about that and what I could do to change this and keep
you from dying.

He said that his involvement had enhanced his understanding of civics. Not only
had it helped him understand state laws a little better, it made him want to become
more aware of laws and learn more about it than he would have otherwise.

He noted that some SADD activities, such as inviting lawyers to speak about the
legal issues or showing films about the consequences of drunken driving, could be
incorporated into a social studies class. Although there were seldom opportunities for
discussion of any issue in his social studies classes, he felt that if there was interest
and if the teacher was informed on the subject that group discussions could be included. He did not, however, hold much hope for sustaining such activities if they were included in the curriculum. Charlie recommended that SADD remain an extracurricular organization in which students chose to be involved. If students did not express an interest, he said, they would “tune things out” like they often did with other course content.

That which he learned in high school—curricular and extracurricular—paved the way for his continued activities. Charlie votes regularly, one of his duties and rights as a citizen. But in college, he also participated in groups, such as Young Republicans, Sigma Phi Iota (a fraternity of handicapped students), and the university’s Health Services and Food Advisory Committees. He attributed his motivation and ability to participate in such groups to his involvement in SADD. He learned that he had something to contribute and how to work with others to do so.
Chapter 6

Cathy's Story

Preface

The stories of Cathy and Janie are introduced jointly, because the two have been close friends since grade school and, consequently, their stories share several common elements. Four years after their graduation from high school, I became reacquainted with Cathy and Janie at a get-together at my home. While interview questions were prepared and followed, our meeting also became a time in which they shared news about their lives since high school and their aspirations for the future.

Cathy and Janie attended the same elementary, junior and senior high schools, and college. Since they were high school juniors, they also worked as cashiers at the a supermarket in their home town. At the beginning of the summer of 1995, I telephoned each of them to request an interview as a follow-up to my research with their SADD club at Parish High. Since they were both working and enrolled in college classes that summer, they suggested that a good time for a meeting would be during the break between the summer and fall semesters. At the time, both were juniors majoring in elementary education at a small college about an hour's drive from their homes. During this time, they have continued to live and work in their hometown and commute by car to school. Although I had not intended to interview them together, through our discussions it was the most practical option that was convenient to both. I invited them to visit me at my home for lunch and an afternoon of discussion.

149
Before the time of their arrival, I prepared cold cuts for sandwiches, with chips and pickles, and assembled “the works” for our banana splits dessert. Waiting in my living room, I watched out the window for their arrival. As they drove up the driveway, I walked outside to greet them. We exchanged hellos and hugs and I invited them into my house. Chattering all the way, we walked inside and settled into our living room places, them seated on the couch and I in a chair around the coffee table, on which I had placed the tape recorder. The “It’s great to see you! “How have you been?” “How’s school and work?” conversation went on for more than thirty minutes before there was a lull and we realized the purpose of their visit—the interview. With their permission to record the conversation, we settled into the task at hand. I posed questions I had prepared to each of them, but often there was interchange between them as well, with one picking up where the other left off. From this point, the retelling of their stories diverges, each being constructed from the clippings of their own experiences in SADD and the context of their lives during that time and since.

**Interviewer:** Cathy, why did you join SADD?

I had friends that were cheerleaders and they told me about it over the summer. When I came to school they had a table set up and had Contracts there. If you wanted a Contract you could take one home. They had a sheet of paper there that had the first meeting and basically what SADD was. We took them home—if you came to the first meeting you got your Contract signed....I knew it [drinking] was out there ‘cause going out after games or whatever—and I have an older brother who’s 20 and from hearing what he says and from seeing things, you know, what’s out there and most everybody is almost drinking and I know it’s out there and I didn’t like it, especially if you’re riding around and you get hit and killed by someone who’s been drinking—and it’s not your fault. [Cathy, age 16]
Well, [I joined] because I had friends on the cheerleading squad and they told me about it— that they were starting the group— and it was something I believed in. I joined because it was something I believed in and that my friends— they encouraged me to join— and it was kind of like they were in it and so it would give you time to do stuff with them and to be with your friends and it was something that, you know, I thought it would be fun and it would be interesting. [Cathy, age 22]

The roles or “subject positions” of most significance in Cathy’s development were as a member of her family, her church, and SADD. Within these groups and others, she perceived herself as part of a whole, a central theme in her story. Also pivotal are her Christian values which formed the foundation from which she acted and interacted with others in every aspect of her life.

An Image of Cathy

Cathy is a lovely young woman with dark hair and eyes. Although we had known each other throughout her sophomore year in high school, it wasn’t until the fall of the following year that I scheduled a formal interview with her. She and Charlie, a physically challenged member of SADD who is also featured in this study, joined me in the SADD advisor’s office on an October morning in 1989. On that day, she talked about the way in which members of SADD interact. Her self-description conveys the way in which she relates to others. She began with an example in which she referred to thinking of Charlie, not as a handicapped person, but as a person with a handicap. Referencing Charlie’s wheelchair, she said, “He sits in that chair and I sit in this one.” She framed her further explanation in terms of her own physical appearance and others’ reactions to her.
I don’t mind. It doesn’t matter to me because I know I’m overweight and short and have been picked on sometimes. People have differences, and I don’t like when people pick on someone. I don’t like it when people do it to me, so I don’t go around doing it to other people....I want people to treat me nice, so I treat them nice. Even if someone is mean to me, most of the time I try to be nice to them ‘cause they might be the way they are. But if you’re nice to them, they might say, Well, I’m so mean to her, how come she’s nice to me? And maybe it makes some people realize that they don’t have to be mean to people. Because I have a friend who used to be real mean to me and it used to bother me, but I never let her know it. I’d always be nice to her--and now we’re friends. [1989]

The Significance of Christian Values

Cathy’s actions reflect her Christian beliefs. In the preceding passage she speaks of turning the other cheek and adhering to the Golden Rule. This religious theme is not unlike the ethical orientation to education discussed by Nel Noddings (1994). While there has been a lapse in recent years, Noddings (1994) maintains, “Morality has been a long-standing interest in schools” (p.171). She defines this ethical orientation as “relational ethics.” “One who is concerned with behaving ethically,” she explains, “strives always to preserve or convert a given relation into a caring relation” (p. 173). By responding the way she did when she was not treated nicely, Cathy acted from this orientation, thereby converting the relationship from adversarial to caring.

Cathy regularly attends services at the Baptist church to which she and her family belong and participates actively in a youth group at the church. From the precepts of her church’s teachings, she has constituted the principles which guide her life.

Scriptural passages from the gospel of Matthew underlie her relationships with both friends and foes.
But I say to you, Love your enemies and pray for those who persecute you, so that you may be sons of the Father who is in heaven; for he makes the sun rise on the evil and the good, and sends rains on the just and the unjust. For if you love those who love you, what reward have you? Do not even the tax collectors do the same? And if you only salute your brethren, what more are you doing than others? Do not even the Gentiles do the same? You, therefore, must be perfect, as your heavenly Father is perfect (Matthew 5:44-48).

Judge not, that you be not judged. For with the judgment you pronounce you will be judged, and the measure you give will be the measure you get (Matthew 7:1-2).

So whatever you wish that men would do to you, do so to them. (Mathew 7:12).

Cathy also found guidance in her youth group at church, which, she said, helped her to cope with the problems of adolescence.

Whenever we were in high school I was real involved in my church youth group, and...on Wednesday nights, we had a youth meeting and a lot of times we would just sit down and we talked about things that youth--and peer pressure, you know, things that you go through as a youth. Of course, it would tie into the Bible and church-related, but we would talk about the church stuff and then we would get into these discussions and we were able to talk about things and it really helped you out. [1995]

In a popular curriculum guide for youth ministries, the objective of a lesson on substance abuse is “to encourage teens to care about the substance abuse problems of those around them, and to provide counseling principles for helping a drug-abusing or addicted friend—including when to call for outside intervention” (p.60). Among the actions suggested are bringing the person into the teenager’s friendship group,
showing mercy, and confronting the problem. An idea for getting involved included joining or starting an organization like SADD (pp. 62-63).

Cathy thought it was “neat” that most of the people in her church group weren’t the same ones she went to school with, because it allowed her the freedom to discuss issues that were occurring with her peers at school.

You know, it was easier to talk about what was going on here because none of these people knew them. It was just really nice to talk about it....I believe being involved in the youth group like I was, I mean, because I was real involved in my youth groups and did a lot. I mean, that’s an extracurricular activity and that is like a club or group....It wasn’t something I had to do; it was something I chose to do, and we did things, like for the community. [1995]

The most important activities to Cathy were those she chose. Like SADD, membership in the youth group was an extracurricular activity that afforded her opportunities to learn and help others, as she said, to make a difference in someone’s life. Cathy talked about her experiences teaching economically disadvantaged children in a summer outreach project. She noted the unintended learning outcomes among the children she worked with. Cathy was, she believed, ministering to those in need, both through her church youth group and SADD.

We put on a thing called Back Yard Bible Clubs. We went into the lower socioeconomic places... [with] the kids that couldn’t go to church....We set up in the park and had a week-long Bible Club. It’s like a Vacation Bible School that we brought to them....That was the best feeling...getting to know them....We had so much fun with those kids because they were so excited that somebody wanted to do
something with them...that somebody was paying attention....It was supposed to be church-related and you are supposed to teach them about God. They might not have learned anything about God, but somebody was there to pay them attention....You know, we could have made a difference in one of those kid’s life that summer....And you hope that being in SADD, that you made a difference in somebody else’s life. [1995]

Cathy’s approach to teaching others about her beliefs, whether religion or SADD, is through her actions. When she spoke about the children attending Bible School, she referred to demonstrating caring by going to them and paying attention to them. In another story, she spoke about a Christian woman she admired who taught by example what it meant to be a Christian. The mother in a family that had endured extraordinary tragedies was, Cathy said, “the strongest Christian woman I have ever met in my life.” This woman, whose husband had recently died, said that when she died she wanted to be buried next to him in the church cemetery that is located adjacent to Wal-Mart. That way, she said, she’d be close to her two favorite things--her husband and Wal-Mart. When the woman’s son was seriously injured in an accident, Cathy’s mother visited the hospital. Cathy said that this woman, because of her faith, was able to comfort her. Speaking of the woman’s faith, Cathy said,

You know, she doesn’t preach, you know what I’m saying. She doesn’t push it on you. Like she doesn’t do anything and her beliefs are so strong for herself, like it just shows. You can tell it. It shows and she doesn’t try pushing it on anyone else and she doesn’t do anything, she just lets it come through. Oh, she’s just amazing. [1995]

Testimonials or personal stories of triumph over tragedy are common in many churches and in SADD. Cathy was among other members who listened to stories to
gain strength and solace in difficult situations. Like this practice, Cathy’s understanding of the way in which “sinners” are brought into the fold was translated to her approach in SADD which was inclusive of those who had broken the rules, so she thought, by drinking or using other drugs.

The Value(s) of Family

Family values has been a hot topic in recent years, with Conservatives and Liberals alike jockeying for a position of prominence. While Cathy did not explicitly align herself with one group or the other, her family likely embodies the values to which both refer. Cathy’s parents have been married to each other and none other for more than thirty years. It can be surmised that neither has relinquished their parental duties to provide for the financial, educational, psychological, and spiritual needs of Cathy and her older brother. Their’s is a relatively happy home in which the children and their parents communicate openly and civilly. Both children are educated, employed, and socially competent—meaning that each has a circle of friends that provides support and opportunities for social engagement.

Even so, there is a gulf between the children’s experiences and that of their parents. Cathy often spoke about the problems of underage drinking and consequences as “out there” beyond the realm of her parents’ direct purview. The knowledge that her parents have of the problems are those that Cathy and her brother make known to them and those that they see on the evening news or read in the newspaper. When Cathy ventures away from her home, she takes with her those teachings of her family and
church and those that she has learned from her involvement in SADD and first-hand experiences in the “out there” world.

Like I go home and tell my mama stuff that she didn’t know. I know more about it than my mama does ‘cause I come to meetings and just being at school and doing things with the kids and all. We’re out there in it and my mama knows how it is. She knows what she hears, but we’re out there involved in everything. [1989]

As a 22 year old adult, Cathy reflected on the problem of parents being lax or sometimes encouraging drinking by their children.

I was looking through all of my old stuff [mementos of SADD], and I read it and I had chills because it was like, oh God. It is really that quick....How many parents—and this is the way I feel--my parents are still like this. How parents would sit there and say the law says you are 21, but if you are in my presence you can get smashed and I am going to go take you out until you get smashed? My mama, and I am 22 years old, and my mama doesn’t approve of me drinking. [1995]

When Cathy graduated from high school, she could have chosen to leave home and venture forth on her own, but she was not impelled to do so. There was no reason to do so. She wasn’t anxious to get away from her parents because she was comfortable. When she speaks about her parents, which is not often, she does so with fondness for them both. I encountered Cathy at a football game during her senior year in high school. At that time she was already considering her options for college, a state college or perhaps a junior college located in an adjacent state in which her cousin lives. She said she was not quite ready to leave home, however, and that it was likely that she would choose to live at home and commute to college.
Feeling secure at home made it unnecessary for her to leave the nest, so she will remain within the bosom of her family, at least until she completes college. Cathy did not feel pressured to distinguish and distance herself from her parents. Gilligan (1988) says that “identity is formed through the gaining of voice or perspective, and self is known through the experience of engagement with different voices or points of view” (p.153). In relationships, there is a tension between attachment and detachment. Critiquing the dependence/independence dualism, Gilligan (1988) notes that when these are seen in opposition to one another, the “ambivalence of relationship disappears. Progress then becomes equated with detachment and may be seen as a sign of objectivity and strength; ambiguity vanishes and attachments may appear as an obstacle to the growth of the autonomous self” (p.14). When the ideal to be strived for is autonomy, as in traditional psychology, the value is placed on detachment (p.6). Considering her research findings, Gilligan (1988) asserts that the ability to maintain relationships is also an indicator of moral maturity.

Similarly, in Reviving Ophelia: Saving the Selves of Adolescent Girls, Mary Pipher (1994) focuses primarily on adolescent females who have been in therapy to demonstrate ways in which society can strengthen, encourage, support, and guide girls in their growth toward adulthood. Pipher identified several characteristics of strong and healthy girls and adolescent females. A few which characterize Cathy are: a strong sense of place that provides roots, a sense of belonging to preserve their identity, being useful and a part of something bigger than themselves, closeness within family and
knowing they are loved by their parents, the ability to “articulate a sense that things are much tougher and not quite right in the outside world,” and the ability to avoid the use of alcohol and other drugs and defer to healthy and rewarding pastimes and activities (pp. 264-267).

From her family and church, she learned what she described as “strong Christian values,” on which she based her choices. Throughout her teenage years and young adulthood, she followed the rules (of church and state) and maintained a strong sense of connection to her family and other social groups. Whether as a member of a social group like SADD or as a citizen of the larger world, she perceived herself as part of a whole. Cathy’s family formed the foundation for her expectation for other social groups. When she spoke of SADD, her church youth group, or her community, it was the concept of family that she referenced. Her image of family was functional (in contrast to dysfunctional). It was a place in which family members communicated, trusted, respected, and helped one another. This was the way it was and this was her expectation for other relational groups. Cathy’s transition from childhood to adolescence and to adulthood, according to her account, was without major storms. She seemed to have a realistic and healthy sense of self and felt competent and empowered to speak her mind when she chose to do so. Even so, the family and culture in which Cathy grew up taught her about options and she chose, perhaps unwittingly, a lifestyle and career which are traditionally female. She expects to be married some day. As a college senior she is involved in a serious relationship with a young man from her home.
town who she has known for many years. Before closing our final interview, Cathy said that he is currently a member of a branch of the armed services, but is expected to return before long.

**Significance of SADD**

Cathy carried the expectations forged within her family into SADD and often referred to the group as a family. She referred to the importance of trust among members of the SADD family and the expectation that problems could be openly exchanged and confidences kept.

Well, see—if you’re at school, if people have personal views of things or if they’ve gone through something personally, they don’t like to talk about it at school. But at the meetings, people feel the same about things as you do and if you say something they won’t come back the next day at school and say, Hey, so and so went through a rehabilitation thing ‘cause they were an alcoholic or whatever. It’s kind of like a big family. You can talk about anything. [1989]

Even though there had not been problems with alcohol or other drugs in her family, she said, Cathy did know others who had been personally affected. But it was her relationship with older teens, like Liza, who established the chapter, that she decided to join SADD. Cathy was not a cheerleader, but she served as the manager for the squad.

While Cathy was not elected as an officer in SADD, she served on many committees, oftentimes completing duties when others failed to fulfill their obligations. She was a person who worked tirelessly behind the scenes and was involved in most of
the group's activities. Above all, she enjoyed working with and getting to really know people.

We do things like the regional thing and state [reference to regional and state conferences]. I got to know people that I knew, that I went to school with, but I really didn't know them. Through SADD and doing things like working on committees, I got to know them much better. I met people that I never met before. [1989]

When asked if she had any personal stories to share, Cathy talked about an older young man who she had been friends with her entire life who has had problems with drugs. Her disappointment came when this person who she considered a friend did not confide in her and ask for her help, because this was her expectation. He was arrested for cocaine possession and had gone through a treatment program, probably as a requirement of probation.

At first it hurts 'cause I've known this person, and I see him all the time, and it's like, well, how come he couldn't talk to me? Then when he was in the rehab center, he wrote me a letter and said he was embarrassed. [1989]

Cathy said that even before joining SADD she knew teenagers were drinking because she would see them when they went out after a game. She also said that her brother who is four years older would tell her about things he saw when he went out. She referred to the problem as being "out there," and that even as a teenager who doesn't engage in those activities, she is out there surrounded by the problems. Between the first and second years of the organization Cathy "got to know" students with whom she previously had little contact. Some of the new members had experienced problems with alcohol or other drugs and been in treatment. It is likely that
since the SADD advisor was also a counselor at Parish High that she directed them to
this group that could positively influence their behavior and support them in their
recovery. Regarding these students, Cathy explained:

They've been through it [rehabilitation] and...are straight now and
realize that what they did was really stupid or wrong....Maybe they
saw that if they joined SADD they could help somebody else. Some
people go to the rehab places and get straight and stop drinking or
doing drugs --whatever--and then they want to help people. They
don't know how and there's a club that can help them reach out to
people and they join so they could maybe help somebody else out.
You never know, it could be a member of the club that has a problem
[like] they did....So they could help that person just by being there. If
somebody the next day that you hear so and so was at the SADD
meeting, you say, Aren’t they an alcoholic? Yeah, but they’re straight
now and some people don’t know that. They just remember them as
an alcoholic and if they find out they might think, Well, if they can do
it, so can I. [1989]

The “it” to which she refers is to get straight and stay straight (drug-free). The
perception of SADD has suffered somewhat when those outside of the group do not
have knowledge of the changes these members have experienced. Cathy recognized the
differences in the make-up of the group, including not only those who had problems
with alcohol and other drugs, but “different classes” of people, presumably those who
were not the charter members of SADD and the more popular students at school.

There are all different kinds of people in the group. From seeing
people you know in elementary school...and coming to high school that
came from other elementary schools and seeing there’s a lot of different
kinds of people here--more than in elementary school. You look in the
SADD club and there’s all different kinds of people--different classes
of people. [1989]
Buoyed by early successes during the Chapter’s first year, Cathy and other members, charter members and newer members, stepped up their efforts. During her junior year, she served on committees to plan awareness activities, something she had not done before joining SADD. She talked about working on two committees. Again, getting to know people and developing relationships was an important outcome for her.

I did the scrapbook and people helped me with that. I really hadn’t worked with people and I learned— I got to work with people I didn’t know and they helped me get to know them, but whenever you work on a committee, like the red ribbon committee or whatever, I worked on that last year and really didn’t know what it was, and then working on the committee you have the papers telling what you’re supposed to do and read them. It helps me realize what it was actually all about and if you worked on a committee, if you’re not real sure about something, it helps you understand it more. It helps you get to know different people and people that you don’t normally know and helps you understand. [1989]

While there were many positive outcomes of the group’s activities, there were some negative ones as well, particularly during the first year of the group’s existence. The SADD advisor tried to allay Cathy’s concern over the criticism, commenting that at least students were responding to the provocation. One of the activities that raised objections was the placement of a coffin in the Commons Area at school. A mirror had been placed in the coffin with a sign directing students to look inside to see what can result from drinking and driving. Cathy said that the students who objected didn’t understand because they hadn’t been to meetings and “didn’t put forth the effort.” All they wanted to do, she said, was to put the group down, but that one of them actually had come to a couple of meetings after that. Some of the other students who had not
previously understood the purpose of SADD had joined this year. True to form, Cathy put a positive spin on the negative feedback to this and other awareness activities.

No. No. I mean nothing that I regret, you know what I’m saying. No, not really. I mean, we had negative feedback from some of the things, but...I don’t think anything we did was negative. I know we had negative feedback from some of the stuff, but that wasn’t towards us. That was us getting a response out of people. I thought that was good--because we were making them aware of things that they wouldn’t really be aware of or didn’t care about before. These people wouldn’t have been so against it if they, you know. [1995]

By the beginning of the organization’s third year, the group had taken a turn for the worse, precipitated by conflicts among factions within the group. One incident was particularly distressing to Cathy. The SADD advisor resigned as cheerleader sponsor at the end of the year. Even though she no longer held this post, Cathy remained manager of the squad. The advisor instructed Cathy to use materials belonging to the cheerleaders to make posters and signs for a SADD activity. Cathy denied the SADD advisor’s request, stating that it was inappropriate since she was no longer the cheerleader sponsor. Cathy said that the advisor became angry with her when she refused to do what she was asked. This was one situation in which Cathy did not subvert her ethical beliefs to act according to Noddings’ (1994) “relational ethics.” Although the conflict was eventually resolved, in this instance she remained steadfast and did not strive to convert the relationship into a caring one (p. 173).
As a young adult, Cathy reflected on her experiences in SADD and forecasted the outlook for the future. As one who would soon be teaching elementary school students, she saw the future as promising. She said that because they now have prevention programs in elementary and middle schools, if a group like SADD started in high school that there would be more involvement than they had in their group. “Now as I sit here and think back on it,” she remarked, “it was a good learning experience.”

We were friends and we stuck...together....There were different groups inside the big one. We were one big group, but we were different groups...like this group would take on this...project and then this group would take on this one. [And] I think that was one thing that kind of helped us stay...together is the reason we did so well. And we did get a lot accomplished. I know we did a lot in the two years that I was in there....I mean, we did a lot of things....But we had no rules, we didn’t have to follow a certain type of format for a meeting....You didn’t have to do anything to stay in the club...[but]...if you would be involved in it, you would be at the meetings anyway. It was just kind of like, we didn’t have any rules--you didn’t have to do this, you didn’t have to do that. And so most everybody was there because they wanted to and it was laid back. Your opinion mattered and...nobody shot you down. Like if you wanted to, and somebody was speaking, you [could]...get up and say something....It wasn’t like beating on the gavel and no, no, wait your turn, because there are some clubs that are like that....You could be yourself and it was nice. [1995]

Toward the end of my last interview with Cathy, when I commented on my surprise at how much she had remembered about their involvement in SADD, Cathy said, “But it was a major part of high school....For two years...out of four years of high school --that’s what we were involved in....We did a lot of things which is kind of what you do in the real world.” [1995] Had she learned anything from her involvement in SADD? Cathy responded positively and explained.
From being in the group...I learned a lot about drinking and driving....It was something that...you believed in and you didn’t think it should be done. There were people getting killed....And that was an interest in it, but I learned a lot. It was shocking. I mean, I learned a lot of stuff that made me think and...has helped me. You know, it makes you a better person. Whenever you say, I am not going to do this, and somebody goes, why not, I can tell them why I am not....Even now, if I go out and I choose not to....I don’t want to put my life in danger and I don’t want to endanger anyone else’s life....More than just drinking...I have developed beliefs of my own, and I know what is right and what’s wrong....I like to stand up for myself and for what I believe in....We touched on a lot of issues because it was young people getting together and talking about things. [1995]

Cathy often expressed her knowledge of laws regarding the issues and the processes of enforcement, including the court system. But in addition to SADD’s efforts to curb drinking and driving, Cathy referred to the organization as a support group in which they could talk about anything they wanted. Like her church youth group, SADD provided opportunities to get help with adolescent issues—help in growing up. She talked about escaping feelings of alienation in the group and she contrasted her experiences in SADD with those in the classroom.

If there was something else you were going through...you can talk to these [SADD members] about it....It’s like a peer group. We didn’t always concentrate on that one subject [drinking and driving]. That’s one of the things we tried to get people to realize. We didn’t always go on and on about this. We talked about more things and, you know, interesting things....We had other stuff that was on our minds that we wanted to talk about that affected us growing up....I guess being in our organization, being that we helped run it, it helped me because, you know, it made me feel like I am somebody and that...I do mean something to this group....If I am not there, they do miss me. It’s like, hey, you know, we can make a difference. What we do is important. You don’t learn that in class. Like you learn about being involved and
doing this and they tell you, oh, you can make a difference; but you are like, yeah, right....Once you get involved in [SADD] you say, hey wait, you know I was important and I did make a difference. I wouldn’t have known that if I hadn’t been involved in it. So I think it is good for students to get involved in extracurricular activities besides sports and athletic things, like groups and organizations. I think it’s good. (1995)

Comparable to the importance she attributed to being a part of her family and her church was her feeling that she “belonged” in SADD. Similar to family and church, was her belief that she was a valued member of the group. Also carried over into this setting was the value she placed on attributes like trustworthiness, mutual support, and kindness. But unlike her family and church, SADD provided Cathy opportunities to “get to know” people who were significantly different from herself in terms of lifestyle (i.e., members who were recovering alcoholics) or who held opposing views (i.e., students outside SADD who chose to drink). Even though there were differences, Cathy felt that other students might join the group if they were aware that SADD was concerned with issues other than drinking and driving. All teenagers, she explained, have “issues” regarding growing up and that SADD was a place in which they could find support and express themselves freely on any topic.

Belonging: SADD and Citizen

Following the same pattern of perceiving herself as part of a whole, Cathy talked about her conception of citizenship as belonging to something greater than oneself. Membership in any group also means accepting responsibility for others.

[To be a citizen means] to belong somewhere....It’s like this is my home and this is where I was born and raised and...as a citizen you are
responsible for some...you have to take on your part of the whole and everyone has a little part...Like since I have graduated, because I was old enough...I turned eighteen my senior year, so it’s like I voted and, you know, I have a say in elections....I am a voter, I can vote. Now...I have more say and...people tend to listen....I can vote and I have friends that can vote and, you know, I can persuade my friends. You know, it’s like you have a say now. In high school you had a say...people listen to you, but not really. They say they listen to you, but they can blow you off because you are not going to help them or you are not really helping or hurting them any....But once you get older, you can make a difference. I mean one person can really make a difference because they can tell another person and that person can tell someone and it can go on and on. I don’t know, I mean a citizen, you are part of something and...you have to take on your responsibility in that whole. [1995]

As a SADD member or a voting citizen of the United States, it was important for Cathy to express her views and, even more, to be heard. Because of her experiences in SADD, particularly those that related to elected officials disregarding their responsibilities, there is a tenor of cynicism in her remarks about government and a discordant note of “we” versus “they” in her references to elected officials. Responsibilities of “ordinary” citizens and those elected to office are also key components in her conception of citizenship.

Reflecting on her involvement in SADD, Cathy considered my question about what she had learned about civics, government, and citizenship. Initially she referred to Student Council elections as an example of citizenship, but reconsidered and related her answer to her involvement in SADD. Her understanding of civic participation is revealed in her comments about delegating authority and assigning responsibility. It is an understanding of a hierarchical arrangement in which those in power, the leaders,
bestow rights and responsibilities to the populace; and one in which groups with
different views engage in debate and persuasion.

Actually, to have been involved in and been a part of running a
group...you have to delegate authority and give responsibility to
different people. Just learning how to deal with people whenever you
have [those] in opposition to what you believed in and having to stand
up for what you believe in and defend it to people...who had a different
opinion than what you did and try to make them see your
opinion....But then, it was like, if you don’t get out...and show them
things that could happen, then how are they going to change their mind?
And you are having to convince them, and once you did something you
had some opposition from out of the group and you are having to stand
up for what you believe in. You know, it is kind of like a debate, you
know, to defend why your [position]....Well, okay, let me tell you why
I believe in [what we’re] doing. [Some of the activities like the mock
crash] might have been too realistic--but it got your attention. [1995]

Her response focused on the need to define one’s position for the purpose of
countering opposing views, both within the group and from the outside. Her reliance on
the debate format, knowing the facts and convincing others to accept her views, is
comparable to witnessing by religious zealots who believe that if others only know the
facts there would be no choice but conversion to their faith and beliefs. While this
approach contrasts with Cathy’s otherwise stated strategy of proceeding by example;
that is, actions exemplifying beliefs, she was beginning to acknowledge the need to learn
the reasons for others’ views. Speaking about the criticism she and other members of
SADD were receiving from those outside the group, Cathy said,

You know, most of your friends believe the same thing you do, so you
don’t have to defend yourself to anybody because everybody pretty
much has the same beliefs. That was the first time I ever had
somebody come up to me and start telling me stuff and getting into my
face....I [and] all of us had people come up and say...[those] who didn’t approve of what we had done and...you just have to stand your ground and that kind of makes you learn. You also had to listen to what they were saying, because you know you have to learn what your opposition thinks, too. I mean, the only way you are going to be able to truly defend yourself and to persuade somebody to believe your way is you have to learn everything there is to know about them and their beliefs, too. So you can, like, debate. [1995]

Cathy was using what she knew about the issue to explain her position for the purpose of gaining the concurrence of others. She used the mock crash as an example of an activity that elicited opposition but got people’s attention. Cathy said it was the first time she had experienced controversy and couldn’t understand why others did not concur with her position. She learned, however, that by using such tactics, a dialogue about the issue often ensued.

Had she made any connections between debates on the issue of drinking and driving and debates in the courts or legislatures? She said she had not made the connection while she was in high school but had reconsidered her position. Her experiences, in effect, had provided a context for an eventual comprehension of the association.

Once I got into college and I started to learn more about things, it kind of clicked and I said, Hey, that’s what we were doing back then....At the time I didn’t really realize it....I had a speech class last semester and we had to do a persuasive speech, and I did mine on prayer in school because somebody else was doing it on drinking and driving. Whenever I started [preparing] my speech, [I began] not studying about why our prayer should be in school. I went into it as why prayer shouldn’t be in school, because I thought it should be, and I knew the facts about it and I knew what I wanted to say about why it should. So I went and found out about why people think it shouldn’t so I could better persuade them to my way....If somebody would come in and like

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
I had somebody ask me a question after my speech, and it just so happened that the question had been something I had read about as to why people oppose it. And I was able to give them a solid defense....I thought my opinion was better than that and what I believed was better....At the time...I didn’t think about that. Anyway, you know, sitting here reflecting about it, I can stand up for my stuff more now than probably what I could have, you know, I have never really had to stand up for myself. You know, I never had anybody object to me. And even since then, I don’t think I ever had that much. [1995]

Regarding civic involvement, Cathy stated that she will do more after she has graduated from college. With the demands of school and work, she has not had much time to participate. Since high school, Cathy has participated in two annual state SADD conferences as a presenter and adult staff member. In terms of the overall influence of SADD, she judged it as positive and is pleased that efforts begun by her and her peers during high school have led to continued growth of the organization and a greater impact on the problems being addressed.

I think as a whole we made a difference....I will put it to you this way--nobody ever came up to me and said I made a difference....There wasn’t that many of us, but I think as a whole group we did make a difference....It took everybody doing their little bit--a part. You know, their little bit of stuff to make it happen....Our little bit of involvement might have helped. Our little SADD group, with all the other ones, helped set the foundation for the conventions, you know, like the convention for this year. Our first little convention that we helped set the foundation for all of those other ones. It makes you feel good that you and something that you did, you know, some good has come out of it. Something that you were part of in the beginning where it wasn’t really much and nobody really paid attention to you. But now, people are paying attention to it and it’s grown because you helped get it started. [1995]
On a personal level, Cathy has remained active in her efforts. Having reached an age when drinking is legal, she assumed responsibility for her own actions. Her stance on the issue has garnered the respect of her friends and associates.

You know, we were all going out and I said, you know, you are going to be drinking, I am going to drive....Well, tonight, I am choosing not to because I am driving. You know, like I have friends and whenever I go out and when I am not driving that doesn't mean that I am not going to have a drink. I am a responsible adult and if I want to have one I can have one. But if I have those keys in my pocket and I am driving home, I don't drink because most of the time...not only am I responsible for my life, but I am responsible for their's....There are other people on the roads and if I am drunk and I am driving, it is not just affecting me--it is affecting everyone around me. So that is just the decision to make and I have never been, I have never really been put down about it because I have people who respect me for that, you know. [1995]

Assuming one's responsibilities was a principle by which Cathy lived. And in her words and actions, she also encouraged others to do the right thing.

As Cathy was soon to become a teacher, part of our last interview focused on education. Beginning with her high school experiences, I wondered if she had learned anything from her involvement in SADD that she had not learned in social studies or other classes. She responded, “I am trying to think what I learned in social studies. [Laughter] Well, this is from a person who in a year and a half would like to teach social studies or science.” [1995] Prompted by the difficulty which she was having answering the question, I asked if she had any recommendations pertaining to the teaching of social studies. She saw no connection between SADD and history, but
thought that the activities might be applicable to civics or to elementary social studies classes.

You have government in your elections, I guess, because we did an election in our civics class where we elected a class president and a class vice-president, you know, just to show how you campaign and elect. So, I mean, that could be used. That could be in conjunction with SADD, something like that, those lessons. And then the one in social studies, whatever grade they teach about communities and involvement in your state and community involvement and stuff like that. But you can use like the community involvement because like in SADD you do get involved with the community [1995].

Referring to the teaching career on which she was preparing to embark, she focused on what she believed was the purpose of education. Woven into her answer was a reference to the "parts of a whole" theme, the issue of trust, and the importance of relationships.

It sounds like an essay I had at my school or something....Education is important because without it you don’t really have much. I mean, you have to have an education to succeed in anything. You have to know something, a little bit of everything. I don’t know, I don’t know how to explain it. [What about in terms of the long-term purposes?] To better yourself....Nowadays...you have to be well educated, to get a college degree...not in all aspects you don’t have to be, but you have to finish high school. School in general is, not just education, but just being a part of school is a learning experience....You meet people... I mean, education is more than a teacher stating the facts....It’s the people that you meet, the people you come into contact with. Learning to communicate; I mean, that is a major part of education—and trust. The students have to trust the teachers. I mean, it's true though, you have to trust that the teacher is telling you what you need to know. [1995]

Cathy noted the changes in her perspective regarding education since high school. No longer was she willing to defer to teachers’ decisions about what was to be learned.
Instead, she opted to take more control over her own education and began questioning teachers’ authority.

In college, your teacher is teaching you, and...they are telling you all this stuff. I mean, in high school you just go, ‘yes ma’am’ and you listen, but as you get older you think, well who’s to say you are teaching me what you should be teaching me, you know. Well, how come we are not doing this chapter in the book, you know. Well, why aren’t we doing this in high school...and why are we skipping in the back [laughing]....And you are like, how come we are not going to learn this, you know....Everybody always tells me--why do you want to be a teacher, there’s no money in it. And I say, well obviously I am not in it for the money. [1995]

While low teacher pay was a concern to her, Cathy believes that there are rewards other than monetary compensation to be gained from her chosen profession. Considering that Cathy followed a pattern of acting in a way that reflected her beliefs, it is likely that she will approach teaching with a strong sense of responsibility for doing the best that she can for her students and inspiring them to do their best.

End Notes


2There are a few instances in Cathy’s story in which she used incorrect grammar in relation to the rule of subject-verb agreement. When this was done, I have taken the liberty to correct the grammar to allow for ease in reading.

3Hot Topics: Youth Electives, published by Cook Ministries Resources, 1990
Chapter 7

Janie’s Story

Janie joined SADD at the beginning of her sophomore year, as a charter member of the group at Parish High. Asked to tell why she joined, she opted to explain the process. She said she joined the summer it started and actually signed up when she came to school at the beginning of the year to pick up her class schedule. Some of her cheerleader friends asked her to join and, as she said, she “just signed up.” Asking her a couple of leading questions to draw out an answer as to why she had joined, she laughed nervously and said she didn’t know. When I asked if she just thought it would be a good group to join, she said yes and added:

Yes...no, well. Yes, it was that, but I just thought maybe we could do something to help things at school. That is what I thought it would be.
[Janie, age 16]

Almost six years later, she answered much the same, but added that she believed in getting involved.

Why I got involved in SADD. I really don’t know. I got involved. Well we were sophomores, yeah. [The cheerleader sponsor] began the group and I guess I happened to be friends with people who were either head of it or were going to be in it or something and I was just interested in, with the group, I was interested in being in different activities. I was in all kinds of things and that was just something else I, you know I had those kinds of beliefs. [Janie, age 22]

Janie graduated from Parish High in May of 1991. The next fall, she enrolled in a college about an hour’s drive from her hometown. When we met again several years
later for a follow-up interview, Janie was much the same as I remembered. She is perky and petite, probably a size 6, and she still wears her hair in a short cut style. She had, however, "filled out," noting that change in her comments about t-shirts she had saved from the state SADD conferences she attended in high school. Laughing, she recalled:

> And I still have my shirts, too. I wear them all the time. The red one and the black one. Do you remember that red one that says Friends for Life that first year in '89? It's really tight in the chest because I had like no chest, you know! [Laugh] [1995]

The relative size of her chest, notwithstanding, there had been a change in her demeanor. Although she still giggled often to punctuate her remarks, it was not the nervous, self-conscious giggle of a rather shy teenage girl. Although I had not noted the pattern at the time, looking back at transcripts of our conversations when she was in high school, I noted her consistent manner of beginning and ending a statement. When answering a question, she often was tentative in her response, beginning with "I don't know" and ending with a giggle and a shrug of her shoulders. Even so, she was a personable, friendly, fun-loving teenager who was eager to participate in activities.

Through the telling of her story, two themes emerged. The first, consistent with her personality, was the way in which she was reserved in imposing her views on others. Yet she was overcoming this disposition and her shyness and finding her voice through her participation in groups, particularly those with women. The second theme, her search for a place to belong, issued from her separation from her parents and construction of a surrogate family in SADD and other groups to fill the void.
Janie's Family: Separation and Dead End to Discussion

Janie seldom talked about her family, but when she did, it was in terms of the problems and the way in which she was moving away from them, both physically and emotionally. She touched upon her experiences growing up in a home with an alcoholic stepfather. Her mother had married this man when Janie was two years old. From this marriage, Janie has two younger brothers. She explained that she had a very good relationship with the oldest one who is four years younger, mentioning their common interest and involvement in alcohol and other drug prevention programs at their schools. She expressed her belief that involvement in these programs help shape positive attitudes and that learning about these things before high school is helpful, she maintained, because ninth grade is the time when teenagers begin going out and drinking. Before then, the home is the place where alcohol is most often obtained. In her home, she said, there was no longer any alcohol because her stepfather is a recovering alcoholic.

Since she had never known her biological father or his family, there are two possible explanations for this separation: either Janie's mother had not been married at the time or that the circumstances of the divorce was so traumatic that there was a complete split between the two families. Janie mentioned the positive influence she has had on her stepfather, noting that he knows how she feels about drinking and driving. When Janie was a high school junior, she stated,

Well, my stepfather is an alcoholic, so that is basically one of the— that is one of the main reasons [I joined SADD]....He never drank when I
was little, but probably the last three or four years--that’s when he started....He doesn’t drive when he--that is one of the things, because he knows that I am in SADD, and he is all for me being in SADD. [1989]

According to her account, Janie would have been about twelve when her stepfather started drinking, or it is possible that she only became aware of his drinking as she moved into adolescence. Alcoholism can develop as a result of drinking over a long period, with an individual initially drinking socially and then becoming a more frequent drinker and consuming larger quantities of alcohol. Although there had been instances when Janie’s stepfather drove under the influence, she stated that he no longer does so. Janie believed that her involvement in SADD and her stance against drinking served as a positive influence on her stepfather. From her comments, however, it appears as if she had not addressed her stepfather directly but had conveyed the message through her conversations with her mother.

Well, before I was in high school, when I was in seventh or eighth grade, he did drink and he did drive while he was--well, he was not really drunk, but he had been drinking, even if he had a sip. But now he doesn’t do it at all because he knows how I’m really against it. He knows. He hears me talking to my mama about people that do it that I know, like those people [students] last week. I can’t believe they did that. They went out and got drunk and they drove, ‘cause somebody had to be driving in that group of ten people. I mean, I know people had--I know people who had their cars there. I know that they had to be driving, and I think maybe that’s--I mean that may not be why he [her stepfather] doesn’t do it anymore, but I have a feeling that is probably why. [Pause] ‘Cause he knows how I am about it. [1989]

It is characteristic of teenagers to break away from their parents, a process referred to as individuation by Mary Pipher (1994) or finding one’s own voice by Carol
Gilligan (1990). We often think of rebellion as a negative force with destructive outcomes; however, when the adolescent is breaking from negative forces within her home, the rebellion can take a positive direction. In effect, she was assuming the role of the adult and learning the ways in which adults assume responsibility for their actions.

While Janie continued to begin answers to my questions with “I don’t know” throughout our discussions during her high school years, she began to express an understanding of her actions.

I don’t know. Well, I just like, well. I know when my daddy first started drinking, it was kind of like, why? It was just like— I don’t know. When he started drinking, it was like I didn’t want to do it, I guess, because he was doing it. I don’t know. [1989]

Janie’s relationship with her mother and stepfather, she said, was less close than she would like, although she referred to talking to her mother about the issue of drinking and driving. Janie characterized her relationship with her parents as “lacking,” presumably in their ability to parent her in the way she deemed correct. Janie had not developed the parent-child bond that was evidenced in the relationships between some of her friends and their parents. There were several clues that supported her assessment. Mostly, however, she was mute on further explanations and our conversations on these matters came to an abrupt dead end. She said her relationship with her mother was “okay,” but that “it’s not anything, you know, like she’s my best friend, you know, not like some mothers and daughters. Me and my mom are kind of real close, but we’re not.” [1989] She contrasted her relationship with her mother and stepfather to that of other teenagers. Their relationship lacked the intimacy that she
observed between other daughters and their parents. Referring to her stepfather, she said, “We don’t have a real good relationship. It’s just kind of like we talk, but not really.” [1989]

Another clue to their relationship was revealed in an interview when Janie was a high school junior. She and another student and I were discussing the recent SADD meeting and activity they had planned for the following month. Janie interrupted the course of the conversation, telling about her plans for Thanksgiving and her separation from her family. She said she would be having Thanksgiving dinner with her best friend’s large extended family. When asked about her own family, she said that they probably were going to her Grandma’s home. The conversation hit a dead end with her matter-of-fact statement.

Interviewer: So what is your family going to do—go someplace?

Janie: I don’t know. They’ll probably go to my Grandma’s.

Interviewer: And you don’t want to do that?

Janie: No.

In contrast to Janie’s relationship with her family was her best friend Cathy’s relationship with her’s. Cathy’s family personified those features which Janie believed her family lacked. Cathy’s mother, for instance, was concerned about her daughter’s welfare, a concern that was exemplified in her position on drinking. Even though Cathy had reached the legal age to drink, her mother encouraged her not to drink. On the other
hand, Janie said that her own mother did not understand why she did not drink in high school and would have bought alcohol for her.

Mine would, my mother would. She wondered why we didn’t drink [in high school] and she would say I can go and buy it for you. Well, I don’t want to, kind of, because my daddy was an alcoholic. So that’s one thing that turned me off. [1995]

Recalling Janie’s statements about her father’s alcoholism during her early adolescence, I questioned her about her current relationship with her parents. Janie said that her parents live in the same town as her, but that she seldom sees them and that she doesn’t “get along” with them. When asked if it had anything to do with her stepfather’s alcoholism, she talked about family dynamics.

Yes, a lot of it does, but some of it is just our own thing and she [mother] is more interested in other things. I have a lot of other people that make me crazy. [Laugh] I have enough family with these other people that I don’t need another family because these people are like original family. We go through all the things that you are supposed to go through with them. [1995]

Janie’s ideal of family life was learned by observing Cathy’s and other friends’ families in their homes. The things families are supposed to go through involved caring about one another (“being there” for one another) and interacting, usually in a pleasant manner, even though they sometimes disagree. Janie’s detachment from her own family had opened a space that was filled by others who interacted with her in a way which fulfilled her expectations of family life. Describing her relationship with her parents as lacking closeness, by her mid-teens Janie was separating herself from her parents and
forging relationships with others, peers and adults, to fill the void. In her early twenties, she reflected on the “family” she had chosen.

**Janie’s Surrogate Family: Attaching and Moving On**

Through church, school, and SADD, Janie’s need for belonging and a sense of purpose was satisfied through relationships with age-peers and adults who were more than friends—they were like family. Mary Pipher (1994) describes the attributes of strong adolescents who, like Janie, are willing to seek out and forge relationships to satisfy their need to belong and who view themselves as “an integral member of a community.” Doing so, Pipher (1994) maintains, allows them to withstand the pressures of adolescence and move into healthy adulthood.

Strong girls manage to hold on to some sense of themselves in the high winds. Often they have a strong sense of place that gives them roots. They may identify with an ethnic group in a way that gives them pride and focus, or they may see themselves as being an integral part of a community. Their sense of belonging preserves their identity when it is battered by the winds of adolescence. Strong girls know who they are and value themselves as multifaceted people. They may see themselves as dancers, musicians, athletes, or political activists. These kinds of identities hold up well under pressure....Being genuinely useful also gives girls something to hold on to....Often strong girls can articulate a sense that things are much tougher and not quite right in the outside world. They are aware that they’re being pressured to act in ways that are not good for them...Positive signs include beliefs in causes or interests in anything larger than themselves (pp.265-266).

Through her interests and beliefs, Janie formed attachments with significant people. Included in Janie’s surrogate family were adult women, primarily teachers and fellow church members, who she looked to as role (subject position) models. Through her relationships with them, she identified characteristics to which she aspired. When
she experienced difficulties in her relationships with her mother, stepfather, and boyfriend, she looked to these women for advice and sometimes sought assistance from her friends and in support groups at church. Through these relationships she was overcoming her shyness and finding her voice. Janie spoke, for instance, about Mrs. White, her high school computer literacy teacher and friend who had influenced her decision to become a teacher.

I think it was through school that I realized that I wanted to be a teacher, just because I had teachers that were not only teachers, but they were friends, too. I don’t know if you remember and I remember you interviewing Mrs. White. I mean, she and I are good friends and I have a good relationship and, we are not close now, we talk and we write and call each other and stuff, but that is somebody that, you know, hey, if I needed something I could call her. [1995]

When Janie was a high school junior, I interviewed Mrs. White, who described Janie as very bright, a good student, and conscientious. She felt that belonging to SADD had helped Janie be less shy by giving her the opportunity to be in a group and do things. Referring to Janie’s reasons for joining SADD, Mrs. White said she considered Janie more socially conscious, more concerned about social issues, than other teenagers. She added that SADD was the only group in the school that addressed a social cause. Through SADD, Mrs. White explained, Janie was “learning there are things she can do about [the issues]” and that it was a place for her to be with other people. Unlike other SADD members who had experienced problems regarding alcohol and drugs, Mrs. White did not believe Janie had been “faced with a lot of things. I think
she's been pretty sheltered.” While Janie considered Mrs. White to be a friend, it does not seem as if she had shared family problems with her.

Even though she admired Mrs. White as a teacher, when Janie spoke about becoming a teacher, she diminished its value and her own by maintaining, “I could be a doctor or lawyer or something—not that I could do it. Maybe I will just marry a lawyer” (laughed)! Her comments on unlikely career choices and the one she chose supports a commonly-held view that elementary education is not an academically challenging field. And the fall-back option for women is marriage to a successful man. Even so, after she's taught for awhile, she plans to return to college to obtain a master's degree in counseling, a related profession in which she could express her concern for others.

In addition to Mrs. White, Janie forged relationships with other teachers who influenced her career choice. As a college junior, she reflected on these significant relationships.

But there are a lot of people that, you know—[a friend and I] went to a wedding last weekend. A friend of ours got married and I saw a lady that, she was our eighth grade teacher....It was like, I don’t know, I realized—at the time I remembered thinking, golly, I am friends with these teachers and people go, oh [she’s the] teacher’s pet and stuff like that, but now I am glad that I formed those relationships because that is what field I am going to be in. So maybe there is a reason behind me forming a relationship with my teachers. [1995]

Janie found other members of her surrogate family through her church. One person whose life intersected with Janie's activities in SADD was a woman named Ms. Sue, the mother of a student who was killed in the car crash the year before the SADD
chapter was established. Janie spoke lovingly about this woman who donated her son’s liver to save the life of another person.

[The organ recipient] wrote a book about his life and from the time he found out he had some kind of liver disease... he wrote a book... called *Sweet Reprieve* ....I read the book and it was very good....He never knew Ms. Sue, he never knew where the liver came from--all he knew was it was a young boy who was killed in a car accident and he was a very lively young boy and he received his liver. Well...a little over a year ago, Ms. Sue went to a conference, and she speaks at different meetings now, talking to nurses and talking to people who are about to go into nursing about how to approach others about giving and donating organs to people. She went about a year ago to a conference...and she met the man’s wife for the first time...and they talked and it was very emotional and just kind of [pause], you know, when she tells me this story it’s like [Janie’s voice breaks with emotion] and I read the book and it was just so emotionally involved and it was really good. [1995]

Janie’s admiration for these women is evidenced by her remarks about them. These were women she would seek to emulate in her actions toward and interactions with others. In these communities of women and SADD, she found replacements for her family. But these groups also provided an alternative to peer groups from which she was excluded.

**Accepted Exclusion**

Janie identified and was able to articulate her sense that things were not quite right in her family and other aspects of her world. Like other teens, she was vulnerable to peer pressure to drink, but was able to withstand it and accepted being excluded from many teenage social groups and activities. During high school, she said she didn’t “party,” a euphemism for drinking, nor did she attend parties where alcohol was served.
A result of her strong stance against drinking was that Janie and some other members of SADD were excluded from social gatherings where alcohol was served. From her accounts and those of others, drinking was a common practice at teen parties. While she had received invitations in the past, they eventually stopped asking. “There’s no point in asking,” she said, “because they know we are not going to go, you know.”

[1989]

The issue of mixed messages was a point of controversy within the group. While Janie felt that SADD could influence teens not to drink and drive, she decided that they could not convince them to abstain from drinking. She said that some people are going to drink anyway, so that the anti-drinking and driving message is most important. Regarding her idea about why teens drink, she said,

I don’t know--because they are just going to do it anyway, no matter what we do, I’m sure. I mean, I don’t know. It is just that after what happened at school [referring to students suspended for drinking at a school function]--I’m sure you heard about it from [the SADD advisor]--they are not officers or anything, but they have been at SADD meetings. [1989]

Even though she worked with other members of SADD to support her own decision to abstain from drinking and to influence others not to drink or drink and drive, Janie was reluctant to impose her views on others and was uncertain that her views were worthy of consideration. When she did assert herself, it was most often indirect or in situations in which she felt supported by others.

While Janie wasn’t as sheltered from the real world as Mrs. White supposed, she was somewhat naive concerning the social activities of other groups of teenagers at her
high school. For Janie, even smoking was distasteful. At a football game when she was a high school junior, she and another girl mock-coughed to express their disdain for a woman smoking in the stands a couple of rows below them. While many students smoked, she didn’t think it was a real problem at school. She said she hadn’t seen drugs around school either, although a survey found that drug abuse was a serious problem among some segments of the student population. Only once had she seen someone at school with alcohol, although it was in the morning before school and she didn’t think the person was a student at the school. She knew that some teachers smoked in the teachers’ lounge. Because Janie doesn’t belong to a group that participates in such activities, it is very possible that she is not aware of these things. Drinking by teenagers away from school, however, was a different matter. She was aware of the places where students gathered to drink and identified signs of drinking at these places, especially the old Wal-Mart parking lot.

Well, I have never seen anybody with alcohol, but like the cars are there and then the cars are gone and there are beer bottles on the ground, so you know that they are drinking. It is a little obvious when they drive away....All of the parties that I have been to are with my friends. I have never been to a party that I didn’t know who was giving it or whose house it was at....I guess it is such a small community—everybody really knows everybody. [1989]

As a high school junior, Janie talked about her views on drinking, her observations of teenagers drinking, and the perceptions of teachers at her school. She said, “There are some people that you would not expect to be into drinking, but I know that they do” (1989). Although Janie said that SADD focuses primarily on drinking and driving,
she felt that members of SADD should not drink at all because it sent a mixed message to teenagers. She also expressed her feelings that there should be standards for allowing someone to join SADD and that by allowing anyone to join, regardless of their behavior, she was concerned about the student body’s perception of the group. While she disclosed her feelings about SADD members, she was careful not to divulge their names.

Last year I had the opinion where—I don’t know if you were at the meeting where we discussed not letting people that drank—like if we knew they drank, like there were certain people who just got—I am not going to say names—the same people who just got in serious trouble for drinking at a school-related function and they got suspended and everything—like people like that—unless they are going to come to meetings to, you know, well, and if they would say, What I did was wrong and I want to make up for what I did. But if they are going to come and they are still going to drink, people like that, I don’t think they should even come at all ‘cause there’s no point in it if they are going to do it [drink] anyway. But then, [the SADD advisor] said that we were a support group and everything—you know, I believe in that and everything, I just don’t think that if we know they are going to drink—it seems as though it makes us look bad if we know they go out and drink every weekend and drive, then we let them come to our meetings. [1989]

Janie drew upon the fact that even members of SADD drink to shore up her belief that some people are going to drink regardless of what the group does. She said that about ten people were involved in the incident—that people were shocked because these were smart and popular students. She was glad they were caught so that the reality of the problem could be made public. Some cheerleaders were involved in the incident. She explained,

What happened was—I don’t know if they were drinking at the game, but they had been drinking before the game. They were like people
who were—they were representing the school, I can say that—and well, a couple of them were not, but the ones that weren't representing the school, they got caught with alcohol and the other ones were just caught. They had been drinking. You know, people could tell they had been drinking. [1989]

The telltale signs were unmistakable. Alcohol was spilled on a lady at the game and she called the police. One of the students involved had been working at the concession stand and was spiking the drinks. Janie didn't know how they had gotten the alcohol but that it could have been any one of several sources—an older friend, from home, or illegally purchased. She also expressed her feelings about them getting caught.

Talking about the students involved, she differentiated between bookwise and smart.

But I guess it really—I'm really anxious to see how many people are going to be at the SADD meeting tonight because the people that got caught were people that everybody was like, you know, people that everybody looks up to—smart people, bookwise I guess, but you know, a lot of people were really shocked about it. Some people like, you know, we were glad that had finally. [Pause] We have been knowing that they have been doing this--they just hadn't been caught with it. And I guess it is okay to say so. [1989]

Because Janie did not associate with people who drank, she had rarely been in situations in which she could have been enticed to do so. Referring to the students who had been caught drinking at a school function and subsequently suspended, she noted teachers' shock that these "good" students would do such a thing. They thought the drinking incident was an isolated incident, an aberration and not a pattern of behavior.

Referring to the students who had been caught drinking, Janie said,

Like the teachers, 'Oh, not them!' And I know a lot of teachers made comments about the situation. Everybody, most everybody, knows
who it is and they were like, 'They just happened to make a mistake one time.' No they didn’t! They do it all the time. It was like they just got caught this time, you know. [1989]

Even though she expressed awareness of the problem of drinking and was savvy concerning the way in which it was perceived by others, she, nonetheless, found it difficult to express her views or to impose them on others. She sought agreement with others to determine those groups to which she would belong. Her views on citizenship were influenced by this understanding. Rather than standing on her own, she joined communities of others whose views were the same as her’s, which served to support her and was a buffer from attacks from those who disagreed.

**Learning In School and In SADD**

For Janie, as with other participants in this study, there were differences in the substance and methods of learning about social issues and citizenship. School was a place in which she worked to please her teachers and others in positions of authority. She explained once that other students taunted her for being the “teacher’s pet.”

With the passage of several years, Janie reflected on her experiences in SADD. She said that it was the first time she had been involved in something because she chose to, rather than because it was expected of her. Janie specifically noted the importance of being able to uphold your beliefs in the face of those who opposed you. She supported the notion of debate on SADD’s issues with an example drawn from her experience defending her religious faith.

SADD was the first thing that I did...because I wanted to do it and not because all the other people were doing it--not because it was
something that was expected of me....I had to do it for the reasons, for me, because I wanted to do it....I did it because I believed in it. [1995]

Unsure of herself and feeling controlled by forces outside herself, Janie looked for places in which she could exert control. In SADD, she had found something in which she believed, an issue that had personal significance. Her shyness was a manifestation of fear of doing something wrong, of not living up to others' expectations of her.

In life you go through many things and you have to make decisions based upon, you now....Let's say Cathy expects me to do this, so I am going to make her happy and I am going to do it. But you can't do that. You have to make your decisions based upon what you want to do and you have to figure out what your motive is. Are you trying to get somebody happy or are you trying to—you had to want to do it because people were going to come against you and I mean you had to stand up for it. So you couldn't join just because your neighbor was doing it. [1995]

In SADD, she had opportunities to make her own decisions, but in a way that was comfortable for her. It was a safe way of testing the waters, a way of taking a stand, but protected by the support of others whose views were the same as her's. She was arming herself to defend against those who “came against her.”

Because when somebody came and said, well this and this, and kind of came against you, you had to have some kind of case. I guess you would say something to back yourself up and say why you wanted to do it....[You have to know] what the opposition believes because the only way you can defend your position and they are going to throw stuff at you...If you just sit there and you never thought that they would think this stuff. So you have to find out what they think. This really doesn't have much to do with it, it's like different religions. If you are going to get into a religion war with somebody, you better know everything there is to know about your religion because if you get up against someone who knows everything there is to know, they are going to knock you down and they are going to make you feel like
you don't know anything.... I just remember when we talked about this in Sunday school and you know in religion, don't you know, if somebody wants to go against you in what you believe in and you know they really want to get into a big debate and you know that they know a lot about it, if you don't know as much about it, don't go up against them because they are going to make you feel inferior or whatever. [1995]

Rather than stating her position and justifying it, she felt it necessary to know what others believed to defend her stance. Seeking a way to support her views regarding drinking, she drew upon her experiences in religion as a model. She had learned that one had to be prepared to defend her faith by learning all she could about “the enemy.” Even though her initial motivation was to escape feelings of inferiority (of losing), through her experiences in SADD she was expanding her repertoire of alternatives for interacting with others and expressing her views. In SADD, for instance, it was not necessary for her to defend her views, but she was learning how to build consensus and how to work with others to influence change. It was through communication, through talk, that one could achieve these objective. Janie explained the way in which this was accomplished.

Maybe in the communicating with people and kind of getting out and kind of politicking I guess for people to come in SADD and...you had to have a case and this is why I want you to come and join our club and if they came against you you had to be able to defend yourself and tell them why you believed in it or you didn't believe.....Like I never thought, well, you know I am going to have to make these decisions for the next 80 years, I better get in here now and start learning something. I didn't think that at all, but I am glad I did. [1995]
In contrast to her experiences in SADD, Janie said that she rarely had opportunities to express her ideas in school. In her high school social studies classes, students were not engaged in discussions. She said she had gotten a lot of history in school, but that she had not gotten a lot out of the classes.

Well, in my social studies class, it's not—we never have discussions. It is just like take notes, answer questions, and take a test. That's it basically, and if we do have discussions, it's not anything—it's something stupid, you know, like somebody threw a pencil across the room. We talk about it for an hour. It's nothing really serious....History—a lot of history! Not that I remember any of it. But I got a lot of it....I can remember like American History--what I have learned so far this year, I probably couldn't tell you ten facts that I know because I don't remember. It's basically, I just write down, memorize, take a test, and then blow it off. But when you discuss it, you know, when you keep talking about it, you seem to remember it better....I forgot all we learned. I didn't have a good class. I always get stuck in bad classes....[Because] it is just the schedules. It's just the people in there. They just don't really care to learn. [1989]

While she couldn't recall facts she learned in social studies classes, she spoke at length about SADD meetings and other activities. What had she learned through her involvement in SADD that she hadn't learned in classes? After pausing to consider the question, she contrasted classroom learning with learning in SADD, describing six aspects of learning in SADD that were different from in-class learning: first-hand experiences that were memorable; no time constraints; teacher not instructing/telling students; lots of talking among students and to other people; venturing outside the confines of the school; and meeting leaders in the community.

Well, it's work [but] we are not, really. I don't know—it's out-of-class related and the teacher is not, you know, the SADD advisor is not
really like, you know, you do this, this, this and the bell rings and you go home. You know, if we want to stay longer we can stay; if we want to come earlier we can come earlier. And we just—but we just talk to people, you know. We can talk to people and then they, you know. Like in any class, we just—we can only talk to the people around us and people in that class. When we do this [SADD], we can go out and talk to other people, you know. We can go talk to the judge or we can go talk to the state representative or somebody like that. And it is not that I have learned more—I just kind of like learned more about other people. Like whenever the book, it says the judge does this, but if you go talk to a judge, you learn more by talking to him than reading a book. You know, like if you read it in a book, this is what a judge does, but if he came to a meeting and said this is what I do, I can remember it better if he tells me than if a teacher reads it out of a book or if I read it out of a book. [1989]

[In SADD, I had] experiences in different things...extracurricular activities, where you gain experience. [Which is?] It means to be in something and going out and doing it.” [1995]

For Janie, talking (discussions) and first-hand experiences in the “real world” were the preferred ways to learn. These were the activities, she said, which were lacking in her school classes. Even though a goal of social studies is to educate students to assume their roles as adults citizens, she had few opportunities in her classes to develop competencies, such as learning to deliberate with others on a social issue and to take actions to influence change.

Civic Involvement

Through SADD and other groups to which she belonged, Janie was expanding her connections in the world (Gilligan, 1988). Although she remained timid in expressing her views in some situations, in others she was gaining her voice. In groups of other
women, in particular, she found the solace and strength of family, which allowed places in which she could learn to express herself.

Wanting to help young people, Janie is particularly concerned about drugs and thinks that children as young as five or six years of age should learn about drug prevention. Because her interest and experiences since high school have been social issues, as a future teacher she’s considered working with students in these areas.

Yeah, I mean I am just kind of interested I guess in the social thing. In that I am going into education at this point, and things like this kind of help you out with your students. And I feel like because I was in organizations like SADD and interacted a lot with the community, the Beta Club really didn’t do much other than in nursing homes and things like this. These are more social issues where I could go to an elementary school and be a sponsor or something because I was in it already. [1995]

As a young adult, when Janie explained what being a citizen meant to her, she began with the laughing retort, “I still wonder!” More seriously, Janie said that one way citizens can get things done is to call upon someone who is running for a political office. If someone is running for an office, she said, “they are going to listen to what you have to say, because I can not make you go back into office.” [1995] Although she hasn’t been as involved as she would like while in college, because of classes and work, she plans to get more involved in civic life after graduation. In addition to the drinking and driving issue, she’s concerned about littering and is against abortion.

My thing is littering, I hate that and I am very annoyed by people who throw stuff out, it drives me crazy. (laughed). It just drives me crazy, like bad. I am really that way, very bad. I am kind of better now because. Yeah, the people around me now, you just don’t do that. I do have a guy, Bobby, he has a friend that is very inconsiderate and very
self-centered and I can go on for hours, but he will do stuff like throw it out the window and I am just like and I have to kind of bite my tongue.... Yeah, it is taking responsibility. This is your parish, this is your community, this is your neighborhood and you have to keep it clean and you know. That is the thing that everybody does probably in our area.

In the course of our conversation, Janie’s comment about “biting her tongue” slipped my notice. Without this transcribed conversation, a piece of vital information about Janie as a woman would not have been revealed. While she is very concerned about this issue, she did not simply ask Bobby’s friend not to litter. As she said, she had to “bite her tongue.” Why was she unable to loosen her tongue and speak out in this particular situation? This bite of silence is telling. Was a power relationship lurking within the silence? Why would a young woman who acted on her beliefs within the public arena, be silenced in an interpersonal conversation with another human being?

The development of this contradictory behavior is based in the gender-differentiated culture in which Janie learned when and when not to speak. She had learned that it was improper for her to impose her beliefs on others. What she began to learn in SADD, however, was that her ideas were worthwhile, even though she would have to enlist the support of others to express them.

Had she lived on her college campus, she felt that she would take part in more activities. But even though her civic activity has been limited by distance and time, Janie has acted on her anti-abortion stance by participating in marches.

I have gone to like abortion marches and stuff like that, but I don’t really get out there and direct (laughed). I haven’t done what a lot of people have done as far as writing letters. [1995]
In whatever her activities, Janie found strength in numbers—in anti-abortion marches and in group activities standing up for her beliefs in high school.

As a group we did [make a difference], but as individuals I don't know if we did. We might have did something to persuade people to join or maybe persuade....But it took all of us. [1995]

What were other ways in which she had expressed her views or taken actions on issues that were important to her? Janie moved the discussion to the expression of her views in groups at her church and with special women friends. The focus of the support group is interpersonal relationships, because, she said, “all of us have been in difficult relationships.” The group meets at least every other month, sometimes more often.

We talk about different types of relationships and how we have to kind of, everybody is human and to give people the benefit of the doubt. We are reading different books and we kind of find these stories and we kind of throw them out to each other. I don't know if you have heard of any of these books, but this book called Boundaries and it is about establishing boundaries in your relationship with other people and know when to say no and when to say yes and there is one that I just got finished reading called Safe People and its like, after reading this book I have come to realize that there are not a whole lot of safe people that you can tell everything to and be safe. Different things like that, but anyway we get together and we talk...about relationships and stuff about different little things that happen. And if you have a bad day you say let's get together and talk and you feel so much better. Just like I said before, everybody had a different personality and where I can say oh I am such a horrible person and I do bad things, somebody else can say no, they and that other person has to take responsibility for what they did too. You can't take responsibility for a whole relationship. It has to be half and half kind of thing. Trust. [1995]
The women in the support group, she explained, are not judgmental, a trait which she values in her relationships. She continued, "You know, it is kind of like people can be real with me and not just say, not think they are better than everybody else, like they are above all of that because nobody is above it. Everybody is the same." [1995] Janie's need for equality and belonging is found in this group and in her relationship with special friends like Cathy, the people who fill the void of absent family. Janie spoke about the bond of trust.

Cathy and I talk and I know that I can trust her, you know, because she is not going to and tell people, oh Janie said this and Janie said that. Because God knows she knows enough and she hasn't said anything--yet (looks at Cathy and smiles). Sometimes, even if she can't help me, she knows I can trust her....Yes, trust and communication and understanding, you have to have people who are real. [1995]

In addition to this special friendship and her support group, Janie belongs to another group at her church, in which other college students and "career kind of people" get together to discuss relationships in terms of Bible teachings. In one of the recent meetings of this group, she explained that they discussed the topic of trust. Regardless of the issue, it was important to Janie that she have opportunities to develop relationships with others and to talk.

Besides the women's group and the thing on Wednesday nights we have a youth group and you can talk and you can relate and try to understand. [1995]

Throughout her adolescence and young adulthood, Janie sought others from whom she drew strength to overcome ordinary and extraordinary trials of growing up. Janie's
sense of insecurity about herself was evidenced in the words she used, like trust and non-judgmental, to describe people with whom she developed relationships. She resisted imposing her beliefs and values on others until she had time to carefully consider her views in relation to those of others and until she had tested them with others who she thought would concur with her.
Chapter 8

Molly's Story

The Little Prince declared:

All grown-ups were once children—
although few of them remember it.¹

Grown-ups love figures. When you tell them that you have made a new friend, they never ask you any questions about essential matters. They never said to you, 'What does his voice sound like? What games does he love best? Does he collect butterflies?' Instead, they demand: 'How old is he? How many brothers has he? How much does he weigh? How much money does his father make?' Only from these figures do they think they have learned anything about him.²

Molly is a very attractive young woman, slim and average height, with medium-long natural blond hair and shiny blue eyes. Her most outstanding feature, however, is her smile. Her animated and dramatic manner of speaking is often punctuated by a flashing smile and hearty, worldly-woman laugh. As The Little Prince is one of Molly's favorite books, she would want me to tell more about her than her height, weight, and other vital statistics. She would want people to hear her "voice." A self-described "talker," Molly loved expressing herself, as a speech-maker, actor, radio D.J., and social activist. Treasuring this ability, she was concerned when her voice and others' voices were suppressed, or worse, censored.

Another SADD member once described Molly as a la de da kind of person, but this is the face she mostly presents to the world—slightly off-beat and whimsical. In counterbalance is her serious, assertive, and introspective side. Molly's assertiveness,
however, is neither unyielding nor harsh. She is a very caring person, willing to go that extra mile for a friend and working for a cause in which she believes.

Molly read The Little Prince as a child and thought it was “a cute little story.” But when she read it as a college freshman, at the suggestion of a friend, she discovered a deeper meaning to the story.

[Jake] gave me that book when I was a [college] freshman. I was having a lot of problems. [But] the more you read it, and the more you look into it, like the little prince when he has the rose and he sees the one rose and it's the most beautiful rose and she says you have to do this because I'm special, you have to put the screen around me, keep the shade over me and do all this stuff because I'm your rose, I'm this, that, the other. He goes to another planet—a planet full of roses. Now, if you take that whole simple chapter about the roses...you think something is so special because it your's and when you go back out into the world there's ten thousand other things. What makes it special? It's special because it's yours. Your mind is special because it's your's. You may look like everybody else, you may walk around like everybody else, but you've got inner strength that is yours, and that makes you beautiful.....A lot of people haven't even really read it and that's one of those kind of books where—it's almost better to think of it how you want to think of it -- interpret it how you want to interpret it, because no matter what, you're going to end up kind of right about it, you know....And so, things like that, like that book, like it's left on the shelves and that's a very powerful book if you just take it and let the kid or let whoever read it. And, you know, if you're having a problem in your life, give that book to somebody--their interpretation will be entirely different, but they'll come out with a better sense of self.

Reunion

Several years after Molly graduated from high school we met at a restaurant near her home, not far from her alma mater, for an evening of food and talk. Scheduling time for the meeting had been difficult because of her hectic schedule. Not only was she
attending college full-time, she also was employed in two part-time jobs, one as an “assistant” D.J. on a morning radio show and one as a clerical worker. We decided on this particular evening because it was the day after her last final exam of the semester. Although we had talked on the phone several times since graduation, I hadn’t seen her in years, but when she came in, I recognized her immediately and we effortlessly rekindled our connection. Seated near a picture window overlooking the river, we began talking and were interrupted twice by the waitress trying to take our order before we decided to suspend our conversation to do so.

Molly said that she had recently attended the funeral of a friend who had been killed in a traffic crash. Sadly, like so many of her fellow SADD members and other young people, experiencing the death of friends is not an uncommon occurrence. She didn’t dwell on her loss, but her friend’s death brought back memories of her cousin who had been killed.

When Molly was a high school junior, she explained why she had gotten involved in SADD.

Mostly I got interested in it because my cousin had been drinking and driving and had a crash and died. He rode his motorcycle down a hill and went underneath a bus. When I heard about it, that’s when I decided to get involved with SADD. The accident happened the first year we moved here, and it’s been five years. He was my first cousin on my mother’s side. It still bothers me. I mean, he was just crazy, and it was hard to imagine -- even still. [Molly, age 17]

At dinner, more than five years later, the reason she gave for joining SADD was the same.
Well, the initial, I don’t want to say attraction, but my initial interest in it was because my cousin died. He was drinking and driving, and he died in a motorcycle accident. [Molly, age 23]

Asked if there were reasons other than her cousin’s death that prompted her involvement, she said, that “kids” were drinking and she wanted to show them what the consequences could be.

Family Ties

Molly did not speak often about her parents, but when she did it was to illustrate a point she was trying to make. Relating the story about her family’s move from a different state when she and her sisters were children, Molly reasoned that the longevity of her parents’ marriage was due to their religious beliefs and their need for each other. As she explained, her parents were “super, super Catholics” and “when we moved here, you know, all they had was each other” (1995).

Her “growing up” years, her transition from child to adult, for whatever reasons—the family members’ personalities, the family’s structure, and/or their manner of interacting—occurred gradually and was relatively tranquil. Molly seemed comfortable in her relationship with her parents. Speaking about her participation in dance and cross-country track, Molly said, “My dad liked [watching track events] better than going to dance recitals!” Referring to the suppression of students’ opinions in her classes, Molly noted her mother’s support of her views.

What I was thinking—and I thought this in high school—’cause my mom is really liberal—my mom was always like me. She would say, Oh, that’s wrong, you know, they need to be able to let you guys say
what you gotta’ say, you know. And we’ve all got strong opinions, but it’s almost like you need a release form.

Her mother’s words of encouragement provided Molly with a sense that her views were worthy of being heard, but both of her parents, she maintained, were supportive of her involvement in SADD and other activities.

Even though she had her parents’ support and encouragement, she was a very self-sufficient sort of person who set her sights on a goal and went for it without complaint. The problems she spoke about having during her first year of college were problems that were with her most of the time. She was forced to suspend college a couple of times because of bouts of colitis, a chronic intestinal illness, and because of the necessity of working to repay student loans during those periods, adding stress that aggravates the condition. But Molly did draw upon some inner strength to see her through these difficulties.

Revealed through her story is a theme which testifies to her indomitable spirit. Molly felt a strong sense of self-worth, which she said developed from assuming personal and social responsibility. On the other hand, she was impatient with those who did not live up to their responsibilities, especially politicians and other persons in authority.

**Personal and Social Responsibility**

Molly drew upon a variety of resources—religion, people, books, and experiences—to determine and follow her life’s course. She took charge of her own life, worked hard, and seized opportunities presented to her. By making her own way, she
felt self-worth, a quality which she highly valued. She assumed responsibility for her own life and her actions, but she also brought to her activities a sense of social responsibility. Carol Gilligan (1993) views women's ethic of responsibility as stemming from their feeling of interconnection. (p. 57). This ethic of responsibility is related to the development of an ethic of care which, she says, "evolves around a central insight that self and other are interdependent" (p. 74). Compared to men, the moral imperative that emerged in Gilligan's interviews with women, "is an injunction to care, a responsibility to discern and alleviate the 'real and recognizable trouble' of this world." For men, she says, "the moral imperative appears rather as an injunction to respect the rights of others and thus to protect from interference the rights to life and self-fulfillment" (p. 100). As a young woman, Molly was concerned about protecting the rights of others, but it was those who were potential victims of drunken driving. She did not shy away from intervening in interpersonal or social situations to protect herself or others.

Molly's speed and direction of moving was fast forward, in track and in other aspects of her life. Throughout her childhood, adolescence, and young adulthood, she was involved in a myriad of activities which contributed to the development of her emotional and physiological strength and social competence. She studied dance for many years, but later replaced it with sports in high school because of limited time and financial resources. Forced to set priorities and make hard choices, like she would at other times, she looked for avenues to stay physically active. Jokingly, she explained,
"If you can't date a jock, be a jock--just keep running. I ran regular track. During cross-country season, I was teaching catechism, so I couldn't do both."

Added to these activities were "all the normal stuff"--school, church, and clubs, like the French Club and Drama Club; organizations, like Fellowship of Christian Athletes and SADD, and jobs. Beginning before her junior year in high school, she worked at summer and other part-time jobs to pay for clothes, recreation, and car insurance, all of the necessities of an active teenager. Her first summer job was as a tour guide, dressed in period costume and telling stories to visitors at an antebellum plantation.

Another passion in Molly's life was acting. This endeavor made her a keen observer of people, a tool she used to her advantage. Her aspirations for a career in acting led her to speech-making; appearances in plays in high school, college, and with a community theater group; the selection of Speech and Communications as her college major; and work as a radio D.J. Over the airwaves she carried her commitment to preventing drinking and driving, urging her listeners to have fun but stay sober.

But in the hectic pace of her life, Molly found time to reflect on her activities. Engagement with life's lessons and her understanding of learning as an ongoing process corresponds with the autobiographical method of curriculum, currere or 'running the course,' formulated by Pinar and Grumet (1976). As Pinar et al (1995) explain, "currere does not constitute a reflective retreat from the world, but a heightened engagement with it" (p.415). The authors cite Doll's (1993) explanation of a
postmodern shift in curriculum, one which focuses on dialoguing, negotiating, and interacting. Doll states, "These are words which imply (and use) indeterminacy, openness, self-organization. They are the words of a transformative curriculum, of a currere oriented curriculum, one focusing not on the external attributes of the racecourse but on the process of traversing the course, of negotiating with self and others’ (p.286)” (p. 502). Molly did have a “heightened engagement” with everything in her world. Although she had a plan for her life, she was open to new opportunities, which she seized when it seemed the right course to follow.

Education was very important to Molly, and she pursued it through whatever means available to her. The significance of a formal education for women, to allow for choice, was raised by Molly within the context of a discussion of marriage with two of her friends, Cathy and Janie, who are also college students and participants in this study. Referring to other women their age who were getting married and having children, Molly said, “I'm kinda thinking, I'm okay with it [not getting married] 'cause I don't want to be a consolation prize. I want to make sure that I've got all of my stuff out of the way.” Not wanting to be a consolation prize, Molly can be understood as saying that she would chose discomfort over being objectified, an award of a contest for her favors. By getting all of her stuff out of the way, as she said, she is noting her awareness that she is seeking a sense of who she is, rather than as an attachment to another. Not feeling a need to detach emotionally from her parents, she also did not feel a need to attach herself to another person for fulfillment. While she hoped to marry,
she recognized the importance of education and self-reliance for women, factors which allowed them to make choices that benefited themselves. Carol Gilligan (1993) notes, “In tying women’s self-development to the exercise of their own reason, the early feminists saw education as critical for women if they were to live under their own control” (p. 129).

With only two courses and an internship left to satisfy the requirements for her college degree, however, Molly was faced with the realities of limited time and money needed to achieve her goal.

The problem is I’ve taken every 400 level class—I’ve taken square dancing, I’ve taken everything, and all I’ve got to get through is math. And one science. And so, I mean, I’m almost there. If I can get through math.... Yeah, I know, I’m trying to go elsewhere with it, but at least if I graduate I’ll have something. [1996]

Eventually, at least for the time being, Molly decided to forego college to seize a career opportunity at a radio station in another state. Molly’s investment of time and her own money toward her college education did not culminate in the way she had originally planned, with a degree. True to herself, she perceived this circumstance, not as a setback, but as a path to other opportunities.

Although she did not know it at the time, Molly was preparing herself to accept challenges when she was in high school and a member in SADD. The SADD activities which Molly preferred were those which provided occasions for artistic expression. She wrote and gave speeches, acted in skits that were presented to peers and younger students, choreographed dances she performed at SADD conventions, and designed and
sewed a banner for the Parish High SADD Chapter. The awareness activities at school she most enjoyed were dramatizations, like the mock crash, mock trial, and Ghost-Out, an activity in which students dressed in black clothes and painted their faces white to symbolize victims of drunken driving crashes. She recalled her feelings about being involved in activities and the reactions of others.

I was in the group that did the skits. [The SADD advisor would say], Come in with your jogging suit. You’ve got fifteen minutes to get to the [elementary] school and think up a speech. But I’m an expert on impromptu speeches...I remember the [mock crash], I remember how much impact it had....And really, I think the conventions...were the absolute best....And I liked speaking at the grade schools....And remember when I talked at the Rec [recreation] Center and everything. That was fun. I remember that kind of stuff....I think that was...when I discovered that I really had a mouth.....That was almost an interesting position for anybody that's kinda involved in SADD is that you hear it so much and you hear it and hear it, and you hear the speeches from other people and you hear it and you watch the films and you watch everything....But whenever you talk to little kids and you figured out that you were reaching them and that you were actually saying something like--oh, yeah, that kind of makes sense. Yeah, maybe if my dad drives around with an open can of beer, maybe they would say something to their dad. [The children] were laughing and laughing and laughing. Wouldn't it be sad if Fred couldn't do the yaba daba doo dance? If he was really drunk, maybe that's why Wilma was trying to keep him out of the house. I can't remember how it went...but letting them see someone who's still a teenager--it's much easier than listening to your teacher or your mom or you know. [1995]

These activities provided opportunities for Molly to express her views on drinking and driving through artistic expression. And it was her involvement in SADD and her church that Molly credited for the development of two qualities which she highly valued: self-worth and social responsibility.
Molly maintained that SADD was important in the development of students' feeling of self-worth. While support and approval of teachers and parents are important, extracurricular groups, she said, provide opportunities for students to voice their concerns and act on issues that are important to them.

Maybe if they had more active groups like this...in schools—that put a good self-worth to them for themselves—not having to prove themselves to a teacher, not having to prove themselves to their parents, [but] having to prove themselves to themselves that they can do something. If they had...more things like SADD that were not just a side club but like a big social, in the middle club that everybody just kind of rallied around, just that self-esteem would get them going a little more. So I think clubs and groups and things like that—if you can get a teacher who will support them—I think they're very beneficial. [So you think that extracurricular things are very important?] Oh, yeah, oh, yeah, definitely, I mean—I was in so many different clubs, but as far as the most participation, it was track and SADD...but as far as extracurricular, of course, because at home, your mom doesn't come home until six, seven o'clock; she's working, your dad's working, you have something to go to do. Some other kids that are sitting there complaining, you know, some of the kids who are going through the same thing as you and you're not supervised, but you're doing what you want to do—like you know how you are in class, you have to do whatever and turn it in, you have to do this test and you have to turn it in. Whenever you're in extracurricular activities, you do it because you want to do it. If you don't like it, get out, you know, they're not making you sit there. So if education had more extracurricular activities and money for extracurricular activities then the possibilities are endless—once you give someone a tiny little ounce of self-esteem, it goes a heck of a long way. [1995]

Because involvement in extracurricular activities implies individual choice, it requires that students take the initiative. Often those who do so feel more responsible for themselves and the well-being of others than those who do not.
Benefits of SADD's efforts extended to much of the student body. Molly noted the decrease in drinking and driving among teens since SADD was started. Even though she had seen a reduction in drinking and driving, she had not seen a corresponding decrease in drinking by teenagers.

Drinking and driving around here has kind of slacked down...Like when we started, it was like 'SADD sucks.' When we wore those black shirts and those around us wanted us to let it die, but now they really are getting designated drivers, so it's made a point....I don’t think they want to get active with the group, but at least there's designated drivers. [1990]

Another change, Molly said, is that people aren't coming to school drunk as much as they used to, but that they have been into taking Vivarin, over-the-counter caffeine pills.

And they're saying, 'Well, we're not drinking and driving.' But it's like, Yeah, but you can't even hold onto the wheel you're shaking so much. You know when they're on it because they're always asking to go to the bathroom -- they're getting out of class every three minutes. Oh, come around college campuses. I've never seen so many people strung out on Vivarin in my life. [1995]

At times Molly expressed her impatience with those who are irresponsible (the slackers), those who have no regard for those who participate, those who participate but don't take it seriously, and those who appropriate the group for their own purposes.

There was the rebellion of the cheerleaders who had been kicked off the squad for drinking. The SADD advisor, Molly said, instructed the cheerleaders to attend all of the SADD meetings. She described one of the rebellious actions taken. Even though the
cheerleaders received a lot of flack about getting caught drinking, Molly said they weren’t trying to change people’s opinion of them.

At the pep rally they had shirts that said ‘Terrible Ten’ with a bottle on the back. They’re still doing it, and they did it right after suspension. When asked what the bottle meant, they said, ‘Think what you want; we know what it’s for, but just think what you want. It doesn’t have any name on it.’ They couldn’t get suspended for that, but they’re still like that. At least Susan said she didn’t want to join SADD because she doesn’t want to be a hypocrite, but she said, ‘We don’t drink and drive, but we do drink. We drink like sponges.’ [1990]

Other SADD members had what Molly referred to as a “flighting interest,” those who came to meetings for awhile to participate in activities like the state convention and then left and carried on with their usual lives, some even drinking. In contrast, others stayed the course.

It’s the people, I think as far a still being involved and committed, is something sticks with them, you know, it’s not just a club, you know, it’s a belief, it’s a whole system of how you’re going to believe in it and how you’re going to keep other people from having to go through the same thing. [1990]

There is another group who are not members, but who say they are, appropriating the club for their own purposes.

People are coming in saying they’re in SADD. The Beauty Pageant had about ten girls that we never even saw at one meeting, but they say, ‘She’s an active member of SADD.’ I mean, it’s like it sounds good! You know it’s like, No you’re not!! [Sarcastically] I don’t think you could spell it dear, you know. [1990]

As one of the responsible people, Molly’s actions extended beyond SADD activities. Recalling a negative outcome of her involvement, Molly said that she had...
been in positions in which she had overlooked abusive treatment from those she was
trying to help for the greater purpose of preventing them from driving drunk. Through
practice in several incidents, Molly had learned how to deal with such people. Recalling
incidents at college bars, Molly explained:

You know, whenever they're drunk and you're bringing them home and
they think that you're...trying to put on airs and you're not, you're
really, really not, but I figure if they get home alive and they're still
cussing me that's all right with me, they're alive, they made it home. I
think in college it's much harder because there are so many mean
drunks out there...but whenever you try to take their keys away from
them, and when you actually physically try to take their keys from
some big man, you know, you get some words, you really get some
words...In high school they weren't bad. You go to a high school
party...many people didn't handle their alcohol, they weren't allowed
to drink so much and so they didn't know how to behave and they
were like yeah whatever and they'd throw you the keys....I don't really
hang out or go out with people that I was in SADD with--nobody
really knows that I was involved as much as I was with it. [They said]
Yeah, who are you to say? Well I saw you drink a beer and I'm like,
nooo....You drank like ten, we've been here seven hours, it's like 3
o'clock in the morning--let me drive you home and it's like [growling
noise]. I think, sometimes you just want people to shut up....When
people are drunk and playing pool you can take keys out of their
pocket, throw them at the bartender, that sort of thing, but then they
think you're just a little prissy, you know, who does she think she is.
But, I've gotten that a few times and I've realized how to deal with it or
how to more delicately do it but I find more negative in college than in
high school. [1995]

Molly had learned how to handle drunks and keep them from driving, but what
else had she learned through her involvement in SADD? Molly compared the SADD
group's activities with those of earlier generations.

Yeah, that so many people applied themselves to something. I mean
you always hear about the sixties and oh, people stand up for this and

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
sat down for that and that [SADD] was my first encounter that other people would take after a belief and go with that.... It was awesome to see all those people there [at the SADD convention] doing that.... It sounds kinda funny, but it's--you can't--I've never seen so many people actually believe in something as much. Even if you go to church. You know there are people, du-du-du-du-du, looking around and it's only an hour. And whenever you see all of these people who are going to all these meetings and you have all this spirit with it and you know what I mean? I thought that was pretty incredible, just that so many people.... And whenever you get out into college and you meet other people who had gone to it [when they were in high school] and it was just funny, you know, how many people. And you'll find that anybody who really did apply themselves like that are usually still the designated driver or still, you know what I mean, still taking keys and we're still little shits.... Here she comes with her red T-shirt [reference to the T-shirt from a convention when she was in high school]--duck everybody. Here comes Ms. Social Etiquette -- watch out! [1995]

Through her activities in SADD and other extracurricular activities, Molly explained that she had developed a sense of self-worth because she was doing something that she chose to do that was valuable, in that she felt she was contributing to the safety of others. While her membership in SADD ended with graduation from high school, she and other young adults, she said, continued to assume responsibility but on a more interpersonal level.

Other than SADD, had there been other circumstances in which she had been able to talk about an issue or act on her beliefs regarding social responsibility? Molly referred to personal relationships as the only other.

The only place you ever would be in your immediate friend group, you know your immediate peer group. As far as organized, besides having an extracurricular activity, as far as it being in class, nah. You're not going to see that. [1995]
Long before she joined SADD, Molly learned that, as a part of a group, people have a responsibility to fulfill their obligations, if only by selling candy to raise funds for a dance recital. When she was a little girl and "in dance," she explained, she learned that "you just can't sit back and make the whole thing look bad. You have to be active and sell your candy and do all the other stuff [that's expected]." [1990]

While Molly brought a sense a responsibility to SADD and other aspects of her life, in SADD this quality was reinforced. What other attributes had she enhanced or developed through her participation in the group? Molly said that her convictions about drinking and driving had been strengthened and that, through the many opportunities to speak publicly, she had gained self-confidence. She also noted that she learned more about people and government than she had in her classes.

Although acting on beliefs was paramount, she focused on the adherence to an ideal or basic belief system that allowed choice of actions. Her conception of citizenship was formed, she said, by looking to models, persons who saw their civic participation as a responsibility. She added the word 'active' to differentiate between those who do things and those who don't.

I guess from looking at other people, at the people who were active, whoever goes and votes or in the VFW, I'd consider as an active citizen. The others would lay back and let whatever comes, come. [1990]

Had she learned about citizenship in any of her classes at school? Again, Molly fixed on experience, "seeing is believing," as the best teacher and the standard for gauging citizenship, contrasting "book-definitions" to real world experience.
In civics class we learned what citizens do and don’t do, what the punishments are. You can always get book definitions, but whatever your eyes see is what you’re going to believe. I can give you Webster’s dictionary definition, but it’s not what I believe. [1990]

Webster’s defines a citizen as “a person who owes loyalty to and is entitled to the protection of a government or a resident of a city of town.” In contrast, Molly added that a citizen does not necessarily support everything about the government and that citizens should assume their responsibilities to vote and participate in other ways.

Over the years from high school through college, Molly stayed true to her belief that citizenship requires more than membership, and that it is incumbent on some to assume an active role.

Well, I think, I mean, I don’t know, I think that being a citizen is a lot more important than a lot of people show anymore. As far as citizenship I just think you need to be a worthwhile participant, you know, it’s just like anything else, you’re going to have your slackers, so there needs to be a couple of people out there who are giving two hundred percent because there’s going to be some others who aren’t giving anything. [1995]

Molly assumed the responsibilities of citizenship, which, she believed, was more than voting. She was ready to give more than her share. Even so, she perceived the world of politics with distrust and sometimes cynicism.

**Cynical Citizen**

As a high school junior, Molly explained her conception of citizenship. She was willing to accept the general ideals upon which the country was founded, but was watchful in regard to particular aspects of those ideals and the people who made and implemented laws.
Somebody who believes in everything they’re doing. A citizen of the United States doesn’t believe necessarily everything that the United States has going for it, but the general idea. A citizen of SADD would believe in the general ideas behind SADD and there’d be a few mistakes here and there, but the general point would still be there. [1990]

Molly equated activity with production of something worthwhile. By participation, she meant, “Just being community active, you know, doing something productive, something.” Asked if citizenship necessarily meant being active in the community, Molly responded emphatically and similarly to Charlie who pointed out that voting gave a person a right to gripe.

I mean, because if you don’t like where you are, if you don’t like what you’re doing and you just sit there and grumble about it nothing’s ever going to get any farther. You know, I don’t think you’re a citizen at all. You know I hate to see a lot of people sitting around on welfare and just grumbling about the system. I don’t think they should get welfare privileges for being an American citizen because they’re not. You know, if that’s the deal, okay, you don’t have a job well then go grab a bell and go stand out for the Salvation Army and ring the bell and something. It just makes me really angry when people are going to complain about the system and be hypocrites and not do anything about it. [1995]

This is another instance in which Molly was impatient with people who did not assume their responsibilities. With rights, she felt, came responsibilities. Molly’s involvement as a citizen went beyond voting. In addition to participating in religious and civic groups, she contributed money to organizations that reflected her beliefs. At our reunion meeting she said that she had been involved in activities other than that focusing on drinking and driving. She pointed to a pink ribbon pin on her lapel, which she had purchased and wore to support breast cancer awareness. Molly explained that
among the members of her family, she was the one who most often acted on her views.

That she chose to practice her Catholic faith and contribute to NOW appears contradictory, but it demonstrates her ability to choose particular aspects of issues that she can support. The rights and health of women were prominent concerns.

I’m probably the most so out of my family. I don’t know how much other people do, but I contribute to NOW [and] I’m still active with the church. I taught catechism up until last year and then with school and everything and I got sick and I had to stop that, so, that takes a lot of time, but I tell you, SADD--I still do SADD. I vote gosh darn it and [jokingly] I pay my insurance on time and that makes me a good citizen. [Laughs] But I do--I do quite a bit. I’m a sucker for anyone standing out with a can. I mean I could be giving to the Ditches of America, I would never know, you know, here’s a dollar, anything--I mean not that it’s give a dollar and walk away and you need to forget about it, cause that’s not right, but sometime you do. [1995]

Molly described the way in which her views about citizenship had been altered through her participation in SADD. Foremost was the encouragement she received that supported her belief in her ability that she could influence change.

Well, I don’t think I still would have been so active if it hadn’t been for SADD, you know, I don’t think I would have gotten involved because I wouldn’t have had the encouragement to know that I did do something. Do you know what I mean? I mean if you’re not introduced to something it’s usually hard to get yourself in the mindset and once you do something that’s community-wise like SADD and going and talking to different people and you see you made a little difference with that then all of a sudden it’s like well, okay, I’ll send ten bucks here, I’ll buy the Green Peace calendar and you feel like maybe you’re making a difference, you know, so as far as citizenship, you know just being active and seeing how the same people are the same good-hearted people--granted there’s a few both ways that don’t come out--but just seeing that there are other people like you who believe in something and will continue to do it for the rest of their lives, you know, I mean that’s encouraging. I don’t find it so much--it kind of contradicts the
other question because I don't see so much out here in the community, but as far as in the people, like individual citizens--the good ones, like they're still following through and stuff. [1995]

Although Molly has voted since she reached the age of majority and believes in the importance of civic involvement, she does so with a cynical eye on politics. Understandings developed through her experiences in SADD included cynicism regarding the political process and politicians. She looked beneath the obvious in her analysis of politicians’ motivations. As a high school student and again as a college student, Molly referred to two situations that exemplify her belief that politicians’ actions are based on their discernment of their constituents’ desires and that they usually spin a story for their own benefit.

Yeah, in a way because I found that they, um, see it almost sounds kind of simple but it's sort of the fact that if you can find an organization that is based in a cause, government will give you money, politicians will support you, [the politician] will show up when it's popular, you know. And then [the issue] kind of simmers down and all of a sudden [the politician] is doing something else, and so it's kind of cynical because--yes, yes, it's wonderful and three years from now he's with a diaper folding program. Yes! Let's fold those diapers, you know [Laughing]....It kind of showed me how misleading they can be and how they could say this, that and the other.

As a high school junior, she had been selected to represent her school system at the meeting called by the Governor to publicize the state’s war on drugs. Molly and I attended the meeting together. She told how she was selected to attend what she referred to as “the Governor’s drug thing.” Molly said she was giving speeches at the school system’s drug awareness rally, talking to little kids about drug prevention. One
of the school counselors, she guessed, probably said, "Well, she's got a big mouth--pick her."

Remember when we went, they said oh come to legislative making law plans and remember how excited we were and when we got there they stick us up in the rafters and we're looking down and we're like, no one's talking to us, but on the news: Legislature makes laws, SADD students participate. We were throwing spitballs...we weren't participating....I saw how government works.... And the fact that they [politicians] could walk out and smile and shake hands with people and nobody else knew that we didn't do anything....Remember that was a big deal that they had students from all over the state.... I mean the best thing about that is that we went to Chili’s--that was the first time I went to Chili’s and that was the best burger I ever had. (1995)

Molly expected that she and the other student representatives would be having a "big lunch with the Governor" or be on a committee and asked their opinions. "But they didn’t ask us anything. They didn’t ask us anything. They didn’t talk to us, they didn’t take a group picture, or any notification as to why we were there." [1990]

Molly was annoyed that none of the students were asked to speak and resented being used as props for media coverage, in effect, to achieve the politicians’ purposes.

Another implausible place in which Molly was not invited to express her views were in her classes at school. The influence of politicians, she maintained, had filtered down to the schools, giving Molly another reason to look cynically at their motivations and the practical effects of their authority.

What I remember from civics—it was a lot more laws and how people reacted to laws and things....I guess because if it's a public school, I guess [teachers] aren't encouraged to [take] sides....[What about things like issues, though, or how people change laws or did you learn anything about that in civics or?] Not really...but I do remember like in
speech. I didn't care for my civics teacher so I didn't get much out of civics. I mean I got an A but I don't remember really a lot of it--a lot of civics was played out in our speech class. What got old was you couldn't talk about certain things. You could do a speech, but it was all--by our teacher anyway--sugar-coated. You couldn't talk about abortion rights...religion...rape or incest...so anything that you strongly believed in or anything that was semi-controversial--teenage pregnancy--she wouldn't let you do a speech on teenage pregnancy, unless it was just a statistical thing. I think that everyone's so sue happy, everyone's so offended at everything....When you're a teacher at a small minimal salary...not on tenure, you have no protection. The principals don't protect you anymore as far as -- you're not tenured, we'll go ahead and fire you...What can you talk about? You know, talk about clouds. And so as far as civics and stuff go, not only were you not taught it, when you go to your speech and drama class, you weren't allowed to express it, so how are you ever -- you're kind of stunted -- unless you have an organization [SADD] that you can get in that lets you say exactly what you have to say. [So the whole idea of free speech in the classroom? ] Non-existent. [1995]

Everyone's voice, students' and teachers', were muted in Molly's classes. Neil Postman (1995), among others, has put much of the blame on textbooks.4

We can improve the quality of teaching and learning overnight by getting rid of textbooks. Most textbooks are badly written and, therefore, give the impression that the subject is boring. Most textbooks are impersonally written. They have no 'voice,' reveal no human personality....Textbooks...are...instruments for promoting dogmatism and trivial learning. They may save the teacher some trouble, but the trouble they inflict on the minds of students is a blight and a curse (pp. 115-116).

In her discussion of censorship in school, Molly demonstrated an understanding of the politics of education that go beyond the writing and selection of textbooks. She talked about censorship in classes.

You're going to have reports--in psychology on Freud, but they'll never touch on any of his sexual claims because you couldn't talk about that
or you'll have SADD and you'll have suicide, but you can't really talk about what happened...you have your outline and...the teachers let you say it to them directly, but they don't ever want you to encourage anyone else's opinion in their classroom. [Is it frustrating?] Oh, gosh yeah, and it's still like that. Whenever I took Education 101, I finally realized because that's all the laws....I saw why teachers were gun shy....You're so politically correct that you don't know what to do with yourself, you know [Laughs]....Unfortunately, a lot of this stuff goes with politics...and if you can't get the politicians to let the teachers teach what they want to teach. Maybe these teachers were nice...maybe they were just scared of the principals. The four years I was [at Parish High] we had three different principals, so of course no one's going to know how to take any principal that we had. You don't know what's going to happen....But you can't get the parents involved enough to do anything like that—until something's wrong, you know, boom, all of a sudden they're at the school. [1995]

Even in her Honors English and speech classes, in which otherwise forbidden topics could be broached, students and teachers were not allowed to express their views.

What you can read, what you can't read, you know....I took Honors English, so our's were a little bit better, you know, our teacher at least the freshmen, sophomore year, Honors Englishes were...pretty okay. You got to pick—they would have a list of books and everyone had an independent project and then you would take it and...do what you wanted to do with it and turn that in. It wasn't censored as much, but your presentation was....Whatever was between you and the teacher was one thing, but you never got a new idea, unless someone told you at lunch what they were doing....[So what about -- so dialogue among members of the group?] Not in class, in groups like in SADD it was—something like that. But yeah, as far as—not in class. So that's why extracurricular activities are important. [1995]

Wondering if that which is commonly relegated to extra-status or marginality could be incorporated into the curriculum, I posed the question to Molly, "So, do you think any of the activities you had in SADD--could any of them been incorporated into
social studies classes like civics or history or sociology?” Her response noted the relevance of coursework in students’ lives.

Yeah...they should be but I haven't seen it and I don't really know. See, most of it was sooo--empty. You know, it was just another class. You learned it, took your test and went on. You know, it may be social studies, but you learned how Tibetan women had ten kids and work in the fields or you learned--you know, I don't ever really recall learning anything--that ever could have been used because you don't hear controversial issues, like about welfare or anything.

Molly could not identify a particular extracurricular activity that could be included in a course. Her reason pointed to the exclusion or censorship of certain topics.

Not really because--like any of our activities that we did--simply because they were so--I guess strong--any activity, you know--the mock car wreck--how are you ever going to apply that into any classroom--if you're not allowed to talk about death. How can you talk about drunk driving--what's the ultimate outcome? Death. [1995]

Asked to suspend her perception of the reality of schooling, she was able to identify a topic that could be included in a social studies class.

If you could, it would be wonderful. You could put it in social studies, you could put it very easily, just have a whole chapter on social responsibilities--and this would be one of the social responsibilities that you have to look out for. Then you would have. And I mean if you could have--heck that would be a whole class by itself. [1995]

In contrast to political meetings she attended and classes at school, SADD provided opportunities for Molly to express and otherwise act on her beliefs. SADD was a place where her ideas could also be heard.

I probably saved a lot a lot of money thanks to SADD because I'm always a designated driver....I don't mind--I'm called out like whenever I lived on campus, they always knew that I was...sober and got to
drive so many nice little sports cars and meet so many nice little men and like that I was pretty flattered. Sometimes I'd get kind of bothered....They'd call me at 3 o'clock in the morning to come pick them up, but they knew I was always happy to get up and do it, but I'd be scrambling around for a bra and everything. But...I guess you could say the personal did more for me than the community-wise. Like as far as my friends, they all knew that I stuck to my guns when I said I was going to do something. I was going to do something if I believed in something—I wholeheartedly believed in something and so as far as my convictions you know I guess that SADD helped me make stronger convictions and I don't just abandon them because I graduate or whatever. [What about expressing your views? Any other part of your life when you've had an opportunity to do that?]...I think SADD--I've always talked, I've never shut up but as far as...I guess I could credit SADD because of public speaking...and it was pretty easy and I realized how much other people didn't like to do it, and I like to prove everybody wrong and so like doing those little public speakings and I did tour guide work and did plays and you know what I mean, the self confidence level from believing in something so much that you could make somebody believe it, you know turn around and understand what you're saying, I mean I'm a communications major....[speaking dramatically] SADD made me who I am today. [Laughs] It actually kind of did, huh? It kind of all builds on each other. [1995]

Molly's personal (relational) experiences afforded her opportunities to learn about herself and her world. Each experience was added to the pool of experiences from which she developed a belief system that guided her actions. This exemplifies Gilligan's (1993) point that in women's self-descriptions, "identity is defined in a context of relationship and judged by a standard of responsibility and care" (p. 160). Even though Molly approached life with a sense of personal and social responsibility and was optimistic in regard to her own life and society, she maintained a somewhat sardonic
view of the world, in particular questioning the motivations of politicians and others in positions of authority.

End Notes


Chapter 9

Helen's Story

At the beginning of her junior year in high school, Helen explained that her primary reason for joining SADD was because of her father's drinking. She felt that SADD would be a place where she could share her feelings and where people would understand. When she spoke about her reasons again six years later, however, she did not mention her father.

Let's see. [Pause] I got involved in SADD because I felt like it was something that I needed to speak for as a teenager because in our area drinking was so prevalent. And one of the main things that we needed to do is make sure they weren't drinking and driving. So that was the message we were trying to get out. That is why I got involved with it. And to this day, I still read about--I mean, I am not necessarily involved in a SADD group, but I still am promoting that, and in my Christian values now, using my church group instead of SADD as a value thing. [1995]

Reunion

I travelled several hours to meet Helen for a reunion meeting at our selected rendezvous point, an Italian restaurant in the city in which her college is located. She had transferred there after her freshman year for two reasons, she explained--to get away from home and to enroll in a dental hygienist program. For the past three years, she has lived with her grandparents, attending classes and working part-time as a salesperson in a large department store.
Helen was much as I remembered, both in her appearance and mannerisms. She was slimmer and more poised, but was still the attractive and perky blond that she was in high school. Helen is a good conversationalist—never at a loss for words or an opinion on any topic. Over bread sticks and iced tea our discussion began.

“All-American” Family

During their growing up years, Helen and her two younger siblings, one of each gender, lived with their parents in a lovely two-story brick home on a corner lot in an upscale residential area. Her parents married in their early twenties, the mother two years younger than her husband, and, before they turned thirty, were the parents of three children, each spaced two years apart. Both attended college prior to their marriage, but only Helen’s father graduated.

Both of Helen’s parents worked outside the home. Her father was employed as a superintendent for a construction company, a job which often took him away from home, sometimes for days at a time. Her mother was a postal employee, who worked, according to Helen, to provide the family with “extras,” like nice clothes, cars, and other material things associated with living “the good life.” When Helen was in high school, both parents, Helen, and her brother drove their own vehicles. Later, when her little sister was old enough to drive, she, too, was given an automobile.

From appearances, Helen’s was the “All-American” family. They were sports fans, she said, attending high school and college games as a family unit. But, although the family remains intact, there were difficulties. Helen’s parents experienced a period
of serious marital problems precipitated by her father’s drinking and infidelity. As the oldest, Helen was placed in the middle of the dispute.

Helen explained that her father had an affair, of which she had knowledge before her mother did. A situation arose that put Helen in a position of having to make a decision that had the potential of ending her parents’ marriage. Her father’s “lady friend,” as Helen described her, had written him a letter and mailed it to their home. Helen’s father appealed to Helen to intercept the mail before her mother saw it. While Helen didn’t say if she tried to intercept it, her mother discovered the letter and, as the saying goes, all hell broke loose. When her mother learned that Helen had knowledge of the affair, she chastised her daughter for not telling. Because of this, Helen felt some responsibility for her parents’ problems and believed that her father felt she had failed him. During the time of the affair, she said, her father drank heavily, purportedly to drown his worry that the affair would be discovered. Following this episode, Helen explained, her parents salvaged their relationship and her father’s drinking decreased. Evidently wanting to make her parents happy and win their approval, Helen tried to please them, at least for awhile, in whatever way she could.

Other Image/Self Image

Helen recognized that in her early teens she had tried to live up to her mother’s image of her.

Yeah, I will tell you....For the longest time, I did everything my mother wanted me to do. I was the perfect little image of what she wanted. [1995]
Though she tried to fit the pattern, she always seemed to fall short. She followed in her mother's steps to dancing school--for twelve years, but one year short of her mother's attainment. Also to please her mother, Helen tried out for a spot on the school dance team. Failing to do so, however, Helen said she wasn't as disappointed as her mother thought because she knew she was overweight at the time and didn't really care to participate. Then it was on to modeling school. Trying to shape herself into her mother's image only seemed to diminish the way she perceived herself.

During one of my first conversations with Helen, she identified her major problem as lack of self-esteem. This sense of deficiency deepened into depression, which led to overeating, which reinforced her depression, and the cycle was formed. Because her mother was always watching her and always asking what she was doing when she went to the refrigerator for something to eat, Helen said that she often ate for spite. Doing so, she was beginning to turn away from the "perfect little image" of what her mother wanted her to be.

While only appearing slightly plump at her heaviest, Helen was often depressed about her weight, which see-sawed from rounds of dieting and overeating. In tenth grade, Helen's mother became very concerned because, in addition to weight gain, Helen's grades were dropping, she was increasingly argumentative, and, in the midst of an argument, alluded to suicide. Her mother took her to see the family physician who referred her to a psychiatrist. Although the psychiatrist diagnosed the problem as clinical depression and an eating disorder, Helen believed her problems stemmed from
the problems in her family, especially being put in the position as a go-between in her parents’ arguments. The prescribed anti-depressants and counseling, however, seemed to help and Helen’s temperament, at least, returned to a more even keel and her relationship with her mother improved.

Even so, she continued to struggle with feelings that she just wasn’t good enough, particularly relative to her siblings. Unlike herself, she believed, her sister was “pretty” and “popular” and “tiny” and “thin.” But it was her brother who she considered to be the special child. On her sixteenth birthday, her family had planned to go out for a celebration supper, but her father did not return home until 10:30 that night. His excuse was that he had been at a fish fry for his boss and co-workers. In contrast, Helen pointed out that her father had been there for her brother’s birthday. When Helen was a senior and her brother a sophomore, there was another incident in which her mother sided with her brother in an argument. Helen telephoned me to talk about the problem, explaining that her mother had “grounded” her for the weekend because she didn’t want to loan her car to her brother. Although he had his own car, he wanted to use Helen’s for a weekend date; the mother allowed brother the use of the car and Helen was punished.

As a high school senior wanting to assert her independence, Helen and her mother had disagreements about Helen’s choice of career and friends. Helen’s mother wanted her to become a nurse, but Helen was leaning toward psychology or pharmacy. Helen commented that she wanted to choose a career she liked, because she knew that her
mother did not enjoy her job. While many possibilities were open to Helen—she was bright, an honors student, and had sufficient financial resources—it is interesting that she decided on a career as a dental hygienist, a traditionally female job and one with which she was familiar from her high school days working in a dentist’s office.

The disagreements were more heated in regard to Helen’s choice of new friends. One evening when she was a high school senior, Helen arrived home at ten on a Wednesday evening to be confronted by her mother. Coming in at that time was not an unusual occurrence, she explained, because she attended church services on Wednesday and visited a friend afterward, this particular evening to study for a trigonometry test. Helen’s mother was very angry, asking what she had been doing. Helen was at first confused because this was something she had done many times with no questions being asked. This began a series of questions about her whereabouts and associates. Helen discovered that her mother had heard gossip about her association with a young woman who was purportedly a lesbian and another who was African-American. Whether her mother was concerned about appearances (what the neighbors would think) or her cultural biases, Helen was told not to associate with them and her mother began going through her belongings when she was away from home. In time, her mother’s fears were allayed (probably that Helen was not a lesbian and was not dating outside of her race) and Helen continued her association with friends she chose. While Helen was indignant about her mother’s homophobic and racist views and was not prejudiced against groups of “others,” in the same way her parents were (her father had once remarked that he
knew only certain “types” of blacks at work), Helen was definitely carrying the same baggage. Relative to her mother’s concern that she might be dating an African-American young man, Helen stated that Scripture did not prohibit racial mixing and that the Youth Minister at her church said that it was people’s own business. However, Helen added that she doesn’t agree with interracial dating and that even white people could be “niggers,” an aspersion on people who she viewed a lower class and irresponsible, but one which is carries an undertone of racism, however unintended.

Helen was experiencing ways of living that were different than her parents and used that opportunity to begin defining herself apart from them. Even choosing to join a church was a way of separating herself from them. Choosing to live a pious life, she swam against the tide of peer pressure, differentiating herself from others even more.

I mean, in [high] school, I was in one of the popular groups, and for me to take that kind of role or action in a group like that was for me to stand up and say, hey, I want to be different from y’all and just because y’all think this way doesn’t mean everybody has to think that way. [1995]

Helen went to great lengths to define herself apart from her mother’s image. Doing so and attempting to overcome her feelings of low self-esteem, even being a member of the “popular group” at school was not sufficient. She wanted to stand out even in this group. Asserting her independence from her mother, and inadvertently the peer group which her mother admired, Helen began to look inside herself for affirmation of her importance and value.
Friends and Faith

Like the story told in “Friends and Faith,” a religious musical for youth, Helen found solace from problems in her Baptist faith and in her circle of friends. Until the age of eight, she and her immediate family—parents and siblings—attended church regularly. For no apparent reason, they stopped going and were no longer, as she remarked, “per se religious.” Religious beliefs and values, however, remained basic in Helen’s life. She is a devout Christian, attending church, singing in the choir, and participating in the youth group.

Helen’s grandparents were early influences in the development of these values. In her early teens, Helen again became involved in church through a friend and fellow SADD member who offered an invitation, getting her “back in church, back in faith.” Helen regarded the differences between her value system and that of her siblings as a result of this lack in their upbringing.

My grandparents. I mean, my family wasn’t per se religious. We were religious up to the time I was five years old and then we stopped going to church. Well it was more like eight. So I got involved with Cathy and Cathy got me involved with the church. I think my value system is totally different from what my sister was raised. I mean my brother is practically living with his girlfriend. I mean, he is not calling it home, but he stays with her. [1995]

Helen’s dating standards were in sharp contrast to that of her brother. Most social outings in high school were with a group of female and male friends, many of whom were members of her youth group at church. When she did date, she pointed out
that she was “up front” about her values, in other words, what she would not do. She did not hang out or go to parties where people would be drinking.

I feel that that’s wrong. I think you can have a good time, but I don’t think you have to go out and drink to have a good time. [1995]

This stance was sometimes difficult to maintain, she explained, because she was excluded from participating in activities with friends.

If I know that there is a party going on the weekend and they are going to have alcohol at it, you know, and they didn’t even tell me about it, you know. And I am real good friends with all of them, but they know how I feel about alcohol....Their ideas are that we are going to be a bunch of “wooses” and they don’t want [us] to come because they are going to check their stuff with what’s right. [1990]

But because I have taken such an active role in saying no, that’s not for me, they don’t feel like they can even ask me to go with them. [1995]

With so many teenagers drinking, her choice of dates was limited. Toward the end of her junior year in high school, she related a story about a guy she had gone out with for two weeks. Although he drank, she felt that she had been a positive influence because he did not drink when he was with her.

He has gone out with me for two weekends and has not had a drink. So I am really excited because maybe he does care enough about me to understand the way I feel about it [drinking], because he knows I am totally against it. [May 1990]

He cared enough about her for a couple of weeks, but evidently not much longer. Less than six months later, she recalled that she had not influenced him not to drink after all.
Oh, I know who you're talking about. Yes, yeah, yeah. But you can't cure [people] just by what you do....When I date people, I want them to know how I feel up front....Because I don't want to [drink], I usually end up getting hurt, you know, by the things that I do....Like, I know some people don't want to date me because I'm with SADD and they don't want to be associated with SADD. [1990]

Helen accepted the consequences of standing her ground and the necessity of "coping with stuff." While she would have been pleased if circumstances were more to her liking, she would wait until the time was right.

That doesn't bother me. I'm not upset about it....This--I feel that when God's ready for everybody to have dates and they're ready to settle down, He's going to send it to you, and, obviously, He doesn't feel I'm ready for a relationship....I mean, I have to deal with that 'cause when I was in ninth grade and tenth grade, everybody was going out and I had to deal with that. [October 1990]

Helen's friends and faith provided solace when things were not going well. But even more, her firmly held beliefs and rigid value system provided structure and guidance in her life. When she could not control her circumstances or people, she decided to let God decide what was best for her.

Caring and Control: Contradictions in Leadership

Over the almost three years of her membership in SADD, Helen and I developed a friendly relationship. In addition to observing her at meetings and activities, we had many conversations during interviews, on rides to out-of-town meetings, over the telephone, and when sharing a meal. More than one journal entry noted my regret at not having taped many of our conversations. Referencing a trip to a conference
planning meeting during which many interesting points concerning her life were raised, I wrote:

Helen and I talked all the way during the ride there and back. I wish I had had a tape recorder running during the seven hour trip. [Journal Entry, September 23, 1989]

While one of Helen's stated purposes for joining SADD was to voice her concerns as a teenager about the drinking problem that was so prevalent in the area in which she lived, in earlier conversations in high school, she revealed other reasons for her involvement. Helen joined the SADD Chapter when she was a sophomore, the first full year of the organization at Parish High. During that period, she explained reasons she had gotten involved. She had heard about the chapter being organized from friends, some of whom were the cheerleaders who had started the group over the summer. It started being discussed and she heard about it through the grapevine. By that time, as she said, SADD had become "public knowledge." Also, she had known two students who had been killed in an alcohol-involved car crash. The cause of the death of these students, however, was disputed by other members of SADD who did not believe that alcohol was a contributing factor in the crash. More than anything, though, she spoke about getting involved because of her experiences with her father who was a problem drinker. She felt that SADD would be a place where people would understand and where she could share her feelings.

As far as my family, I mean me taking an active role in a group like that when my father was a drinker. I think that made an action as far as my family--me taking a stand for something like that because it was
a constant fight for us. If we went anywhere, my dad had to get a drink. [1989]

The problem concerning her father's drinking, notwithstanding, Helen felt that the issue was important because, as she said, "it made a statement and it got people our age involved in something that we needed to stand up for because it was happening and needed to be dealt with." [1995] She blamed part of the problem on indulgent attitudes toward drinking, particularly among Catholics, the predominant religion in the community. Within the Baptist community, of which Helen was a part, drinking was much less accepted.

Helen judged her contributions as having positive influences in her school and community. Although she commented on her efforts as an individual, she considered them as being influential because she was a part of the group. She stated that she stood up for what she believed, and by doing so got people involved and made others aware of problems. She saw herself as a role model who assumed leadership and took control of the situation, laying a path for others to follow.

I think people taking leadership roles and that kind of thing because I was one of the bigger leaders and I am not bragging on myself. Somebody had to take control and somebody had to make a point—to be the person, the spokesperson. And it's like, I think I did that. I think I spoke out and I think I helped people. That's how I see myself as far as the big picture [the whole community/state] involvement. I took leadership and I took control of the situation. I tried to show other people the way, and it needed to be done. [1995]

Whenever she could, Helen attempted to exert control in her life. In her family and social life she had been unable to control people or the course of events. Except in
those instances when Helen relinquished control for her life to God, she continued to search for situations in which she could set herself apart from and above the crowd to assert herself.

From the outset, Helen was interested in becoming a leader in the group. She attended all meetings and participated in all activities. Even though her vie for the presidency in her junior year was unsuccessful, she was active in the group, putting herself "out there" and not shrinking from criticism. In a Christmas parade that year, for instance, she rode on SADD's "float," a wrecked car in which students were costumed as crash victims. The sign on the car read, "Don't Become a Victim. Don't Drink and Drive." One of the parade spectators told the SADD members that she didn't want her children seeing something like that. Unlike the SADD president at the time, Helen relished provocative actions.

In her senior year, Helen was elected president of SADD. But she also was elected to the presidency of Interact, another extracurricular service organization at school, was a leader in her church youth group, participated in a work-study program at school, had a part-time job, and was enrolled in all honors classes at school, maintaining a 3.5 average. She had attained the pinnacle--the place she longed to be--she was a leader. Juggling all of these activities and struggling with personal problems--arguments in her family, depression, and battling her weight--required super-human energy. The pace of her life was frenetic.
From beginning to end, Helen's brief tenure as president of SADD was rocked with controversy. In less than five months, she had managed to provoke the ire of the SADD advisor and members, alienating some and dividing others into two factions--those who fought to keep drinking and driving as the prevailing issue and those who sought to make drinking prevention the central issue. By February of her senior year, Helen's leadership in SADD, a position she had worked so hard to gain, ended with her resignation and departure from the group.

The beginning of the end began with her election. At that meeting, only a handful of members were present. Even without a quorum, the group that had gathered felt justified in proceeding because they felt there had been ample notice of the meeting. This action, however, was to have repercussions. About a week following the meeting, several disgruntled members met with the SADD advisor to proclaim their disdain for the way the elections were conducted, maintaining that there had not been ample notification about the date and purpose of the meeting. They felt, and perhaps rightly so, that the elections should not have been called with so few members in attendance. Helen felt that the criticisms were unwarranted because, she asserted, the group had been notified about the meeting and if they had wanted to be there they would have. Helen said she wasn't bothered about the criticisms and thought that things would work out.

When she was elected president, the leading point in her presidential platform was to increase membership in the group. Juxtaposed to this desire, however, were her
actions, which served to drive members and potential members away. Like a church leader who wants to bring sinners into the fold to save them, Helen wanted to save her fellow students from the dangers of alcohol. But her overzealous condemnation of drinking was central to a dilemma she faced. Saving the “sinners,” required that she embrace those whose behavior she disdained.

One of the earliest indications of Helen’s notion of leadership was expressed in her junior year, before she had been elected to serve as president of SADD. While drinking was not an unexpected behavior, the fact that cheerleaders and other popular students had been caught drinking at a football game shocked teachers and students alike and generated controversy that was to shake the SADD group.

The people that you look up to, not somebody that you would think--I mean, we all know that just about everybody drinks, but still--you think--[those] you look up to and then they were caught. It makes you wonder. I have begun to wonder if half this school isn’t alcoholics, because these are our people that we look up to everyday. [1989]

There was a tension in Helen’s views about leadership. In some ways she sought to lead by exerting control over others, but she upheld her belief that she was acting out of concern for others. One of the worst things, she believed, was to lose a friend, knowing that you could have prevented it had you intervened. In SADD, she was involved in efforts to save people from the consequences of drinking and driving.

I remember back to where we did the wrecked car and that was just like a statement and people stood up and like, you know, and I think that it made people aware that, hey, this is a problem, and hey, yeah, I
may do it, but I also can be killed like the next person. I mean, this isn't a simple thing and it doesn't pick and choose, it's going to kill whoever does it.... I am glad to say that I never lost a friend to something like that, but I know people who have. That has to be one of the worst things--to lose a friend, knowing you could have stopped it. [1995]

Expressions of caring were usually charitable, giving to and doing for those who she viewed as needy, on the lower end of the social and economic scale. Some of the community service activities in which she participated in high school were fund raisers, collecting and delivering food to families at Thanksgiving and Christmas (this she still does through her church), and working with a bank to give Christmas gifts for needy children. She talked about the effect of her involvement on her own life, differentiating feeling sympathy with feeling empathy.

I guess that is my way to feel that I have contributed to somebody else's happiness....I know that it made a difference in somebody else's life, but I never thought it could make a difference in my life. Because it did. It helped me be a better person. It makes me have empathy as well as sympathy for other people. [1995]

Being a better person was a motivating factor, another act to shore up her self-expressed low self-esteem. But while she cared about others, she wanted to be a leader, and leadership to her meant garnering approval from others, being accepted by them, and being in control. As an illustration, her plans to increase membership included a proposal to invite school athletes to join. Doing so would increase the participation of males, since most of the competitive sports teams at the school were for males only. One of these male athletes was Helen's younger brother. Toward the end of September 1990, the first SADD^ meeting of the year was held. As the new
president, Helen led the meeting. While she seemed somewhat unsure and slightly nervous, she covered with an assertive, know-it-all attitude. After the meeting, she reiterated to me something that she had said to her brother during the meeting. At the time, I thought what she said to him, especially the tenor of her remark, was inappropriate. He was sitting with a group of football players, talking quietly at times during the meeting. Although I was seated in close proximity to Tommy and the other boys, they weren't speaking loudly enough for me to hear what they were saying. Helen noticed them talking and in a parental tone told her brother that she would talk to him when they got home. Since one of her objectives was to attract male athletes to the group, it seemed that this action did more to alienate than attract them.

Helen's conscious motivation to set herself apart from others as a leader and her unconscious motivation for control, including self-control, triggered an inner battle as well as conflicts with fellow members and the SADD advisor. While her mannerisms and style of dress were traditionally feminine, Helen emulated the only model of leadership she knew—the traditionally authoritarian masculine model. To be a leader meant to be the person out front, the one who "takes the heat," the one to whom others listened and followed.

She also "took heat" from the SADD advisor, friends, some at her school and some at other schools. "Taking the heat" she explained as the "peer pressure type thing." Rather than succumbing to peer pressure, she responded to offers of alcohol and
situations in which someone else was drinking with statements like, “I’m going to be the one to drive,” “That’s the way I feel about it,” and “I don’t have to drink to have fun.”

I don’t think that I like people to criticize me. I didn’t want people to think—I didn’t want to be a follower. I wanted to be a leader and that’s the difference. When you want to be a leader, you have to take the falls and take the heat.... I mean, I am lucky because a lot of girls in my class [at college] are religious and when things happen and things go wrong, I still take the heat for something that I stand up for or believe in. So I am still doing it today, so that hasn’t made any difference. I still open my mouth and I probably shouldn’t. That’s just one of those things. [1995]

This authoritarian style of leadership was forged within her family. As the oldest child and mediator between her parents, Helen saw herself as one who determined the course of actions. Comfortable with this role (subject position), she billed herself as a voice for other teenagers and attempted to exert control in her interactions with fellow SADD members and other students. As she said, she and other SADD members “needed to make sure they weren’t drinking and driving.”

While not doubting her sincerity, her expressions of caring were sometimes not considerate of others’ needs. Helen’s failure to attend to the needs of those she cared about is aligned with traditional theories of moral development (i.e. Kohlberg), in which individuals are viewed as separate and relationships as either contractual or hierarchical (Gilligan, 1988, p.8). Unlike the moral domain of caring which is more characteristic of women than men, according to Gilligan and Attanucci in Gilligan et al (1988), in which the tendency is toward attachment rather than detachment, Helen was acting within a mode that functioned to separate her from others. Her lack of concern for others’
needs, in effect, was more characteristic of the traditional model. But, as Gilligan and Attanucci (1988) note, "The tension between these perspectives is suggested by the fact that detachment, which is the mark of mature moral judgment in the justice perspective, becomes the moral problem in the care perspective--the failure to attend to need" (p.82).

Also central to her leadership (what it means to be a leader) is her understanding that assuming a subject position that reflects the male model is the means to authority. Mixed up in this is a cultural understanding that females lack the wherewithal to command respect as leaders. Understanding leadership in this way, however, carries with it a concomitant understanding that for a woman to achieve prominence as a leader in politics or any other aspect of society, it is necessary for her to embody an authoritarian model.

Helen's involvement in extracurricular groups in high school provided opportunities for her to test her ideas in the world away from school, and, as she explained, to acquire more than knowledge--to develop understanding and to test her abilities as a leader. To illustrate, she contrasted learning in social studies classes with learning in organizations like SADD. Issues, she noted, are more than "things" to students, but caring and involvement stems from learning about issues, taking actions, and witnessing the results.

Issues were not just things to us...[and] I don't think it is something...we just read over....I mean, there is a lot of social studies things. Social studies isn't just government; it is also interaction with people. It's community--it's like a whole....I think Civics is a
wonderful course where they learn about government, but I think they need to see for themselves how government is really run or how SADD and MADD help the government in incorporating their laws and making laws. I think it needs to be an active thing. I think people need to see what the problem is and make ideas and suggestions on how to solve it, the problem or the issue, and maybe see something come of it at that time....[If they don’t] they don’t actually get to understand it, and if they don’t understand or have knowledge of something, you are not going to partake in that. Am I making any sense to you?[Pause]

There is a difference in knowing and understanding something. You can know something, but until you understand it--it’s like the show and tell method. You can tell me something all you want, but when you show it to me and make me understand it--there, I am told and I am shown—and there, boom, the light bulb comes on and I can understand. And once you can understand something, it goes into a whole other world of comprehending and applying it in life.

Helen also applied these same notions to her understanding of citizenship. While voting was important, citizens could participate by caring, by standing up for what they believe, by taking actions.

I think it means to be a citizen to be involved in the city that you are in.... You have to be involved by doing things that is community outreach. You have to be involved by standing up for what you believe in. You have to show people that you care....Caring is one major thing that some of these people can’t do. If you can’t care about other people... if you don’t know how to relate...like you just can’t deal with society. I mean, and you have to be involved-- literally. [1995]

The tension between caring and control in Helen’s leadership is indicative of her confusion concerning its purpose and function. Also, although she was concerned about others, she found that expressing care as a leader was a way in which she could validate herself, thereby raising her own sense of esteem.
Meditating on her life’s course at a church retreat the summer before her senior
year in high school, the year she would assume the presidency of SADD, Helen
experienced the first of two significant transitions. Recollecting, she spoke of stepping
back to reflect before she could move forward. Metaphorically, she began by standing
on her two feet—taking a stand, getting a foot in the door, and finally her entire body.
Referring to herself in the third person, she was moving beyond the discourse of what
she believed others wanted her to be. Grappling with self-discovery, she experienced a
flash of insight.

I mean I literally had to back away and say, hey, what does Helen
want, what does Helen feel about this? Not how does family or how
does dad, you know. I really had to think because for the longest time
I depended on everybody. I finally learned to stand on my own two
feet and [pause] I think a lot of it came from the fact that I got involved
in groups—in Interact and SADD. I took leadership roles and stood up
for myself and let other people follow me instead of being a follower. I
mean, totally, in an instant, I thought, hey, what am I doing? I have
this little image of what everybody else wanted me to do, and that’s
not even how I feel. It’s like the light bulb came on and I made the
decision I wanted to make....I finally didn’t have a foot in the door, but
I had my whole body, and I knew where I was going. Exactly! WOW!
[1995]

Helen had turned to her friends, her faith, and organizations like SADD for
acceptance and approval. Friends and faith satisfied her needs; SADD would not—at
least not as she expected. Through her need to validate herself as a worthy human
being—to acquire more self-esteem, Helen plunged herself into a frenetic pace of
activity. It is not surprising that she finally succumbed to the pressure. Helen talked about her senior year in high school, a year in which she “totally went berserk.”

Yeah, I totally went berserk. Like I don’t know where I was or what I thought I was going to do. I was involved in a lot of things, but my mind was totally out there. For two years, I was totally out there. Is this the right thing for me, am I going to do this, am I going to be happy with this?

A lot of things I dealt with then, plus all the stuff that happened in my immediate family, you know. I just didn’t have the greatest home life....I think I came out of it better than other members of my family [1995].

Being a positive role model was not without ramifications. While she felt that her friends supported her decision to resign and understood the reasons, Helen, nonetheless, drew criticism for trying to ramrod the group into doing things her way. When asked why a photograph of the SADD chapter had not been included in the school yearbook, one of the members quipped that they should have submitted Helen’s picture because she thought she was SADD. But, by that time, Helen had recognized her mistakes and her limitations.

I think as far as the way things ended my senior year with the whole group, I think I caused negative problems with what I did--with the fact that I withdrew myself from the group....It was time for me to cool something....I didn’t want people to think I was withdrawing from what was going on. I was withdrawing from a situation that had been created....So, I mean, I took on more that I could handle or should have. I know that now and to this day I don’t do that anymore. [1995]

Somehow, Helen managed to regroup and reset her priorities. Resigning from SADD, concentrating on school (graduating with honors), her job, and she added, “Well, I have a social life, too” (1991). The second significant transition during this period was
a move to another city to start her second year of college. She described the change of
location and attitude as an "about face." It was her own countenance in the mirror, but
one with traces of others' images of her that she would carry into a new chapter of her
life.

I think now I should have kept a journal, because I think of all the
issues for kids my age who have gone through the same problems that I
have gone through need to hear. I think I have a lot to offer somebody,
I really do, because I think of all I have gone through in my life is not
fair. [Jokingly, she adds] I mean, I live with my most wonderful
grandparents, but they drive me insane! [On a serious note, she
concluded] I think I took what I saw right and wrong and made it my
own—not my parents' right or wrong or the church's right or wrong. I
took it all in and decided what I want for me [1995].

In her life journey, Helen traced her class motto—words of Lao Tsu: "The journey
of a thousand miles begins with one step."

End Notes

1 Eating disorders, such as anorexia nervosa, bulimia, and compulsive overeating,
are attributed to biochemical and/or psychological factors.

2 During the final year of the SADD Chapter (1990-91), Helen was instrumental in
changing the name of the organization to STAND (Students Taking A New Direction).
She wanted the change because she felt that there were issues other than drinking and
driving which the group should be addressing. For the purposes of continuity,
throughout this story, I will continue to refer to the organization as SADD.
Chapter 10

Guy's Story

Why did you join SADD?

I felt I had to, since I'd gotten into all this trouble before. I felt I had to make up for it this way. I'm going to try.... I help others because I owe it. [Guy, age 16]

I think the reason why mainly I got involved in SADD at first was because I was invited and then when I got involved I realized what I could do to help other people. I want to say that a student invited me to the meetings and whatever, and then from there, you know, it just kind of got involved and started this whole shebang. I mean I went everywhere. [Guy, age 21]

Reunion

Guy agreed to visit me at my home for an interview in the fall of 1995. Two years earlier, at the age of 19, he had graduated from high school. During the interim, he attended an out-of-state college, where he majored in speech and theater arts and was a lineman on the school's football team. Guy is a large man in stature, a 'gentle bear' type, pleasant-looking, gregarious, and very personable. Even so, he is an introspective person--a self-described soul searcher.

Although I hadn't seen him for a couple of years, we had talked several times before he went away to college, especially about the break-up with his girlfriend, and on a couple of occasions during his visits at home. Our conversation resumed with the telling of his experiences the summer between high school and college.
Guy worked at a construction job, building scaffolds, and was dating a young woman, trying to decide what he was going to do with his life. Guy was very serious about the relationship and felt that she was the one that he would eventually marry. She, on the other hand, was not ready for such a commitment and within a month had broken off their relationship. Guy was heartbroken and confused. His plans for the future disrupted, he was at loose ends.

Right after I went through all that, you know, moaning and groaning and crying, because, I mean, I lost 30 pounds. Six months--three months--I went through just pure Hell....Three months during the summer I was home. I had to get away. And I was at a point in my life where if I would have stayed here, I don't know what would have happened. I don't think I would have killed myself or anything. I don't think I would be worth anything, I don't think, you know. I sure in the Hell wouldn't have been happy. [1995]

During this period of despair, a serendipitous option presented itself. An older friend who was attending an out-of-state college, told him about the possibility of securing a football scholarship at the school. Guy decided to apply and was accepted, and the course of his life changed dramatically. While breaking away from home was difficult, he explained, it was liberating.

I guess I was going through so much pain when I left home and I was open to anything at the time....My parents really didn't want to let me go for a while there. Mama would cry when I left and stuff....And, look, you should have seen how much I cried when I left...I didn't show them that, but when I got into the car it was like, and now, I'm thinking about mom and dad and what I went through in the last three months. And I'll tell you what, that seven and a half hour trip is the best thing in the world to get stuff off your mind, because--you hit the road, and you, that's it, you know. If I'm ever feeling bad, I'd take the car out. [1995]
Considering Guy’s academic background, the fact that he graduated from high school was a milestone. Now, he had the opportunity to attend college, reaping the rewards of years of hard work and perseverance. In high school he described himself as a student who tries—and he was.

I became a character in Guy’s story when he was a fifteen year old high school freshman. He had recently joined SADD, an organization in which “people cared about each other” and a place where he would find acceptance and approval. He reflected on his feelings about himself at that time.

I think basically—and nobody cared who I was...because I think the first meeting that I ever went to, I was, like, these people were actually talking. I was a lonely freshman and didn't know much of anybody. And I wasn't—I wasn't real popular and I wasn't the type of guy that could, you know, could get up and go out and have a beer and be everybody’s buddy, so. There were other people like me, I think that's what I enjoyed about it most. [1995]

When Guy entered high school he was two years older than most of his grade peers. He was enrolled in “practical” classes, the low end education track, and, for one hour each school day, went to a Special Education Resource class for assistance with his school work. In SADD he found other people like him—some who shared a belief in a social cause, some who were concerned about a family member or friend, and some who were recovering substance abusers.
Growing Pains

Guy experienced the same growing pains as most teenagers, but there were other stressful circumstances which made the process more difficult. Guy began drinking in the sixth grade and continued to do so for a few years, he said, to ease his pain.

I just picked it up one day and said, let’s try this. Me and my cousin, at home, got into it at the same time...to the same extent....But I also did it a lot of times because I wanted to get away from it all and it was my way to get away...to ease the pain. [What pain were you trying to ease?] From everything--the pressures at school and parents--people in general. [1990]

Drinking was his way of dealing with his problems at the time, but it only intensified other difficulties, such as his pattern of resisting authority--forces that attempted to control his life. Both problems originated in his home, particularly in regard to his relationship with his father.

Before he went away to college, Guy lived with his parents, younger brother, and one of his older brothers in a moderately-priced ranch brick home that the family had recently refurbished with fresh paint and new carpets and kitchen cabinets. Their home was located in one of the many suburban-like neighborhoods, not far from the children’s schools and the parents’ workplace. Guy’s oldest brother lived in the same town with his wife and baby daughter. Guy’s parents owned an insurance agency, which was named for his father. Responsibilities in the business were divided between the husband and wife partners along traditional gender-based roles, with his father working primarily in the area of sales and his mother attending to clerical duties and other day-to-day operations. Guy often spoke about his parents as hard workers who had earned the
right to go out dancing and drinking on weekends. Guy spoke about this activity as if it were commonplace—something that parents do.

"They go out on weekends and get drunk, just on the weekends, and I usually go out and pick them up... They do it because they earned the right to do it, because they work real hard" [1990].

Like many of the SADD members I interviewed, alcohol was an ever-present factor in Guy's life. For Guy it was a combination of his own drinking, his parents' drinking, and his brother's and friends substance abuse. Guy was often the designated driver for family members and friends. Guy remarked, "My parents claimed to be perfect children, you know. My daddy had a little problem every now and then, but not my mom" [1990]. Guy was protective of his mother, never speaking of her specifically in unfavorable terms, but his words bespoke of stress in the home.

"That's one thing I'm learning to live with, because they come home from work and used to holler at me and fuss at me for doing something wrong, and really, it didn't call for all that hollering, but you've also got to understand that they work real hard for me, making their money for me to live in their house. So I shouldn't be contradicting them or hollering back at them and I don't. It's different for my brother. But I really was not disrespectful to my parents. I have three brothers—one younger, two older. It was me and Larry who were abused the most. We don't feel as special as the other two." [1990]

Conflicts were usually between Guy or his brother Larry and their father. The youngest and oldest sons were the fair-haired children, doing what was expected and more. The oldest, who was married and a father himself, had a good job at a local plant and was going into a part-time bail bond business with their father. The youngest son was a good student and, more importantly to their father, an exceptional athlete. In
contrast, the two middle sons, Guy and Larry, were the "problem" children. In addition to Guy's drinking, he was having problems at school, both academically and behaviorally. Larry's difficulties were more extreme. He had been incarcerated on two separate occasions for selling drugs and had been in treatment for addictions to alcohol and cocaine. Guy had not used other drugs, he said, but had been admitted to a drug rehabilitation hospital for alcohol addiction and depression when he was fourteen and in junior high school. He said he recognized that he had a problem, but that his parents and teachers started asking questions.

I was taking tests in Special Education and they asked a question to me--if I ever thought about killing myself and I said yes, and they sent me to [the treatment hospital] for that. Alcohol is a problem. [1990]

For Guy and his cousin Ken, who was the same age, experimentation with alcohol began in their homes. Because of Guy's parents' busy work schedule, they often were absent from the home. Unsupervised, the children had ample opportunities to experiment with alcohol. But while Guy learned from his mistakes, his cousin did not, choosing instead to use and sell illicit drugs. While they remained friends in high school, Guy's activities in SADD and sports led him in a more positive direction. While alcohol abuse had been a self-destructive behavior that Guy eventually overcame, his actions in interpersonal relationships, particularly with his father and other men in positions of authority continued. He sought his father's acceptance and approval by joining the football team, but never lived up to his expectations. Guy said that he and his father
don’t get along very well. His father calls him stupid and says that if he tried harder in sports he could be a starter on the football team.

Guy’s pattern of resisting control, sometimes through self-destructive means, extended to school and athletics. The manner in which he was spoken to by these men offended his sense of pride and caused much frustration. His father called him stupid, a male teacher called him an idiot, and a football coach denigrated him in other ways in front of fellow team members. Referring to a teacher who he described as one of the best teachers in the school, Guy explained that he was treated unjustly and humiliated by him. The teacher, he said, couldn’t control himself in class, and even though he had called Guy an idiot, it was he who looked like an idiot when he lost control.

Like teachers. Mainly, principals and teachers really drove me up the wall. I'd go in and I’d need somebody to talk to. I’d be talking in class, and they’d jump all over my case. Sometimes we’d be talking about the subject and I’d get jumped on. It seemed like a teacher would feel bad one day. He’d come in and let it out on the class, which isn’t right, but all of us do it sometimes....It’s like it’s one thing to sit there and be told don’t talk. I can take that. But what I didn’t like was someone calling me an idiot and telling me to stop talking. You don’t have to do that to somebody. It hurt me a lot. It happened today. He’s a good teacher, but some of them need to learn how to control themselves. It makes them look like an idiot in front of the class. [1990]

Lashing out, Guy reciprocated by increasing his attempts to “drive the teacher up a wall,” ending, he said, with the teacher taking a sabbatical. The messages Guy was receiving in the classroom, at home, and on the football field were the same—men express their frustration and anger by yelling and fighting and escaping. Guy said that when he
was drinking, nobody could tell him what to do. In class, for instance, he said that when teachers disrespected him, he did the opposite of what he was told to do.

[Why did you resist in this way?] I don’t know. Just, I guess, when somebody challenges a certain kind of person, they’re going to do it because they like a challenge more than anything. [What could you have done that would have been better?] It’s the way someone talks to you. You lose your dignity and your pride more than anything....Like today, I felt pretty bad, ’cause I go out for football and bust my butt and get hollered at for everything I do. Nothing I do is ever right. And what happens is you lose your pride and you want to quit the team. [1990]

A strong undercurrent in his personality and actions during junior high and the early years in high school, was anger. One of the phases in Guy’s adolescence was “the angry young man,” captured in the words of a Billy Joel song.

There’s always a place for the angry young man,  
With his working class ties and his radical plans.  
He refuses to bend, he refuses to crawl,  
And he’s always at home with his back to the wall.  
And he’s proud of his scars and the battles he’s fought...  
And he likes to be known as the angry young man.

As a high school freshman, he had to prove himself. He referred to one incident in which he had slapped a senior who was “messing with him.”

You know, and nobody really messed with me. Because he was like supposed to be this bad dude, you know, so. I’m not saying I was right for doing it, but it sure helped me for four years of high school. Because nobody looked—nobody. [Everyone I knew seemed to like you very much.] Right. Well, I never—I always try to talk to people and see them for what they are and not like a lot of the people. [1990]
Unlike the young man in the song, Guy was learning from his mistakes. As part of his drug abuse treatment program, Guy joined Alcoholics Anonymous (AA), attending meetings regularly and following the prescribed Twelve Steps to recovery. Guy’s practice of the 12 Steps was evident in the reasons he gave for getting involved in SADD. The 12th Step of AA states, “Having had a spiritual awakening as the result of these Steps, we try to carry this message to others, and to practice these principles in all of our affairs.” SADD was a natural extension of his recovery, reinforcing Guy’s sobriety by providing a group of associates who were not drinking and opportunities, as he said, “to give something back.” At the close of AA meetings, participants recite the 12-Step serenity prayer:

God grant me the serenity  
To accept the things I cannot change,  
Courage to change the things I can,  
And wisdom to know the difference.

At the close of SADD meetings, members recite the group’s motto:

I am only one, but I am one.  
I cannot do everything, but I can do something.  
What I can do, I ought to do,  
And by God’s grace, I will do.

Moving into these two arenas, Guy learned another way of living. He began to recognize differences in people and to identify and emulate those who were positive influences. Before he became involved in AA and SADD, he said, he thought no one cared about him and that he didn’t matter. In those groups and from one of his football
coaches, he learned that there are people who care about him and other young people.

Guy enjoyed being a part of a group in which people cared about each other and themselves.

I think most teenagers care about their lives. Even the ones that want to kill themselves. You can sit and think about it and usually they don’t want to kill themselves [1990].

“Giving back” including counseling other students who were having problems with alcohol or other drugs. He related his own experiences and helped them consider their options.

Oh, it seems like everybody needed somebody to talk to. And it was for me, you know....I went through counseling and stuff like that, so for me, it was good to talk to people, because helping people I helped myself. [1995]

This role extended to one of caretaker of friends when they were drinking. While it sometimes bothered him to be around people who were drinking, he did so to prevent them from driving.

Somebody starts to drink and drive, and I tell them they may be messing up. And they’ll ask, Whatcha mean? And we’ll sit down and talk for about thirty minutes, and finally he’ll say, Maybe you’re right, want to drive me home? [1990]

For me it is. It bothers me. Like when we went to [the beach], they got tore up, and I pretty much took care of them because they’re my friends. To psych myself up to not drink I just--I’m not going to do it. I’m strong enough now--I never used to be [1990].

Over the five years of sobriety, two of which were in SADD, Guy’s progress was noteworthy. From the depths of despair when he contemplated suicide, he became
president of Parish High SADD, a participant in state meetings and conferences, and a state representative at three national conferences. Referencing his suicidal thoughts and how SADD had been a positive influence in his life, he said,

"[Suicide] was the only way I could see. But when I stopped and realized what I was doing, I finally realized I could help myself. It gave me a good feeling." [Interview, Age 16]

Learned to be a model student! People look up to you when you do right. How [do] I know what's right? It's based on common sense, at least for me. [Interview, Age 16]

You know, that's how people want to do is to be a part of something, something great. And I tell you, definitely one of the greatest things I've ever been a part of is that organization. [Interview, Age 21]

Guy sought acceptance and approval from his family, particularly his father, and his friends. Not earning it from his father, in his early teens he joined a group of peers who accepted him for his destructive behavior. In SADD and through other endeavors, such as participation in sports and the arts, he found acceptance and approval for behaviors which supported his health and well-being. As his tenure as SADD president was coming to an end, he was becoming an adult man, big enough, both literally and symbolically, to fill his father's shoes. This occasion, however, represented the pull of competing forces in Guy's life and would, by happenstance, take him another step forward on the new path.

The apex of his achievements as SADD president was a mock trial. Moving up from vice-president to assume the mantle of leadership when Helen resigned in mid-year, Guy assumed the helm of the mock trial committee, and through sheer will
and perseverance (or obsessive behavior channeled for something positive) made it happen. The endeavor was particularly impressive because, as the principal would not allow students to be out of class for planning meetings, all of the arrangements had to be accomplished on out-of-school time.

On the morning of the mock trial, SADD members who would serve as defendant, witnesses, and jurors, and other participants--attorneys, bailiff, judge--filled the conference room of the guidance office at school. When Guy arrived, he was transformed. He was dressed in a sport jacket, dress shirt, and tie. When everyone remarked about how nice he looked, he looked down at his feet and said that he was wearing his father's dress shoes that were too big for him. I imagined that his father would be proud of his son's accomplishment. But Guy's participation in the event was almost cut short because of an incident which occurred the day before the mock trial.

Guy rushed into the meeting tardy, noticeably sweating, and dressed in a t-shirt and shorts. He apologized to the SADD advisor and other members, explaining that he had received two days in-school suspension for cursing. In P.E. class that morning, a senior and member of the football team had called Guy a chicken shit because he had quit the football team. They exchanged threats and fuck yous and the senior punched Guy in the nose. Guy didn't land a blow, but he did curse, and, had it not been for the principal's consideration of the circumstances, Guy might not have been able to participate in the mock trial.
The Well-Worn Road Less Traveled

In SADD, Guy found a path that provided opportunities for self-awareness and development and reinforcement of his choice to remain sober. Why did he stay involved?

That's a tough question. I think what I did was important because I did it for other people, but I think a lot of what I did was for not only for other people, but for myself, because I needed it. I had to have it, because at that point in my life, I was probably stuck in between that way and this way, and thank God I went this way, because who knows what would have happened if I went that way. But I enjoyed helping people out. It's like some of those conferences. I can remember meeting people and, you know, they're telling you about, you know, you sit there and you talk to them for about an hour, and you know about their whole life. [1995]

When he joined SADD, he was at a juncture—he could have chosen either path. The new path was one which gave him opportunities to interact with people who were different from those he had known and his experiences provided him the wherewithal to overcome negative forces. By helping others, he helped himself.

He turned away from drinking to SADD; he turned away from football to martial arts. It was the latter which he credits for helping him learn to control his anger and redirect his energy. He was becoming more introspective, searching for ways to come to terms with his problems; to persevere and overcome emotional pain. Years before he read The Road Less Traveled, Guy had begun listening to a different drummer and choosing a path which would take him to unanticipated places, geographically and within his heart and mind.
As a college freshman, Guy read *The Road Less Traveled* many times. It was a book, he said, which was a major influence in his life. A friend told him about the book and he saw the author interviewed on the Oprah Winfrey television program.

I tell you, the book--the book *The Road Less Traveled* probably, more than anything, I would say right now helps me to see that, you know, I was in control of myself and that I could control myself, because it teaches you about love and spirituality....Man, it's a great book. [My friend] said, You got to go get it. So, I'm going to get it, and I read it and I'll tell you it was right around exam times, too, when I was reading it and doing the tests at the same time. Well, it's unbelievable. Actually there's two [books]....It teaches you growth, spiritual growth, which is to me one of the most important things, not only trying to be an artist, but also being a person in real life. That's the most important thing in the world is spiritual growth and it also teaches you that you have to--in order to grow you have to go through some sort of pain.

While the book is among the most popular self-help pop psychology offerings, it buoyed Guy's belief that he had gained a greater understanding of himself by having experienced and overcome pain in his life. Guy's own words reverberate in those of the author, Dr. Scott Peck:

What makes life difficult is that the process of confronting and solving problems is a painful one. Problems, depending on their nature, evoke in us frustration or grief or sadness or loneliness or guilt or regret or anger or fear or anxiety or anguish or despair. These are uncomfortable feelings, often very uncomfortable, often as painful as any kind of physical pain, sometimes equaling the very worst kind of physical pain. Indeed, it is *because* of the pain that events or conflicts engender in us all that we call them problems. And since life poses an endless series of problems, life is always difficult and is full of pain as well as joy.

Yet it is in this whole process of meeting and solving problems that life has its meaning. Problems are the cutting edge that distinguishes between success and failure. Problems call forth our courage and our...
Guy talked about the understanding he derived from reading the book.

Although I went through all that pain, my senior year, after I graduated in high school, I'm in a far better place now," because I went through that pain....And if I wouldn't have went through that pain, that's one less experience....But anyway, it just, you know, it just talks about so much about, if you don't go through anything in your life, then you will never [pause]. It's like Sam Walton, the guy that owned Wal-Mart. He went bankrupt eleven times before he became a millionaire. And it, you know, not saying that, well, he was a great man because he was a millionaire, but it just goes to show that persistence and going through pain, best brings you to a better place. [1995].

You Have to Be Carefully Taught

Drinking was not the only destructive tradition Guy sought to overcome. Separation along racial lines was a matter of fact in the community in which Guy grew up. Like the song from the "King and I," the children were carefully taught through direct and subtle messages about social norms. But it was most difficult to unlearn the lessons taught in his family. Doing so required Guy to oppose those who had meant so much to him.

Guy's nuclear family was part of a close extended family, with his grandfather featured in the patriarchal role. Guy often spoke of the family gathering at his grandfather's home (not his grandmother's), with adults and children alike joining in lively discussions of family matters, social issues, and politics. For generations, Guy's
maternal and paternal families lived in the same small community and were well-connected with politicians and business and civic leaders. One of Guy's father's part-time jobs was as a caterer for fairs, political gatherings, parties, and other events.

He often spoke of the ways in which he was different from others in his family, particularly his grandfather. While his grandfather encouraged him to stay in school and get an education, he also encouraged, by example, racist views. Reflecting on his experiences interacting with students of other races and cultures at a national SADD conference, Guy said:

At the first [conference] my roommate was black, and before that time I had never really got the time to spend with a black person, as far as spending the night. A whole week, I mean, we spent the whole week together. I don't even remember his name, now, but I'll tell you. I'll tell you what that right there, changed the whole you're brought up, because you're brought up in this, you know, it's like, ever since you're young you hear your grandfather, you know, "All them niggers and," you know and you see it all over TV right now, and alternative things, you know. O.J. Simpson's trial....I don't know about that, because I know cops, and cops are like that. You know, they think they're just because they have a badge on, and I hate to say that, because they are trying to do good, but they're not. [1995]

Guy contrasted the interactions among the students at the national conference with interactions among students at his high school. Even though there is some interracial dating at Parish High, it is not generally accepted by the students. Guy said that at another national conference, he and a female Native American student stayed up until 2:00 a.m. talking about her culture and he told her about his beliefs. He said he was very interested in learning about her culture.
Guy believes that prejudices are formed from the attitudes of parents and other family members. He maintained that his grandfather, who is very close to, is prejudiced, but that his parents are not. Even though he feels the pattern of racism in his family has been broken, Guy finds it difficult to talk to his grandfather about his views.

Now, it's hard for me to say something like that in front of my grandfather. Because of some fact that I know, it's not really his fault. He was taught that. And I've been smart enough to go out of [that]. You know, it's taught. Just like your religion is what you're[taught] when you're, you know, that's how you grow up. That's what you're taught. You don't know anything else. You listen to your grandfather and your father and your mom and they tell you what's right and you believe they're right. [1995]

While the pull of cultural and familial influences were strong, it was through Guy's experiences away from the familiar that taught him a new way of thinking—a different path to follow. That Guy was open to new experiences was important; that he had the idea of the need to learn about other cultures was important; but it was the interaction that sealed his belief that there was value in knowing and working with others for a common cause. Guy emphasized that it was his experiences in the group that taught him the most. Rather than learning solely about the consequences of drinking and driving, he learned about tolerance and acceptance and the importance of finding common ground.

Just being together. I guess, the meetings were fun. And we went and argued about where we're going next....But, I guess my favorite activities were the conferences. I don't think I can tell you how many I've been to, you know, Florida, Minnesota, Texas, not Texas, I don't remember, you see, all over [this state], it's just meeting people, not necessarily people that I already knew, but just meeting new people. I think that that was the best experience, because life is about meeting
people and communicating with people and learning how to get along with other people. [1991]

The development of civic competence is grounded in such an activity. Stanley (1992) states that the practical competence necessary for praxis, represents a fundamental human interest that encompasses all dimensions of human thought and action, including a basic ethical dimension, a quest for the good or human betterment....It is the case, however, that the good is not to be specified in advance, even by provisional or contingent values. Nevertheless, values are always at the heart of this basic human project, since one’s personal phronesis is grounded in a shared culture. We do not develop practical competence in a values vacuum. We always already find ourselves in a multicultural context at a particular historical juncture (pp. 215-216).

When theorists, such as Shirley Engle and Anna Ochoa (1988), write about the importance of countersocialization in the education of citizens, they also are speaking about the necessity of expanding students' circle of experiences, which includes interaction with people representing a broad cross-section of society. In contrast to traditional schooling, in which students are socialized to assume their positions in society, Engle and Ochoa (1988) promote the view that students break from patterns of enculturation by learning about and experiencing ideas that are different. But where and under what circumstances might this occur? For Guy and other participants in this study, it was not occurring in their classes at school.

While Guy would have liked to discuss social issues, like SADD’s, in his classes, he noted that they were out-of-bounds, illustrating an instance during a class when he mentioned drinking in reference to it being a problem among students at the school.

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
Not one bit. In fact, they don’t want to hear it. Like [Mr. Teacher]—he got mad one day and said, I don’t want to hear about your problems. I don’t want to hear it. I don’t want to be your friend. I mean, I know him personally and when he gets mad he gets that way. I think they’re all like that. They have a lot to deal with, too, but they don’t need to blame it on everyone else. [1991]

But Guy did enjoy his social studies classes. As a high school student, he explained that he had learned about the Constitution and government in his civics class. Several years later, when he reflected on his high school social studies classes, he remembered that he had learned important information. The problem, he explained, is the way courses were taught. Social studies should focus on teaching about the way in which people should act toward and interact with each other.

In civics, I’ve learned a lot. They teach you about the federal government, which right now we’re on politics, and I’ve learned just about as much about the judicial system as my parents. I’ve learned about the branches of our government, the Executive Branch and the checks and balances. I know a lot about all that now. It helps us to understand our government. [1990]

I think social studies is a great course. I just think they go about it the wrong way. Instead of teaching people that there’s this many black people in the world, there’s this many white people, this many Asians—instead of teaching them all this and their subcultures, they should try to teach—social studies should probably be more of a—to teach people to live together in accordance. Sure, we need to know about what these people do and know what their culture is, and it’s good to learn that, because, you know, if you’re blind to somebody else’s culture, then how are you supposed to react to those people....I don’t think enough is keyed on, "Let’s learn to get together and get along," instead of, "These are what these people do," and "This is how they like it," you know, I think like my religion class in college was a phenomenal class.... You know, we had blacks, whites, Asians, a couple of Indians [from India] in there, and everybody was a different religion. I was one of the only Catholics. Methodist. Native they had...
a Native American Indian. Also, [we] had a guy from, where was he from? He wasn't from Zaire, he was from I can't remember--somewhere in Africa. But, I think that SADD taught me more. A bunch of people could get together, because when I was--when we went to the first national conference, I'll give you an example. [1995]

Guy related a story about sharing a room with an African American student for the first time and the way it affected him. Growing up in a culture in which there was limited social interaction with people from other cultures, Guy's experiences at this and other conferences provided opportunities to learn about people from other cultures.

While he could have done so at home, the thought that this was something to do had not previously occurred to him.

You know, I've grown into a real liberal person, you know, a real liberal, you know. I mean, I don't know why. I guess it's maybe because, you know, because I'm an arts major now and in arts and arts majors are persons that want to...try to see the world in different ways]. I'm not sure that's right or wrong. It's just the way I feel. And it's like when I went to the SADD National Conference, it was like, it changed my feelings dramatically. I mean, I got a picture at home and I'm sitting and laughing [referring to a group photograph of the conference participants]. And before that I'd probably, it was just the whole thing of going and knowing that these people felt the way you did. Black, white, Indian, because they did have some American Indians there, any of it, you know, it was just the feeling of, "Well, we can just this week, go, let it loose." And get to know these people and, I mean, you remember that....I've never been in a room with all these people. All the people the same age as me making decisions that will impact a million students and white, black, red-- everybody had a good--had an opinion. Whereas [here], if you sit in a classroom, there's one or two blacks; they're not going to stand up and say anything, because they've been taught through life experience. [1995]
Guy had other suggestions regarding education. He asked, "How would you rather learn?" He thought there definitely should be more discussions in classes and more student participation—allowing students to express their opinions and students teaching each other.

I think in high school, way too many times, a teacher will stand up and say, Now, this is the way it is, and it's the way it's going to be. I think that's wrong....In high school, I can remember in class, you know, an English teacher would say that this means this, and I'm like, That's fine, how can you see that? But you can't, you can't say that in class, because then you will offend someone, a teacher....You know, what's wrong with having your own opinions. I think, you know, that's what the United States government was built on. [1995]

The expression of one's opinions is integral to Guy's conception of citizenship. Drawing upon examples referencing his political views, he supported this notion.

Citizenship meant “standing up for what you believe in.”

That's what the whole constitution was written about, you know. Being able to stand up and say, This is not how I want it....I think being a good citizen, for me—Vote, abide by laws of the United States of America--of course that. I love abiding by all the laws [but on the other hand]...if we really and truly abided all the laws, where would our life be? How many laws are there? Yeah. I mean, you could walk outside your door and do something wrong [and] won't even know it....It's like taxes, you know. I know a guy that got reported to the IRS, because he's been in a band for 30 years and never paid one single tax for all the money that he's made, you know, and it adds up. And if it would have really got reported--the money that he really truly made, he would be in serious trouble, but it's only like $9,000.00, but, you know. [1995]

I don't know if I've been a good citizen, you know, I believe that we should all, of course, "by the people, for the people, in liberty, in pursuit of happiness." But I think there's just too, that right now, it's kind of messed up, because there's too many people trying to tell us
what we should with our lives. It's like abortion. I don't agree with abortion. And if my wife wanted or my girlfriend wanted to have an abortion, I would tell her no, but I'll be damned if what actually really and truly I wouldn't even tell her that. I'd be damned if I can tell, If you want to have an abortion, I can't tell you whether or not you are going to have an abortion. That's your decision. So, I guess I'm Pro-Choice in that sense. Would it be right for me to tell you what to do with your life, what to do with your body? No. [1995]

You know, the conservatives, they don't want to give a dime to self help programs. You know, they don't want Americorp. They want to get rid of it. They want to get rid of Social Security all together, because they don't feel like it helps anybody, but I'll tell you what. I got a cousin down the street. She got three kids. The father's dead. He died, and they collect $900.00 Social Security. She can't do anything else but watch these [kids] all day. Where would she be without Social Security? You know? What's wrong with helping people? I don't understand that. Think about it...if they gave block grants to [our state], what would they do with that money? [1995]

After returning home after two years away at college, Guy's disgust with racism had urged him to speak out in social situations. He recalled two instances in which he had done so.

It's like this girl I was with the other night. You know, everything was fine until she said the N word. It's like, Oh, I don't want one of these. You know, why can't I find somebody that feels, you know, and I told her that after a while. I says, Look, I'm real liberal person and I don't like the N word. I don't like anything its about. And I told the guy at work that, too. We were in the truck on the way to the gate and I said, What made Chad decide to ride, the guy that rides to work with me sometimes, ride to the gate?" Well, he said, "He rode that nigger. I saw that black guy. He said, You can say that. It ain't nobody here get offended. I said, Well, I'm offended by it. Well, I'm like, Gollee, I said, I just don't like the word, Man, it's not right. It's all uncalled for. Look what it's done to society. You know. [1995]
Soul Searcher

The "new" path Guy chose afforded him a wide-range of experiences and opportunities to interact with a variety of people. In addition to SADD, he was engaged in a myriad of extracurricular activities: football and martial arts, Fellowship of Christian Athletes, Student Government at college, theater, and music. Like his parents, he was a hard worker, and when not involved in extracurricular activities, he was employed in a host of part-time jobs: bouncer at a teen dance club, construction worker, bail bondsman, caterer, shoe salesman, and helping his parents in their insurance business.

Even in this whirlwind of activity, Guy found time to reflect on his experiences and to think about the people he met and the books he read. He was a dreamer. He expressed himself through his music, playing the guitar and keyboard, and acting in plays in high school and college. Guy had his first taste of theater when he played the role of a drunk in high school. He remembered laughing about the role because of his personal history and his involvement in SADD.

And we did a play at the end of the year and I just loved it and then I guess it really and truly it was. Actually that was my junior, no it was my senior year, but it was the first semester of the senior year, I believe. I'm not too sure, but I got involved with someone and I just fell in love and thought I was going to be home for the rest of my life. You know, it's like, Oh, I'm going to be here the rest of my life, and work in the insurance agency and have kids and be happy. But it didn't turn out that way, you know. And I don't know where the road's going to lead me tomorrow. And I'm not worried about it. [1995]
The road he traveled, however, was recursive, leading him back home, however differently it is now perceived. He chose the path of least resistance and comfort that returned him to familiar ground and the security of family and old friends. When friends asked why he moved back home, he told them:

Well, this is my roots. I need to turn back around and find something else to grasp onto, you know. I'm a soul searcher. That's what I told them. I'm a soul searcher. [1995]

**Epilogue**

Returning home, Guy's plans were to enroll in a local college. He talked about a construction job he had taken to earn enough money to return to school.

It's tough. Especially the kind of person that I am. I don't like doing anything that I can't really. They trip out on me at work, because I'm always smiling and how can you smile in this heat all day and well, I'd rather do that than mope, you know? I don't know. It's not me desperate....Well, it's not that I hate to work. Don't get me wrong. You know, I wake up in the morning, I don't want to go. It takes so much for me to get out of bed....That's like people always tell me, 'Why don't you go to school for this and try to be this?' And my brother wanted me to go to school for business or something. I tell him that's not what I want to do. I said I don't want to be stuck like you are, regretting not doing something. You know ten years down the road, if I stay home, and ten years down the road, I'd be watching a movie, what if I went to Hollywood. That could be me right there, instead of that guy. I don't want to be saying that. I want to go to Hollywood ten years later, and come back home and say, I tried, and it didn't succeed, oh, well. For me, it's got nothing to do with money. I could care less about becoming a millionaire. It's about experience. [1995]
The necessity of paying his own way would keep Guy, at least for now, from realizing his dreams. More than two years after he left college, he was still working and had not returned to school or made it to Hollywood.

End Notes


Chapter 11

Joining Stories: Analysis of Case Studies

Human hopes and desires might never be grounded in any absolute knowledge, but we can gain a sense of human interests. As we act to realize our betterment, our critical praxis can lift our thought, as McLaren (1988) suggests, “beyond the limitations of the present moment in order to be transformed into dreams of possibility. And with dreams we can do wonderful things.”

William B. Stanley, Curriculum for Utopia, 1992

If we can dream it--
It can be done.
SADD Slogan

SADD meetings end with members joining hands to recite the SADD pledge:

I am only one, but I am one.
I cannot do everything but I can do something.
What I can do, I ought to do.
And by God’s grace, I will do.
Anonymous

Introduction

The students took to heart the SADD pledge to do what they could to prevent deaths and injuries from drunken driving crashes. But while the focus of this study is the seven participants’ involvement in SADD, it was only one aspect of their lives. They also were observing, reading, reflecting, and interacting with others in various contexts: their families, school, extracurricular groups, and in social situations with friends and acquaintances, at church, and in other settings in their community. They were transitioning from childhood to adulthood, with all of the physiological and social
changes incumbent in the process. They were immersed in proximate and broader cultures which influenced the way in which they perceived and understood their experiences. The stories they told about their membership in SADD, and other aspects of their lives during high school and since, reflected understandings they were developing and changes they were undergoing. While sharing some common elements, their stories were imbued with a richness and complexity unique to each. While the temptation to chronicle everything they shared was strong, I had to be selective and allow partial stories to convey a sense of who they were and who they are.

This analysis is the product of a lengthy and arduous process. It began with the gathering of data over three and one-half years (three years when the participants were high school students and approximately six months during which follow-up interviews were conducted). When the case studies were written, I returned to them again and again waiting for themes to emerge. Sometimes I discovered something I had missed, which led to rewrites of the case studies. I did not anticipate that the participants’ stories (the data) would compel me to question fundamental concepts and taken-for-granted assumptions regarding democratic citizenship. Explored in this final chapter are notions concerning abstract ideals and concrete experiences, universal and particular (contextual) understandings, and plurality, in terms of common values/beliefs and difference.

At the outset of my first interview with Janie when she was a high school sophomore, I informed her about my research project and my reasons for observing the
group and interviewing members rather than asking them to complete a survey form.

Concurring with my approach and contrasting it to the survey method, she commented, “Like you can really relate to somebody better than just having ‘yes’ and ‘no.’ In writing sometimes you don’t know how to put it into words” (1989). By observing the group and interviewing members I hoped to learn more about the meanings they gave to their experiences in SADD, a goal that would not have been possible from their self-reports to predetermined questions on a paper and pencil questionnaire.

One of the first interview questions participants were asked when they were high school students and later as young adults was their reason for joining SADD. Each began with a simple response that generally were expressions of caring, reflected in their desire to help others or to keep them from being hurt.

I joined SADD because...

my friends were really into drinking and then they would drive. [Liza, age 17]
I like the idea of helping people. [Charlie, age 23]
people can get killed by drunk drivers. [Cathy, age 16]
I thought we could do something to help. [Janie, age 16]
my cousin was killed and I didn’t want that to happen to others. [Molly, age 17]
I want to make sure people don’t get hurt. [Helen, age 22]
I wanted to help others, because I owe it. [Guy, age 16]

Had I relied solely on these responses as the basis of my analysis, salient information would have remained undisclosed. Not evident in these initial responses were understandings that they developed through their participation in SADD and their reflections as young adults on their involvement. At least in two ways, the participants’ stories corresponded to the story of efforts to reform social studies. Noted
in the Introduction (Chapter I) are two constants in the history of reform efforts: (1) reform proposals have failed to achieve currency in practice, and (2) education for citizenship is the overarching goal.

If past efforts to reform social studies have been generally ineffective, what do we do now? What topics should be entertained? Who should be invited to join the conversation? And how will the dialogue proceed? While I, as the researcher, asked the questions when the study began, it was the participants' meanings that framed the course of the analysis. Reconceiving the notion of citizenship in social education became the central enterprise of this study. With all that has been said about education for citizenship, what more can we hope to learn? This study offers a fresh perspective on this topic. Taking center stage are the meanings students gave to their experiences in SADD, in their classes, and in other aspects of their lives.

The participants had their own ideas about citizenship, and those ideas were formed from that which they were taught in school and from their experiences away from the classroom. What did they say about what it means to be a citizen?

[I hadn't] really thought about it, but being a citizen is when you like go out and do something. [Liza, Age 24]

I still wonder! If someone is running for office they are going to listen to what you have to say, because I can make you not go back into office. [Janie, Age 22]

Standing up for what you believe in....That's what the whole constitution was written about, you know. Being able to stand up and say, This is not how I want it....Vote, abide by laws of the United States of America--of course that. [Guy, Age 21]
My idea of citizenship is like participating in elections and social issues that affect you or someone you know and, like I said, being aware of your history and not trying to repeat it. That's my conception, and like I'm a registered voter and every election, major election, I voted in. That's just my deal--voting. It might not do any good, but it's my constitutional right and I'm going to take advantage of it. [Charlie, Age 23]

To be a citizen, I think, means to be involved in the city that you are in....You have to be involved by doing things that is community outreach. You have to be involved by standing up for what you believe in. You have to show people that you care....Caring is one major thing that some of these people can't do. If you can't care about other people...if you don't know how to relate...like you just can't deal with society. I mean, and you have to be involved--literally. [Helen, Age 21]

Somebody who believes in everything they're doing. A citizen of the United States doesn't believe necessarily everything that the United States has going for it, but the general idea. A citizen of SADD would believe in the general ideas behind SADD and there'd be a few mistakes here and there, but the general point would still be there....[I learned about citizenship] I guess from looking at other people, at the people who were active, whoever goes and votes or in the VFW, I'd consider as an active citizen. The others would lay back and let whatever comes, come. [Molly, Age 17]

[To be a citizen means] to belong somewhere....I mean, it's like this is my home and this is where I was born and raised and it's like, and as a citizen you are responsible for some, you know, you have to take on your part of the whole and everyone has a little part....[When I turned eighteen I could vote] so it's like I voted and, you know, I have a say in elections and, you know, I am a voter, I can vote....I have more say and people listen--people tend to listen....Yeah, I can vote and I have friends that can vote and, you know, I can persuade my friends. [Cathy, Age 22]

These responses alone provide information about the way in which the participants conceived citizenship, but it was these statements amplified by stories
about their experiences and the contexts of their lives that engendered the idea of reconceiving citizenship in regard to social education. Considering the time spent in school, many of their experiences occurred there and much of their understanding of the world was shaped there. As education for citizenship has been identified as the overarching goal of social studies, I wanted to know what they had learned about citizenship in their classes and in the "real world," as they referred to the outside the classroom.

(U)n)social Studies

The stories the participants told about their classes support the literature regarding the failure of reform proposals to find their way into many classrooms. In fact, as the participants told it, their social studies classes were for the most part unsocial, in that they had few opportunities to interact with others through discussion of issues or to participate in other civic activities.

Considering that history-making events involve social interactions among real people, many of whom believed so passionately in their cause that they risked "life or limb," it is ironic that the study of social events in schools is perceived by students as dull and uninspiring (VanSickle, 1990). Efforts to reform or revitalize social studies in the schools have been futile (Engle and Ochoa, 1988); although, of course, there have been and are pockets of promise in individual classrooms, school systems, universities, and community settings, where teachers and students are engaged in robust learning.
In this study, the participants’ responses to questions about their experiences in social studies classes reflected a general lack of regard and enthusiasm for the subject. They described classes as bland and predictable and course content and/or processes as irrelevant or unconnected to their lives outside the classroom. They said that either not much was learned or that which was learned was soon forgotten. Those who spoke most favorably about their classes noted that they acquired valuable information that was useful in their lives. As a high school junior, Charlie spoke about his civics teacher encouraging him to participate in the electoral process.

My civics class is what made me want to vote and sign up and everything....Because it showed me the importance of it. My teacher showed me the importance of voting and that if you didn’t have at least some voice in it, then you have no right to change anything or expect change unless you get involved.

Most of It Was So Empty

The participants, particularly those enrolled in academic and practical track courses, perceived their social studies classes as bland and predictable. There was a pattern of classroom procedures that began anew with each topic or textbook chapter: teacher gives notes (the telling of facts, not lecturing), students answer questions on a study guide provided by the teacher, the answers are reviewed, and a test is taken. While some questions on tests in academic and honors classes were short answer and essay, Charlie (1990) said that tests in his practical track social studies classes were primarily multiple choice, matching, and true-false. Although Janie was enrolled in academic track classes, her experience was not much better.
Well, in my social studies classes, it's not—we never have discussions. It's just like—take notes, answer questions, and take a test—that's basically it. And if we do have discussions, it's [usually] something stupid, you know—because somebody threw a pencil across the room. We talk about it for an hour. It's nothing really serious. [1989]

For most participants, social studies classes were unsocial, in that discussion was lacking or non-existent. The relating of facts was common fare. Charlie (1995) noted that, although his social studies teachers primarily “lectured,” occasionally there were class discussions. Whether or not they did, he said, depended on the teacher’s knowledge of the topic. As a high school junior, Charlie explained that teachers tell students what to write down for notes, breaking down the information into pieces (for consumption) and providing some background on the topic.

Well, it depends on what—basically on what the teachers are trying to do. Like in history, it is to get us to learn information. They really don’t have the time to do all that. They do some background, but they don’t have enough time to really get into the background.

In some instances, not only were discussions not encouraged, they were forbidden. Molly, who was concerned about censorship in the classroom, noted that controversial issues, as well as semi-controversial issues, were taboo. Describing her social studies classes, Molly (1995) remarked,

Most of it was sooo—empty. You know, it was just another class. You learned it, took your test and went on. You know, it may be social studies, but you learned how Tibetan women had ten kids and work in the fields...you don’t hear controversial issues, like about welfare or anything.

Molly’s honors English class was an improvement, she noted, in that students chose a book from a list provided by the teacher to do an independent project. She said,
"It wasn't censored as much, but your presentation was. That's why," she added, "extracurricular activities are important." Helen (1989) noted that in her social studies classes there were discussions, but that issues like drinking and driving were only alluded to, not dealt with, she added, "There is a difference between relating and dealing with things."

When they were in high school, the students were not likely to question their teachers' statements. Guy (1995) said that when they did have discussions, "everybody was already scared to say something." Cathy (1995) concurred, saying, "I mean, in high school, you just go, yes ma'm, yes ma'm and you listen." In SADD and in college, however, Cathy and Guy noted that they felt freer to assert themselves. Guy (1995) said that he wasn't afraid to let his opinions be known. Cathy (1995) remarked that, as she got older, she began to question her teachers' decisions, asking, 

Who's to say you are teaching me what you should be teaching me, you know. Well, how come we are not doing this chapter in the book...why aren't we doing this in high school, we are doing this, yeah, yeah, and we are skipping in the back [laughs].

But in high school she did not question her teachers. Guy's (1995) comments noted his agreement. Silently, he had questioned teachers' ideas about interpretation of a story, a poem, or politics. He said,

I think in high school, way too many times, a teacher will stand up and say, Now this is the way it is, and it's the way it's going to be. I think that's wrong.... You can't say that in class, because then you will offend someone--a teacher.... You know, what's wrong with having your own opinions.
Regardless of the track they followed, most classes repeated the well-known method that Freire described as the "banking' method, with the teacher providing the facts and asking the students to repeat them on a test.

I Don't Remember Anything

The participants also commented that course content and/or processes were irrelevant or unconnected to their lives outside the classroom. This concurs with VanSickle's (1990) finding that many students consider social studies uninteresting, "because they seldom perceive any connection between their lives and aspirations on the one hand and contemporary and historical conditions on the other” (p.23). The participants contrasted school with the "real world” outside of school, and noted that issues from the “real world” were seldom broached in their classrooms.

Other understandings were that not much was learned in social studies classes, and that which was learned was soon forgotten. Although she was a high school junior at the time, Liza (1989) said that she didn’t remember much from her social studies classes. Referring to her civics class in particular, she said that she didn’t like her teacher because she “didn’t really lecture and it was all she did was give us work--busy work and stuff. I didn’t really learn anything.” While citizenship is regarded as the goal of social studies, Liza remarked that she had learned nothing about citizenship in her classes.

What I remember learning in civics and social studies classes was just taking--all you do is take notes and notes about the wars and nothing about citizenship. Maybe Free Enterprise talked more about
government and stuff, but I don’t remember anything…just the basic things that are boring and you just memorize and go on.

Although Cathy (1990) had not learned anything either, her comments were more vague. She referred to school, in general, as a learning experience. Five years later, as she prepared to become a teacher, Cathy had difficulty responding to the question. Laughingly, she remarked, “I was trying to think what I learned in social studies…and this is from a person who in a year and a half would like to teach social studies or science….I learned about the House of Representatives and committees.” One thing that you don’t learn, she added, was that you can make a difference in the world. Molly (1995) hadn’t really learned anything about issues, but added, “I do remember like in speech. I mean, I didn’t care for my civics teacher so I didn’t get much out of civics. I mean I got an A, but I don’t remember really a lot of it. A lot of civics was played out in our speech class.”

The participants’ remarks about not learning or remembering anything from their classes are presented facetiously, although their responses reveal serious concerns about their education or lack thereof. But according to their grades and results of their Exit Examinations, they had at least learned enough (although perhaps only temporarily) to satisfy the State Department of Education requirements.

That which they did learn can be categorized primarily as facts. Asked what she had learned about government in her social studies classes, Janie (1995) jokingly remarked that “it doesn’t work!” As a high school junior, Janie (1989) said she had learned and forgotten,
History—a lot of history. Not that I can remember any of it....I can remember like American History—what I have learned so far this year, I probably couldn’t tell you ten facts that I know—because I don’t remember. It’s basically, I just write it down, memorize, take a test, and blow it off. But when you discuss it, you know, when you keep talking about it, you seem to remember is better....In Civics, we learned about, you know—like what the judge did and that’s about it. I forgot all we learned. I didn’t have a good class. I always get stuck in the bad classes.

Among all of her classes, she liked those in which the teacher did interesting things, showed an interest in the students, made learning fun, or helped them to learn, like teaching mnemonic devices. She liked classes in which there was discussion. She said, “Discussion classes. I like classes like that where you talk a lot and you explain things and you use examples. You know, stuff related to it...so you can remember it easier.” While she had not learned much in high school, she remembered more from government classes in college, where she leaned “some general law stuff like facts....Like you didn’t have conversations....It was here are the facts about the government. That was pretty much it.”

In civics, Molly (1990) learned “what citizens do and don’t do, what the punishments are.” But she relied extensively on her experiences and observations in the development of her beliefs. She explained, “You can always get book definitions, but whatever your eyes see is what you’re going to believe.”

In his classes, Charlie learned about the importance of civic involvement, especially in respect to voting, because it gave him, as he said, “the right to gripe.”

Reflecting on his civics class, Charlie added,
Basically, we had to learn who our [local] government—who the officials of our [local] government were for a test and we broke down each branch of the government piece by piece. So I learned that if we voted we had a voice. [1995]

Guy was perhaps the most enthusiastic about social studies, even though he was enrolled in practical track civics during his first year as a member of SADD. Guy explained,

In civics I’ve learned a lot. They teach you about the federal government, which right now we’re on politics. And I’ve learned just as much about the judicial system as my parents. I’ve learned about the branches of government—the Executive Branch and the checks and balances. I know a lot about all that now, and it helps me understand our government. I had it a little in seventh grade, but not that much. [1990]

When the participants related their experiences in social studies classes, they generally focused on learning about government and history. In civics they were taught the structure and function of government and their role as citizens, which was primarily to exercise their right to vote. In history classes they learned facts that were committed to memory and repeated on a test. These practices are the most common fare in classes, according to the participants and educational theorists.

Proponents of issues-oriented approaches to education, for instance, note that the dominant pedagogical practice in social studies is textbook-oriented, with the teacher lecturing, or worse, “giving notes.” Those activities most often touted as the best for engaging students—discussion, reflection, and action are the least often offered (e.g. Newmann, 1989; Evans, 1989; Boyer, 1983). If most of their classes did not engage
them in these activities, were there places away from the classroom in which they could talk, reflect, and act on issues?

The way in which the participants spoke about their experiences in SADD contrasts with the way they talked about their classes. Talking about SADD they were more informative and animated. Through SADD, they ventured into the "real world" and were engaged in activities that were meaningful to them.

How was SADD different from their classes? Similar to their classes, participants said they learned about law enforcement, the judicial system, the legislative process, and alcohol/drug treatment in their community. The difference, however, was in the way they learned. The members were involved in a wide array of activities. SADD meetings featured speakers from community and state agencies and organizations. Janie (1989) noted that SADD provided opportunities for her to go out into the real world and meet community leaders. SADD was a place where students and adults talked together about issues and activities in which they were involved; and unlike classes, she added, there were no time constraints on discussions or activities. As a high school junior, Janie contrasted classroom learning with learning in SADD.

When we do this [SADD] we can go out and talk to other people, you know. We can talk to the judge or we can talk to the State Representative or somebody like that. And it's not that I have learned more—it's just kind of like I learned more about the other people. Like whenever the book—it says the judge does this, but if you go talk to a judge, you learn more by talking to him that reading a book. You know, like if you read it in a book, this is what a judge does, but if he came to a meeting and said this is what I do, I can remember it better if he tells me than if a teacher reads it out of a book or if I read it out of a book.
During her presidency, Liza (1989) arranged for the District Attorney, a judge, and a state official to speak at meetings she facilitated. She was featured in a local cable station Public Service Announcement and worked with law enforcement officers on a sting operation. The highlight of Guy's presidency was a mock trial which he and other committee members planned and implemented. To carry out this project, it was necessary for them to request permission from the school principal, make arrangements for a real judge, bailiff, and attorneys to participate. The mock trial was presented to the senior class and videotaped to be shown to other classes.

Several of the participants commented on what they had learned through these activities. Although Helen (1989) noted that she had good teachers who discussed interesting topics in her honors classes, she remarked that she had learned more about the judicial system, the way things really are, from her involvement in SADD. Charlie came to SADD with information about government processes and aspirations to participate in the electoral process, but he explained that he learned more about local laws from his involvement in SADD than he had "reading out of a textbook" and that he wanted "to learn more about laws" than he would have otherwise. Helen (1995) noted that there was a difference in the kind of learning students experienced. In her high school classes, she said, "You are told the basic stuff, this is what this is, this is what the House of Representatives--this is what the government does, you know." She reasoned that many "kids" her age (early twenties) do not vote is that they don't actually get to understand it, and if you don't understand or have knowledge of something, you are not going to partake in that. Am
I making any sense to you? There is a difference in knowing and understanding something. You can know something, but until you understand it and—it's like the show and tell method. You can tell me something all you want to, but when you show it to me and make me understand it—there I am told and I am shown and there, boom! the light bulb comes on and I can understand. And once you can understand something it goes into a whole other world of comprehending and applying it in life.

While they were in high school, the participants related facts about laws concerning drinking and driving, underage drinking, and drug use, and they were able to point out inconsistencies and deficits in laws and suggested ways in which the problems could be rectified. Helen surmised that the reason for voter apathy was adults’ lack of opportunities to participate as citizens in high school. She remarked,

I think civics is a wonderful course where they learn about government, but I think [people] need to see for themselves how government is actually run or how SADD or MADD help the government in incorporating their laws and making laws. [1995]

Even though the participants were conducting themselves as active citizens and able to express their conception of citizenship, they, nonetheless, had difficulty connecting social studies with their conception of citizenship or their activities in SADD. Charlie, for instance, did not perceive his activities in SADD as related to civic involvement. As he said, “At the time I didn’t think it was connected. I didn’t think it was a civics project. I just thought it was a community service type thing.” Upon reflection as a young adult, he was able to relate the two, but in terms of laws and policies, in regard to drunk driving. Reflecting on ways in which SADD might have
been connected to citizenship or government, Janie pointed to one similar process with which she was familiar: persuasion to one’s point of view. She said,

Maybe communicating with people and kind of getting out and kind of politicking, I guess, for people to come in SADD, and like Cathy said, you have to have a case [a position] and this is why I want you to come and join our club. And if they came against you, you had to be able to defend yourself and tell they why you believed in it or you didn’t believe. [1995]

That the participants had such difficulty making connections indicates that their understandings of citizenship, participation in SADD, and civics lessons did not correspond. Their civics, which was primarily learning about government foundations, systems, and processes (voting, elections, debate), was so well-ingrained in their thinking that it abridged their ability to grasp alternatives or to understand that what they were doing was citizenship.

The social studies curriculum and the extracurricular activities in SADD, however, might have complimented each other. Missing from their social studies classes was engagement with issues that concerned them and missing from SADD was contextualization of their issues (SADD’s issues and other issues like racism and welfare reform in which they expressed interest) within a broader frame of reference. Among Boyer’s (1990) recommendations for educating responsible citizens is “helping students make connections between what they learn and how they live” (p.6).

The participants were asked to imagine ways in which those aspects of SADD that appealed to them could be incorporated into social studies classes. While Liza (1995) reported that she was not “a big social studies fan at all,” she suggested that a
mock trial could be held annually. As a student who would soon become an elementary school teacher, Cathy (1995) considered linking SADD's activities to a study of the community in the expanding environments curriculum.

While she first dismissed the possibility, Molly agreed that if it were possible to incorporate SADD in social studies, “It would be wonderful! You could put it in social studies. You could put it in very easily. Just have a whole chapter on social responsibilities....Heck, that could be a whole class by itself.” Molly identified the lack of social responsibility as a major problem underlying many others, and it was not a subject that was encountered in social studies classes.

Charlie, on the other hand, felt that trying to incorporate SADD in social studies would be a death knell to the organization. Perhaps taking the question too literally, his comments, nonetheless, demonstrate his understanding of students' view of social studies as a set of courses to be endured. Charlie explained,

I don’t think—with social studies, I don’t think you can teach it in social studies as far as—it has to be like a community thing, like a voluntary thing to start and build it up ‘cause if you start putting it in social studies classes, I mean you have to learn about how government functions—and people blow off social studies to start with and if you put SADD in it, I mean, if you really want to get something accomplished by it, you can’t put it in a classroom like that because a lot of people will tune it out.... because if you try to force somebody to do something, it’s not going to work....It’s not on the same lines with something that you have to do like civics. Because if you start making it a class and something you have to do, you won’t get the positive effect that you want to get out of it. [1995]

Several of the participants noted that SADD had provided them with a belief that they could affect change. For Liza, SADD was a training ground for later civic
involvement. Reflecting on her activities in SADD and in regard to other issues since high school she noted that she does now consider them to be citizen action. Liza (1995) remarked, “I would have never thought about accomplishing anything, but now I’ve written to the Senator about abortion issues and things like that.” Molly (1995) also credited her participation in SADD for her later interest in involvement pertaining to other social issues. She said,

I don't think I would have gotten involved because I wouldn’t have had the encouragement to know that I did do something. Do you know what I mean? I mean, if you’re not introduced to something, it’s usually you had to get yourself in the mind set and once you do something that’s community-wise like SADD and going and talking to different people and you see you made a little difference with that, then all of a sudden it’s like, well okay.

Speaking with the participants as young adults allowed a unique perspective on their lives. Each of them spoke about being aware of social and political issues. They all maintained that they voted regularly, even though most expressed cynicism about politics. As Charlie said, it gave him his “right to gripe.” While they did not have much faith that their vote would affect change, they noted their belief in the ability of citizens to influence social change by joining groups, expressing their views in public forums, or taking personal initiatives such as petitioning or writing a letter to a Congressman.

Reconceiving Citizenship

The seven participants in this study were asked to explain their conception of citizenship or what it means to be a citizen. While their responses varied, there were two common elements: one that conveys action (participating, standing up, doing
something, getting involved, showing care) and one that indicates being a part of something greater than themselves (greater than self, self and others, knowing about social issues, awareness of history, things need changing). Molly pointedly prefaced her explanation by noting that her’s was not a dictionary definition. Webster’s\(^5\) defines a citizen as one who owes loyalty to a government and is entitled to protection by that government. While a couple of the participants referenced the importance of knowing about and adhering to the Constitution and laws, the focus of their explanations was their sense of being a part of something and taking actions as an expression of their beliefs.

[To be a citizen means] to belong somewhere....I mean, it’s like this is my home. [Cathy, 1995].

[To be a citizen means] to be a citizen is to be involved....You have to be involved by standing up for what you believe in. You have to show people that you care. [Helen, 1995].

Contained in the participants’ conceptions of citizenship were key elements concerning aspects of what is commonly regarded as the private domain: home and care. This certainly is in contrast to the more traditional ideas about citizenship. Through their stories, contradictions and tensions emerged in relation to public and private issues, processes, and purposes of citizenship. Pragmatist, feminist, critical, postmodern, and poststructural, theories suggest that the public/private dichotomy should, be recognized, but with the intention of subverting it.
Issues Aren’t Just Things to Us

Many proposals regarding education for citizenship call for students to be engaged in discussions (deliberation or debate) of public (civil or social) issues (Newmann and Oliver, 1970; Engle and Ochoa, 1988; Parker, 1989; Barber, 1989; Newmann, 1989; and Shaver, 1989). However, most educators who recognize the need to engage students in discussion of issues usually preselect issues, which are described as necessary for participatory citizenship. Newmann (1989), for instance, argues for engaging students in deliberation on the nature of the public good and ways to achieve it. Other proposals, like that of Engle (1989) suggest that students address problems like poverty, the environmental crisis, and the threat of nuclear holocaust (p.189). Massialas (1989) contends that schools can no longer offer “a sanctuary from the real world” (p.174). Various authors also recommend that students be involved in the process of identifying issues or problems to discuss or take action (Engle and Ochoa, 1988; Newmann, 1989; Whitson and Stanley, 1989; Kenway and Modra, 1996). In schools, however, issues that are important to students are often devalued and deemed inappropriate content.

Regarding the problems or issues that are appropriate curricular content for the development of practical competence, their proposed rationale for education, Whitson and Stanley (1989) state, “These real problems...cannot be reduced to those that are ‘student-felt.’” This is not a relevant consideration for the selection of content since what students feel are problems might be trivial and inadequate criterion for content
selection" (p.7). They further note, however, that whatever problem or issue is selected, students must "perceive the problem under study as a genuine problem..."(pp.7-8).

Both Jane Addams and John Dewey proposed education which began with students' experiences that were meaningful to them. Educators can seize the opportunity of students' interests to assist them in contextualizing student-felt problems and helping them to make connections to history, literature, and deeper social issues, such as those relevant to gender.

In the selection of content (issues or problems to be addressed), the process must begin by connecting it to something with which students are familiar. Interpreting Dewey's vision of education, Emily Robertson (1992) notes,

"If children are to become genuine inquirers, they must have real questions they want to answer; they must encounter problematic situations other than wondering what the teacher wants. They must be active agents, doing things in order to discover the consequences, not mere passive recipients of facts discovered by others" (p.340).

For several of the participants in this study, the issues of drunken driving and substance abuse were social (public) concerns, but they also were personal (private). The pushing aside of adolescent concerns corresponds to the marginalization of other groups' issues in public discourse. Women's issues, for instance, have been relegated to the private realm, and dismissed as genuine public concerns. Commenting on the overlooked contributions of late 19th and early 20th century women educators, Munro (1995) states,

An understanding of citizenship as public and individual obscures not only the everyday work of women (such a teaching, mothering, housework,
union work) as political but also negates alternative epistemological foundations of citizenship based in women’s experiences (p.3).

Munro contends that citizenship that “does not include much of what is considered private is precisely the kind of gender bias that is still dominant in social studies education” (p.3). Setting up a dichotomy between public and private is an ideology that overlooks the fact that family and other personal issues are often cultural, social, and political matters. Bouchier (1987) maintains that it is the issues which move us most are those which impel us to change things. He states:

Whatever in everyday life opposes, depresses, disgusts, or disappoints individuals is what motivates them to act for change. Typically, in American society, they begin by acting to change their personal lives. To move beyond this, they must decide that their problem is public or social rather than personal, and this is a most difficult step. It entails a revaluation of social values, an examination of taken-for-granted institutions and legitimating ideologies...Once public action is entered, it gives the experiential basis for a broader, critical view of society as it might be (p.149).

Munro cites Nel Noddings (1992) who said, that if “the different voice of women were to speak in the social studies’ suggests that instead of the emphasis on citizenship, there might be an emphasis on family membership or homeworking” (p.3).

In a later article which focuses on the benefits of the current college-bound curriculum, Noddings (1996) again argues,

The emphasis on citizenship as contrasted with private life is, at least in part, a product of masculine domination of the curriculum. Where are all the matters traditionally assigned to women? Our children need to know something about the commitment required for intimate relationships, what it means to be a parent, what it means to make a home. They should become good neighbors, responsible pet owners, concerned guardians of the natural world, and honest colleagues in whatever activities they pursue.
They should know something about the stages of life, the various approaches to spirituality, suffering and compassion, violence and peace. These are the common learnings teachers should include in their courses; these are the topics that should arise in common human experience (p. 287).

Highlighting the importance of experience, Munro quotes Jane Addams who stated,

We are impatient with the schools which lay all stress on reading and writing, suspecting them to rest upon the assumption that the ordinary experience of life is worth little, and that all knowledge and interest must be brought to the children through the medium of books. Such an assumption fails to give the child any clue to the life about him, or any power to usefully or intelligently connect himself to it* (p. 19).

Although the comments by Addams and Noddings are separated by a century, it is clear that we have yet to come to terms with what it is we are preparing students for when we propose citizenship as the overarching goal of social studies. The breach between conceptions of citizenship that reflect differences in perspectives concerning those characteristics deemed desirable ("public" versus "private," for example) will be bridged when the two perspectives speak to one another in ways that are commensurable to both.

What issues or problems are of concern to students? The students who joined SADD did so because they recognized a problem that they chose to address. As a college student, Helen reflected on her participation. On the topic of issues, she said, "You know, issues are not just things to us. I mean, we know kids are dying because they are driving away from parties where they have been drinking." While she felt it was important for a group like SADD to address this issue, she suggested that real issues, like drinking and driving, sex, and teen pregnancy, that students can understand ("to
relate to”) should be introduced in classes. As a group and individually, and to varying degrees, the members of SADD approached discussions about the issues and their actions with thoughtfulness and consideration of others.

That the issues addressed by SADD members were selected by them were issues that were “student-felt” and genuine, does not discount their worth as appropriate curricular content for social studies. While it is not the purpose of this study to propose any particular issue for inclusion in the social studies curriculum, the findings of this study indicate that those social issues which are important to students, even though they may be considered personal, are appropriate curricular content for the education of students for citizenship.

Say What You Have to Say

The United States Constitution affords citizens the right to speak freely, to express their ideas in a public forum. The participants in this study, however, explained that there were situations in which they could not or did not speak or in which their voices were not heard. Commenting on the need for students to discuss issues in social studies classes, Guy (1995) suggested, “After all, that’s what the United States government was built on.”

Molly and Cathy offered contrasting portrayals of speech in school and in SADD. In social studies classes, Molly remarked that students were not encouraged to express their opinions about controversial or, as she said, “even semi-controversial” topics. But social studies were not the only classes in which such topics were avoided. What could
they talk about? Sarcastically, Molly remarked that they could “talk about clouds!” She explained:

What got old was you couldn’t talk about certain things. You could do a speech, but it was all—by our teacher anyway—sugar-coated. You couldn’t talk about abortion rights, you couldn’t talk about religion, you couldn’t talk about rape or incest, you couldn’t talk—so anything that you strongly believed in or anything that was semi-controversial...And, so as far as civics and stuff went, not only were you not taught it, when you go to your speech and drama classes, you weren’t allowed to express it, so how are you ever—you’re kind of stunted—unless you have an organization [reference to SADD] that you can get in that lets you say exactly what you have to say. [1995]

Reflecting on her experiences, Cathy also noted that, unlike school, she was able to freely express herself in SADD.

In SADD, your opinion mattered and, you know, nobody shot you down. Like if you wanted to and somebody was speaking and you just wanted to get up and say something, you could....You could be yourself....It was a good learning experience....I mean now that you sit here and you think back on it....It was a major part of our high school....that’s what we were involved in. [1995]

Gilligan (1982) maintains that women will seek out places in which they “have the power to choose and are thus willing to speak in their own voice” (p.70). Other than school, there were situations in which the participants, primarily the females, found it difficult to speak. In personal relationships, the failure to speak was self-imposed, although it was a manifestation of unspoken cultural understandings. When Liza’s remonstrations about drinking were not heeded by her partners in personal relationships, she turned to SADD as a vehicle to voice her concerns. While the result was the same, Janie did not want to impose her opinions in personal situations, in one instance...
choosing to “bite her tongue.” In effect, they were side-stepping those situations in which they felt their voices were not or would not were be heard and in which they believed they had no influence.

For the participants, SADD was a place in which they could express their beliefs and ideas. In addition to comments concerning personal situations in which they did not or found it difficult to “speak their minds,” all spoke in one way or another about their social studies classes in which discussion of issues was lacking or non-existent. But they also noted that they would have benefited from discussions on issues in their classes. The participants’ comments regarding the lack of opportunities available to them in social studies (or other) classes to discuss issues supports findings of educational researchers (Engle and Ochoa, 1988; Harwood and Hahn, 1990). In his study of an issues-oriented social studies classroom, Rossi (1995) notes that “in the classroom, discussion was a central means by which students interpreted and gave meaning to their knowledge” (p.105). He concludes that his research adds to others in the confirmation that in-depth study of social issues “provides guidelines for moving social studies reform in the direction of a pedagogy that promotes dispositions desirable for informed and thoughtful citizens” (p.116).

Considering the paucity of such classroom practices, SADD provided a forum for the participants to stand up and speak out on the issues of concern to them. Talk was central to their involvement in SADD—talk with other members in discussions about problems, goals, and activities; talk with other teenagers they were trying to influence.
SADD provided opportunities for the participants to integrate the traditionally public and private aspects of their lives. For some, like Liza, Guy, and Helen, it was a place to express concerns about personal (private) issues. While they did not cite relationship problems as reasons for becoming involved in SADD, both female and male participants described situations in which 'voice' had failed in relationships with family members, close friends, or significant others. SADD provided them a place and a means to voice their beliefs and concerns, but it also allowed them to stay connected to others.

In her study (1982), Gilligan found that girls became immensely frustrated in situations where voice failed. She says, “When others did not listen and seemed not to care, they spoke of ‘coming up against a wall.’ This image of wall had as its counterpart the search for an opening through which one could speak” (p.150). Exit, which Gilligan notes as the “last resort” option, was an alternative to silence in those situations in which voice had failed (p.155). Some participants in this study, particularly those who were attempting to resolve private (relational) conflicts, found an “opening through which they could speak” and connections with others in SADD.

The participants confronted difficulties in expressing their concerns and attempting to exert influence in both personal relationships and broader social contexts. A difference, however, was the way in which they conceived their capacity for affecting change within these contexts. That they were drawn to SADD as a public forum for standing up and speaking out on private concerns points to their understanding that it was possible for citizens to influence the changes they sought in this way.
Most proposals to improve social studies education recognize the necessity of talk or discussion in classes. However, they point to a specific type of talk referred to as civic or public or political talk on civic or public or political issues. Barber (1989) notes that citizenship requires engagement in political (civic or public) talk, which he differentiates from engagement in private talk, scientific talk, and other comparatively private forms of conversation. He uses talk about the public good as an example of political talk that is “talk in common among a community of citizens about common issues...” (p.355). This form of engagement, Barber (1989) states, is much richer and is characterized by creativity, variety, openness, and flexibility, inventiveness, capacity for discovery, subtlety and complexity, eloquence, potential for empathy and affective expression, and a deeply paradoxical character. All of these features display our complex human nature as purposive, interdependent, active, and political beings. It is a capacity for this kind of talk that educators need to nourish in students (p.365).

Barber (1989) further clarifies his conception of public talk by offering four characteristics: (1) that it entails listening and speaking; (2) that it is both affective and cognitive; (3) that its purpose moves from reflection to action in the world; and (4) that it is a “public rather than private mode of expression and thus depends on participation in communities of engaged citizens” (p.355). But by characterizing public talk in this way, Barber (1989) is setting up a dichotomy between public and private talk and raising what he is referring to as public talk to a paramount status. As Noddings (1996) points out, talk about everyday issues in private life should be recognized as appropriate...
content for the curriculum and as political when citizenship is redefined to take into account all experiences (both male and female).

While not specifying particular issues to be discussed, Newmann (1989) and Parker (1989) argue for the importance of involving students in dialogue (deliberations) about the nature of the public good and ways to achieve it. The result of attending only to private matters, Parker (1989) suggests, is that the public is silenced and the talk of politicians and lobbyists gains prominence (p.354). Newmann (1989) states that one of the dimensions of a curriculum for civic participation and analysis of public issues is enabling students to “talk with one another honestly and seriously about these issues” (p.358). But again, “private” talk is devalued.

Rather than talk about the world, Barber (1989) notes, the purpose of public talk is to make and remake the world (p.356). This transformational character is found in similar statements by Greene (1976) and Freire. Maxine Greene (1976) states that “democracy must be continually enacted, created and recreated in...the flux of the changing world” (p.18). And Freire explained that “to exist, humanly, is to name the world, to change it.” Drawing upon the views of feminists like Noddings and Gilligan, however, we can begin to think about making and remaking the world in terms of change which occurs through private talk. While I agree that private life should be emphasized in the curriculum, I disagree with Noddings (1996) who sets private life apart from citizenship. The emphasis on citizenship as contrasted with private life is, at least in part, a product of masculine domination of the curriculum. Are not the human
experiences which Noddings refers to as private (being a good neighbor, a responsible pet owner, concerned guardians of the natural world, committed to non-violence and peace, compassion for the suffering) equally as important for the public good and counted as acts of citizenship (p.287)?

Cathy (1995) remarked that her involvement in SADD had encouraged her to voice her concerns and take actions and contrasted it to her experiences in social studies classes. She said, “In SADD, what we do is important. You don’t learn that in class. Like you learn about being involved and doing this and they [teachers] tell you [that] you can make a difference, but you are like, yeah, right.” In SADD, however, she learned that she could work with others to influence change.

Whether “public” or “private” talk on “public” or “private” issues, Gilligan (1988) notes, ”The need to develop the art of voice becomes a pressing agenda for education” (p.156). The desire to maintain and increase connectedness connotes a manner of expressing oneself that requires interdependent relationships. In the classroom and in other educational settings, dialogue becomes imperative and takes precedence over debate, the type of verbal interaction most commonly taught in social studies classes, and teaching practices which follow the “banking” concept (Freire, 1983) or the parroting of facts delivered by the teacher (teller) or social studies textbooks.

People Have Differences

When Cathy was a high school junior, she pointed out that “people have differences” and that, through her involvement in SADD, she had gotten to “know
different people” that she otherwise might not have known. She described SADD as “different groups [of students] inside the big one [SADD group].” Although she had opportunities to get to “know different people” by working with them in the “big group,” by taking a stand on the issue of drinking and driving, she also learned that people had points of view different from her own. She said that before SADD, “I never had anybody object to me [my views].”

Curricula and proposals for citizenship (civic) education include recognition of difference/diversity. The definition of social studies put forth by the National Council for the Social Studies (1992), for instance, states that its primary purpose is “to help young people develop the ability to make informed and reasoned decisions for the public good as citizens of a culturally diverse, democratic society in an interdependent world” (NCSS, 1992). Often, however, the emphasis is on common or shared history, knowledge, purposes, beliefs, identity and/or values. This notion of commonality or sharing is reflected in the conception of the United States as a melting pot and in the nation’s motto “e pluribus unum,” the idea of unity in diversity (Civitas, 1991, p.257).

In its 1916 Report, the National Education Association emphasized the necessity of providing students with “common learnings to provide for a sense of community and socialization of the child” (Evans, 1989). Three-quarters of a century later, the list of “learnings” necessary for citizenship recommended by Bastian et al (1986) were “basic skills...critical judgment, social awareness, connection to community, and shared values” (p.62, emphasis added). Among Boyer’s (1990) recommendations for educating
responsible citizens is a "core of basic knowledge regarding social issues and institutions" (p.6) In Civitas: A Framework for Civic Education (1991), it is suggested that a way of addressing “increasing controversy over issues of diversity” is to recognize the necessity of finding common ground among citizens to prevent American society from disastrous internecine conflict and social breakdown....All Americans have an interest in finding a common understanding and a common identity--common ground upon which inevitable controversies can be thrashed out....Shared historical memory constitutes the most tenacious bonding agent available to a diverse nation; knowledge and appreciation of a common history creates the core of a collective historical memory that can bind citizens together in a public enterprise belonging equally to everyone (p.257).

Inherent in most proposals, especially those which emphasize pluralism or multiculturalism, is recognition of and respect for cultures other than one’s own; that is, tolerance. Suggested as a means of doing this and a way of finding “common ground” is addressing issues of diversity or competing views by communicating. Boyer (1990) recommends that educating students for responsible citizenship requires that we “deal thoughtfully with our deepest differences” (p.6). Newmann (1989) contends that one of the dimensions of a curriculum for civic participation and analysis of public issues is enabling students to “talk with one another honestly and seriously about [public] issues” (p.358). Referring to pluralism, Berstein (1991) maintains, “We can best appreciate the vitality and diversity of this tradition when we approach it as an ongoing engaged conversation consisting of distinctive--sometimes competing--voices” (p.324). In her critique of citizenship as an educational goal, Stone (1996) supports this pluralistic ideal. Doing so, she questions the utility of any conception of citizenship that does not
consider contributions of postmodern and poststructuralist feminisms which, among other attributes, "value multiplicity, diversity, and difference..." (p.51).

Several issues regarding citizenship are raised here. The terms "public," "common," and "shared," are concepts that are imbued with certain (and different) meanings. What/who, for instance, is the "public"? What does it mean to "value" diversity? These are very complex notions that, according to official reports and the participants' accounts, are seldom broached in classrooms.

Through their participation in SADD and other groups, the participants in this study had opportunities to interact with people who were different from themselves and listen to others whose views were sometimes different from their own. This is a manifestation of the concept of plurality, which Bernstein (1991) explains as being "willing to listen to others without denying or suppressing the otherness of the other" (p.336). In her reconception of citizenship, Stone (1996) also notes that in contemporary society, our associations and purposes are temporal (p.51). She states,

For political purposes, some interests come together for a time, then disperse once these temporary purposes are met....In this new citizenship we must also recognize and work with temporary associations in which individuals revel in the positive elements of meeting and being with new people who are only partially and temporarily like themselves. Moreover, we must acknowledge personal humility within these associations across difference: all actions have limited utility, all people have significant contributions to make, and no one act or impact has privilege over another (p.51).

The participants in this study came together in SADD for a short time (at most three years in high school) for a particular purpose (to prevent drinking and driving), and
each made a significant contribution to the group and to the cause. What did their experiences mean to them, and how do their meanings inform ideas about citizenship? The participants learned about the structures and functions of government in their social studies classes and in SADD. In SADD, they also learned about the problem of drinking and driving, the judicial system, and politics. But something else was happening that is salient to a discussion regarding citizenship. This something addresses the basic idea of plurality. Rather than learning about people who were different from themselves and discussing issues of diversity in abstract terms and in what we traditionally think of as a public forum, they were “getting to know” people who were different from themselves or who held different views by interacting with them in particular situations.

While racist views were expressed by Guy’s family members, particularly his grandfather, and his early circle of associates, his involvement in SADD provided him opportunities to interact with and learn about people unlike himself. Guy related a story about attending a conference where he shared a room with an African American student for the first time and the way it affected him. Growing up in a culture in which there was limited social interaction with people from other cultures, Guy’s experiences at this and other conferences provided opportunities to learn about people from other cultures. While he could have done so at home, the thought that this was something to do had not previously occurred to him.

It's like, when I went to the SADD National Conference, it was like, it changed my feelings dramatically....Before that I'd probably, it was just the whole thing of going and knowing that these people felt the way you did [about SADD’s issues]. Black, white, Indian, because they did have some
American Indians there....And get to know these people and, I mean, you remember that....I've never been in a room with all these people. All the people the same age as me making decisions that will impact a million students and white, black, red--everybody had a good--had an opinion. Whereas [here], if you sit in a classroom, there's one or two blacks; they're not going to stand up and say anything, because they've been taught through life experience. [Interview, Age 21]

This understanding transformed the way in which Guy (1995) believed social studies should be taught. Although he referred to his social studies classes as “great,” he said they were taught the wrong way. Rather than teaching facts about people and cultures throughout the world, “social studies should probably be more to teach people to live together in accordance.” He added,

Sure we need to know about what these people do and know what their culture is, and it’s good to learn that, because, you know, if you’re blind to somebody else’s culture, then how are you supposed to react to those people....You learn that through classes like social studies. I just think that not enough is keyed on let’s learn to get together and get along, instead of this is what these people do....But I think that SADD taught me more [about people].

Guy’s experiences raised his awareness of other cultures, but he also was influenced to take a stand on issues of racism in personal situations. He provided two examples in which he had “called down” people, a girl he dated (once) and a co-worker, for their racist remarks.

While Charlie’s experiences in SADD did not directly influence his views, he said, he “got to know” people from other cultures/races through personal relationships developed at school—a classmate/good friend in high school and a roommate/best friend
in college. But Charlie credited SADD with helping him express his views and listen to those with views different from his own. Charlie explained:

It helped me express my views by being able to listen to people’s points of view and being able to work with people--through SADD....I’ve learned how to express my point strongly but not tread on people’s feelings or dog them out....I’m able to sit down and listen to people’s point of view, accept their point, and say my own without hurting people’s feelings, [and] to have a heated discussion but to not take it personally. See, most people can’t argue. They take it personally and then the defenses start up and it’s like--I learned you can’t do that....I learned it through working with a group of people, listening to their ideas.

Cathy also said that she had learned different perspectives which broadened her understanding of people and social issues. As a high school sophomore, she explained that by working on a committee in SADD, she had gotten to know people that were outside her circle of family and friends.

I really hadn’t worked with people I didn’t know and that helped me to get to know them....It helped me realize that if you work on a committee, if you’re not real sure about what something is, it helps you kind of understand more. It helps you get to know different people--people that you don’t normally know and it helps you understand....We do things like the regional thing and state [reference to regional and state conferences]. I got to know people that I knew, that I went to school with, but I really didn’t know them. Through SADD and doing things like working on committees, I got to know them much better. I met people that I never met before. [1989]

The idea of learning and growing (maturing) by interacting with “different” people is addressed by Gilligan (1988) in her work focusing on the psychological development of females. Based on the findings of her research, she suggests a reconception of the maturation process. Rather than understanding adolescent development as a progression...
toward separation from parents and home, Gilligan (1988) explains the process, at least in respect to females, as a progression that is a "chronicle of expanding connection" (p.156). While her results focus on the psychological development of females, they do not necessarily exclude males. Two aspects of the idea of "expanding connection" are also applicable to a discussion of education for citizenship.

Gilligan (1988) explains differences in understandings of self and morality. One way is "in terms of individual autonomy and social responsibility...which presupposes a notion of reciprocity, expressed as a 'categorical imperative or a 'golden rule.'" This understanding, she says, is self-referential and limits growth. As she explains, "the self oddly seems to stay constant" (pp.6-7). In contrast is an understanding of self and morality which centers on "a joining of stories." This implies, Gilligan (1988) says, "the possibility of learning from others in ways that transform the self." Gilligan adds, "In this alternative construction, self is known in the experience of connection and defined not by reflection but by interaction, the responsiveness of human engagement" (pp.6-7). This form and mode of interacting is dialogical and intersubjective. It is an approach which leads to the transformation of self.

The 'golden rule' understanding is related to tolerance. In addition to "doing unto others as you would have them do unto you" or "live and let live," it is related to the idea of tolerance in that we might recognize and respect others, yet remain separate from them. This maintains a rigid separation between individual/groups. If we think this way, we also conceive social responsibility as assuming responsibility for ourselves, just

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
as we guard our own rights as citizens. When we interact with people by “joining stories,” we are no longer merely tolerant of their differences. We, ourselves, are transformed. This does not preclude the importance of living by the “golden rule” and learning tolerance. Rather, it opens us to an added dimension of citizenship.

These understandings are evidenced in the way in which two participants in this study approached others who were different than themselves. Cathy and Guy tell different kinds of stories about “making friends.”

During high school, Cathy’s approach to “making friends” was to follow the “golden rule.” Describing a situation in which she encountered another student, she framed her actions in terms of her own physical appearance and the reaction of others to her. While she didn’t like being “picked on” because she was short and overweight, it also “didn’t matter” because she was well-aware of her imperfections.

People have differences, and I don’t like when people pick on someone. I don’t like it when people do it to me, so I don’t go around doing it to other people....I want people to treat me nice, so I treat them nice....I try to be nice because they might be the way they are. But if you’re nice to them, they might say, Well, I’m so mean to her, how come she’s nice to me? And maybe it makes some people realize that they don’t have to be mean to people, because I have a friend who used to be real mean to me and it used to bother me, but I never let her know it. I’d always be nice to her--and now we’re friends.

Participating in SADD, Cathy said, raised her awareness that others had views different from her own. To communicate with them, she drew upon two models which were available to her. From her religious teachings, she learned about the “golden rule.” In church and in school, she learned that when people hold different views, the way they
communicate is by debate. If she was to defend her faith to non-believers, she would need to know as much as possible about Scripture; if she wanted to defend her position on drinking and driving, she would need to know as much as possible about that issue. Additionally, she would arm herself against attack by gathering information on counter arguments. The goal of debate is winning. Reflecting on her experiences in SADD, Cathy remarked that, because of her experiences in SADD, she could defend her views.

I can stand up for my stuff more now than probably I could have, you know, I have never really had to stand up for myself. You know [before SADD] I never had anybody object to me. And even since then, I don't think I ever had that much.

The process in which Cathy was engaged is one that is recommended by Parker et al (1989) as a method of developing students' ability to reason dialectically. Based on findings of a study, Parker and his associates concluded that students can be taught to reason critically and that this ability is central to critical reasoning on public issues (p.7). Furthermore, they add, dialectical reasoning is a rare phenomenon. In high school and college classrooms, they note, debate is often nothing more than alternating monologues.

Another way of communicating that is conducive to Gilligan’s idea of “joining stories” is dialogical and intersubjective. Dialogue is a collaborative activity. It involves expressing oneself, but it also involves listening to others to gain understanding and to find meaning. Dialogue complicates issues and positions and reveals assumptions to be reexamined. Through their involvement in SADD, the participants had opportunities to communicate in this way. Usually, however, this communication occurred in “private” rather than “public” situations. Dialogue with others whose views were in some ways
different from their own provided opportunities for participants that involved both interpersonal (private) and political (public) dimensions. Guy related stories which exemplify this type of communication. In addition to the story about sharing a room with an African American student at a conference, he told about an experience at another conference in which he and a Native American student had stayed up late swapping stories about their cultures.

This notion emphasizes the need for people to interact in ways that are qualitatively different from those traditionally suggested as necessary skills for citizenship. Rather than being socialized to a set of values common to a particular culture, young people should have opportunities to learn about other cultures and interact with people who are in some ways different from themselves. These encounters either reinforce the teachings of home and school or they serve to raise questions concerning those teachings.

In one way or another, the participants were moving away from home into adulthood. Standing up and speaking out on SADD's issues catapulted them into an expanded pool of connections often requiring them often to learn about and interact with people who held views that were different from their own and those who were raised in a different culture. They were immersing themselves in and testing new waters and, in some instances at least, transforming themselves and their ideas about what it means to be a citizen. While the students in this study were participants in SADD for a short time relative to their entire lives, it was a significant aspect of their lives. The salient
point here is that they were going through changes in the way in which they perceived
the world. They were joining forces with working others to affect change regarding a
particular issue, but by doing so they were “joining their stories” with those of others.

With Liberty and Justice (and Caring) for All

The primary purpose of the social studies, according to a definition put forth by
the NCSS (1992), is “to help young people develop the ability to make informed and
reasoned decisions for the public good.” Again, to accomplish this, it is proposed that
students be engaged in dialogue about the nature of the public good and ways to achieve
it (Parker, 1989; Newmann, 1989).

Social justice is one principle that has traditionally been central to a discussion of
“the public good.” In The Federalist (1788), “James Madison argued that in a republic
“Justice is the end of government. It is the end of civil society.” Today, when we
think of justice, it is commonly conceived in regard to the rights of citizens, whether
pertaining to government or society and regardless of one’s race, gender, economic
status, religion, or other demographic categories. It is a principle that is widely
promoted in education, social advocacy, critical theory, and moral developmental
theory. In their theories of moral development, for instance, Freud, Piaget, and Kohlberg
focus exclusively on the concept of justice (Gilligan, 1988).

Central to this discussion is the tension between the concepts of justice and
caring. There is a growing body of research on adolescence and education by Gilligan
(1982, 1988) and others (Gilligan and Attanuci, 1988; Maybach, 1995, 1996; Noddings,
1992, 1994; Lyons, 1988; Kahne and Westheimer, 1996; and Schultz, 1992) which advances the concept of caring as at least an equally important orientation to be seriously considered in education.

Considering the reports of Gilligan (1982, 1988), Noddings (1992, 1994, 1996), and other feminists, if social studies curricula focuses exclusively on social justice and the consideration of the public good as rights, it is likely that the concerns of many students, particularly females, will be marginalized. It is further likely that the students will look for places away from school, in which “empathy and compassion,” to use Gilligan’s words, are central in the “resolution of real as opposed to hypothetical dilemmas” and places where they have the “power to choose” and are “willing to speak in their own voices.” Moreover, the risk of essentializing females is real if we are not mindful of the range and complexity of variations among individual female and male students. “With each perspective,” Gilligan (1982) adds, “the key terms of social understanding take on different meanings, reflecting a change in the imagery of relationships and signifying a shift in orientation” (p.8). Awareness of these variations cause us to look anew at taken-for-granted assumptions in education and citizenship.

Gilligan (1988) states that the two perspectives of caring and justice “denote different ways of viewing the world” (p.8) She explains that a justice perspective is imbued with an understanding of rights and rules. She refers to rights as male-thinking, which emphasizes separation and the individual. Moral problems arise from competing rights and the mode of thinking is formal and abstract. She refers to responsibility as
female-thinking, which emphasizes connection and relationship (p.19). From a care perspective, moral problems arise from conflicting responsibilities, require a mode of thinking that is contextual and narrative, and an understanding of responsibility and relationships (p.19). Citing studies which support her thesis, Gilligan (1982) notes that findings of a 1975 study by Norma Haan and a 1976 study by Constance Holskin indicate that "the moral judgments of women differ from those of men in the greater extent to which women’s judgments are tied to feelings of empathy and compassion and are concerned with the resolution of real as opposed to hypothetical dilemmas" (p.69).

These two orientations, however, should not to be viewed in opposition to each other. Clarifying her position regarding justice and caring, Gilligan (1988) states that they are not mutually exclusive or mirror images of the other, "with justice uncaring or care unjust" (p.xxi). She points out that the orientations, "constitute different ways of organizing the problem that lead to different reasoning strategies, different ways of thinking about what is happening and what to do" (p.xxi).

Discussing Gilligan's findings that there are two modes of being in relationships: (1) separate and objective and (2) connected, Lyons (1988) says that an assumption of the first perspective (justice—separate and objective) is that "others are the same as self" (p.33). An assumption of the second perspective (care—connected) is that "others are different from oneself" (p.34). These conceptions, Lyons (1988) says, "are constructs that represent ideals containing strengths and weaknesses" (p.34). In a morality of justice, equality is an ideal and strength; in a morality of care, the ideal and strength is
"consideration of individuals’ particular needs—in their own terms..." (Lyons, 1988, p.34). But, Lyons adds, “An impartial concern for others’ rights...may not be sufficient to provide for care, and caring for others may leave individuals uncaring of their own needs and rights to care for themselves” (Lyons, 1988, p.34). In a study which tested Gilligan’s hypothesis, Lyons (1988) found that in general there was a greater consistency over time of men’s consideration of rights (justice) than women’s consideration of response (care). Lyons (1988) noted a change in women during their late twenties, which showed “increased consideration of rights in their conceptualization of moral problems or conflict, although they still use consideration of response more frequently than rights in the resolution of conflict” (p.39). She noted, too, that the orientations were not mutually exclusive and that both men and women used both types of considerations (p.40). Lyons (1988) also states that her work “supports, modifies, and elaborates Gilligan’s ideas and confirms Piaget’s central insight that ‘apart from our relations to other people, there can be no moral necessity’ (Piaget, 1932/1965, p.165)” (p.24).

Regarding her suggestion that schools cultivate caring, Maybach (1996) points out that we should build on “an individual’s perceptions of him- or herself as well as on his or her acknowledgment of others’ perspectives” (p.235). While this point considers the notion of caring about others by understanding their perspectives, this does not move the discussion into the sociopolitical realm in which people act in ways that are more than relational, yet draw upon the relational as they act in ways to increase social justice.
While discussions of various aspects of caring and justice in educational literature have increased in recent years, there is a need to locate those junctures within diverse discourses from which ongoing dialogue can proceed.

Although there has been a lapse in recent years, Noddings (1994) says, “Morality has been a long-standing interest in schools” (p.171). She argues for cultivating care and other perspectives traditionally feminine. Other theorists, like Parker (1989) and Newmann (1989) argue for the importance of promoting the public good by cultivating civic virtue. Schultz (1992) notes, “the citizenship education movement has emphasized the importance of helping students develop the capacity for civic judgment. The term has a specific meaning. It describes the ability to apply general principles and knowledge to very specific situations of public life” (p.19). Schultz (1992) also suggests that we need to keep our students in a continuing conversation about what it means to be citizens, not simply in the sense of voting regularly and knowing the difference between the executive and legislative branches, but as people who are attempting to exercise judgment for the common good. Service is always a political act....Our contemporary problem is that we tend to see institutions as something impersonal, disconnected from our individual efforts and aspirations....[W]e need to remind students that they are participants in this process of the creation and recreation of public institutions. Perhaps we need to revive the old phrase ‘the personal is political’ as a way of saying that the dichotomy between individual action and public life is a false one (p.19).

We can draw upon students’ understandings and analysis of their words and actions to identify those curricular approaches which build upon their experiences and perspectives. Content of the social studies notwithstanding, the engagement of students...
in their own learning depends upon the ability of curricula and pedagogical practices to make connections to their lives. In answer to the concerns of Stanley and Maxcy (cited in Whitson and Stanley, 1989) that appropriate content for the social studies cannot be reduced to problems that are student-felt, because they might be "trivial and inadequate criterion for content selection" (p.7), perhaps the better course would be to begin by seriously considering the student-felt problems as a beginning point and bringing into the mix an understanding of the students' perspectives. The role of education, then, would be to assist students in making those connections to the social studies' goal of civic virtue and "to help young people develop the ability to make informed and reasoned decisions for the public good..." (NCSS, 1992). Even more, other dimensions of citizenship previously not considered can be explored.

How did the participants in this study understand "the public good?" While they did not use the term "public good," they spoke in their own words about helping others, making their communities safer, values, responsibility, and fairness. While the principle of justice was reflected in some of their comments, so, too, was the principle of caring. Through their activities they were taking actions as young citizens to influence change. Their ideas about the purposes of their actions are integral to a discussion on reconceiving the purposes of citizenship. They focused in some way on these concepts in their comments regarding their activities in SADD and other activities which addressed an issue of concern to them. Liza considered the beneficial effects of her actions, stating, "I mean, I think that I was doing something good for the community" (1995). Janie
(1995) said that participation in SADD was fun and that through the group people became more responsible. Cathy talked about influencing others’ decisions to be more responsible. She suggested,

And you hope that being in SADD, that you made a difference in somebody’s life....Yeah, you don’t know, somebody could have been drinking one night and they could have seen you driving down the street, and, you know, you could have driven by where they were and they could have thought that, you know, maybe I shouldn’t get in this car and would go and let somebody else take them home or something” (1995).

Guy commented, “I think the reason why I mainly got involved in SADD at first was because I was invited and then when I got involved I realized what I could do to help other people” (1995). And Helen remarked, “I think that the value system of this country decreased in the last five years” (1995). She also noted the importance of caring: “To be a citizen, you have to show people that you care” (1995).

Noddings (1992) suggests that caring should be central in education. This proposal should be considered carefully, however, in terms that are life-enhancing for both the giver and receiver of care. Tronto (1989) is critical of Noddings’ analysis that involves a “displacement of one’s interests to the interests of the one cared-for” (p.180). On the ethic of care, Gilligan (1982) states that the underlying logic is a psychological logic of relationships...[and] evolves around a central insight, that self and other are interdependent” (p.74). Drawing upon Gilligan’s analysis that seeks balance, Tronto (1989) states, “Gilligan stresses that there may well be tension between the maintenance of self and relationships; by her account moral maturity arrives when an individual can correctly balance concerns for the self and for others” (p.180). Gilligan (1982) found
that between childhood and adulthood, women's understanding of what it means to care undergoes a transition. Gilligan (1982) notes, "When the distinction between helping and pleasing frees the activity of taking care from the wish for approval by others, the ethic of responsibility can become a self-chosen anchor of personal integrity and strength" (p. 171). Like Gilligan, Tronto (1989) points out that the traditional way of thinking about caring in contemporary society separates the act along gender lines, with caring "about" more often characteristic of males and caring "for" more often characteristic of females (Tronto, 1989, p. 176). Men care-about (in a general sense); women care-for (in a particular/relational sense).

All of the participants in this study, females and males, raised the issue of caring, either in relation to their own actions toward others, others' actions toward them, or both. Since they focused primarily on relationships, it is difficult to discern ways of thinking that are characteristically either male or female. Liza, more than others, was locked into lopsided relationships in which she unintentionally displaced her own interests to those of others. Eventually, she was forced to recognize her actions as self-destructive and made changes which balanced her relationships. The wish for approval was not gender-specific among participants in this study. Both males and females sought approval, although perhaps differently. Guy recognized SADD as an organization in which people cared about each other, but he focused on the personal aspect of this caring, commenting that outside of SADD nobody cared who he was. In SADD, he expressed his caring for others and savored the approval he received from his
actions. Both Guy and Helen sought approval from their friends and parents, Guy primarily from his father and Helen mostly from her mother. Both talked about trying to live up to their parents’ expectations of them and grappled with the contradictions between their parents’ expectations and their own.

The concepts (or constructs) of justice and care can become extremely convoluted unless the nuances of each are viewed in terms of the other. Neither can the two be placed in a continuum, because doing so sets them in opposition to the other. While it may be plausible to align the participants in this study predominantly to one orientation or the other, it is only necessary to note that contradictions arising from different orientations are part of the process of becoming (maturation). Cathy’s orientation to relationships, for instance, can be characterized as justice. Relying upon her Christian values as a guiding force in her life, she spoke of turning the other cheek and adhering to the Golden Rule of doing unto others as you would have them do unto you. Cathy believed that by approaching relationships in this way, others would reciprocate with like conduct. This orientation is not unlike the ethical orientation to education discussed by Nel Noddings (1994). But is her ethical orientation a care orientation or a justice orientation? We cannot assume that Noddings, Gilligan, and others are defining care in the same way. Noddings (1994) defines this ethical orientation as “relational ethics.” One who is concerned with behaving ethically, she explains, “strives always to preserve or convert a given relation into a caring relation” (p. 173). By responding the way she did when she was not treated kindly, Cathy acted from this orientation (but also from a
justice perspective), thereby converting an adversarial relation to a caring one, according to Noddings' definition of relational ethics.

Kahne and Westheimer (1996) also discuss the intersection of justice and care. Like Gilligan, they note that the two orientations are not mutually exclusive, but add that in their thinking the moral dimension of social justice is care. Kahne and Westheimer (1996) point out that the early Progressives, such as Dewey, Kilpatrick, Counts, and Hanna believed in the transformational potential of their approach. By engaging in these activities, students "would recognize that their academic abilities and collective commitments could help them respond in meaningful ways to a variety of social concerns" (pp. 594-595). According to Gilligan and Attanucci (1988), traditional psychological models point to the justice orientation as indicative of moral maturity. Their studies and those of others, however, show that both perspectives constitute moral thinking (Gilligan and Attanucci, 1988, p.82). Gilligan and Attanucci note,

The tension between these perspectives is suggested by the fact that detachment, which is the mark of mature moral judgment in the justice perspective, becomes the moral problem in the care perspective—the failure to attend to need. Conversely, attention to the particular needs and circumstances of individuals, the mark of mature moral judgment in the care perspective, becomes the moral problem in the justice perspective—failure to treat others fairly, as equals (p.82).

Helen's failure to attend to the needs of others in her expression of caring supports the finding by Gilligan and Attanucci (1988) that "detachment...becomes the moral problem in the care perspective—the failure to attend to need" (p.82). Gilligan and Attanucci (1988) also suggest that "careful attention to women's articulation of care
concerns suggests a different conception of the moral domain and a different way of analyzing the moral judgments of both men and women” (p.83). The authors discovered, however, that minority students focused more on justice and that this finding is of particular interest, as “it counters the suggestion that a care orientation is the perspective of subordinates or people of lower social power and status” (p.83). This does not seem surprising when we consider the greater attention afforded to issues of race in the public consciousness. But Seigfried (1996) evokes a different slant that includes both perspectives in her discussion of the way oppressed groups, which includes women, have learned to negotiate their way in the world. This is in essence a reflection of cultural learnings and ways of acting that are subconscious manifestations of cultural understandings.

While the participants overwhelmingly stated that their reasons for being involved in SADD was to help others (usually an expression of caring), they voiced concerns which recognized unfairness and injustice. However, there was not a demarcation between caring and justice. The participants’ stories include elements of each, neither of which can be separated from the other. In their expressions of caring, there were traces of justice themes and vice versa. In Liza’s story, for instance, caring and fairness were integral to her efforts to reduce drinking and driving. She cared about her friends not hurting themselves, yet she also noted that it was unfair to her when others did not consider that the consequences of their actions could hurt others as well. While Cathy cared about others and treated them fairly, she also hoped that they would reciprocate in
kind. Guy appreciated belonging to a group in which people cared about each other, but when someone with whom he worked made racist remarks, he chastised him for it. He told the co-worker, “I’m offended by it....I said, I just don’t like the word, man, it’s not right. It’s uncalled for. Look what it’s done to society.” Helen asserted, “I think SADD stood out as a whole and said, hey, we care about you and you may not, but this is what you need to do and this is what needs to be done for things to happen....[But] government and the laws and the justice system is, you know, pretty much, nobody thinks it’s fair.”

Charlie appreciated the way in which he was treated by his fellow SADD members and he wanted to reciprocate. He said, “My basic thing for being in SADD is trying to help somebody, because a lot of people have helped me and I feel like it’s my turn.”

Regardless of the perspective or orientation (caring or justice), the participants’ understandings were grounded in personal observations and experiences. In one way or another, all of the participants expressed cynicism about politics, yet they believed in the importance of civic involvement. When he reached the age of majority, Charlie voted faithfully to support, as he put it, his “right to gripe.” Guy learned the ins and outs of local politics from overhearing and later participating in discussions around the kitchen table, especially at his grandfather’s home. Guy said that through SADD he developed relationships with others different from himself, which caused him to reflect upon and reject some family members’ racist views. He began to speak out against racism, recognizing the destructive effects on society, as well as individuals, both perpetrators
and victims. Only two of the other participants, Charlie and Helen, raised the issue of racism. More rare was discussion of discrimination based on gender or sexual orientation. Cathy, Janie, and Molly commented on the importance of higher education for females, and Helen discussed a particular situation regarding her mother's racist and homophobic attitudes. Molly and Helen were concerned about censorship. Molly, in particular, raised serious concerns about censorship of books and students' voices, especially in school.

A reconception of citizenship includes a need to emphasize both justice and caring. In the classroom students should have opportunities to explore different perspectives on the world. Considering the marginalization and silencing of many voices, it is important to foster, as Bernstein (1991) suggests, "an ongoing engaged conversation consisting of distinctive--sometimes competing--voices" (p.324).

Summary

This study has focused on the reconception of citizenship in social education by exploring the meanings that the participants gave to their experiences in SADD and other aspects of their lives. While the participants identified drinking and driving as a social problem, it was primarily their personal concerns that impelled them to take action in the public forum of SADD. It was in SADD that they found a place to speak about their concerns and to interact with others. Through the participants' stories, public and private dimensions of citizenship and the content, processes, and purposes of social education have been explored.
The history and general ineffectiveness of reform efforts point to a need to understand change as an ongoing and incremental (evolutionary, not revolutionary) process that draws upon those practices put forth in statements regarding the goals and purposes and theory and practice of social studies: information gathering, reflection, dialogue, and active participation. Included is listening to the voices of many—theorists, teachers, and students—and seriously considering the implications of their utterances for the practice of social studies—the teaching of young people in classrooms or in the “real world.”

Participants believed that it was possible for citizens of any age to affect change by setting goals and working together. It also was evident that they were skeptical about the possibility of change in those institutions with which they were most familiar—education and government. Even so, their practice contradicted their discourse, indicating hopefulness that their participation would prove worthwhile. For those who were unable to affect desired change of those with whom they were most closely (friends and family members), access to alternative means of expression and influence was consequential. While the term “empowerment” has become trite, the participants’ perceived that through their involvement in SADD, they had done something significant, and, hence, felt that their sense of self-worth and abilities had increased. While most expressed that they were guided in their actions primarily by their values and experiences, it is unquestionable that they also were influenced by their gender, culture, and socioeconomic circumstances.
Further research suggested by this study is the way in which adolescents, as a marginalized group, is essentialized in research and curricula. While the participants in this study share some common characteristics, the case studies evidence their uniqueness and complexity as human beings, regardless of their age. Lesko (1996) recommends that we examine the orthodox assumptions about adolescents. As feminist theory has made us aware of the destructiveness of essentializing women and silencing their voices, Lesko’s work compels us to do the same on behalf of adolescents.

Through their stories, the participants have encouraged a reconception of particular aspects of citizenship. Raised as topics for continuing discussion are questions, such as: Whose issues are deemed public concerns? Which actions are valued as citizenship? How do we learn about people who are different from ourselves? What is the purpose of citizenship? Such questions, I believe, warrant further consideration for the social education of young people—whenever and wherever it occurs.

End Notes

1Parts of some of the comments are paraphrases of the students’ responses. Complete quotations are included in each of their stories.

2When the data from this study is compared to the findings of a study by Dynesson (1992), the results are mixed. Dynesson and his associates surveyed high school seniors to identify the meaning the students ascribed to citizenship. Among the findings was that “students rated an ability to make wise decisions and concern for the welfare of others as the most important good citizenship characteristics” (p.57). Rated lowest by the students were knowledge of government and participation in community and school affairs (p.57). While the students’ in Dynesson’s study did not rate community participation favorably, we cannot assume that the questions referenced activities similar to SADD. We are cautioned to investigate further to identify the meaning students ascribe to terms like community affairs.
3It became apparent through my discussions with the participants that differences in pedagogical practices were associated with the curriculum tracks to which they had been assigned. There were three tracks at Parish High: Honors, Academic, and Practical. Also available were Resource classes for those students who had been identified as in need of special assistance. All of the participants were enrolled in the same three courses: Civics in ninth grade, World History in tenth, and American History in eleventh.

4As a requirement of graduation from high school, students were require to pass state exams in each major subject area.


6Cited are Stanley and Maxcy, 1984; Maxcy and Stanley, 1986.


9Berkeley, 1990. No date is given for the quotation attributed to Freire.

10The authors include the history of immigrants and those who have escaped the bonds of servitude.

11This is a part of a statement issued by the National Council for the Social Studies House of Delegates, November 1992.

12Civitas, 1991, p.20. Purpel (1989) also suggests that the purpose of citizenship is social justice.

13Britzman (1991) states that the goal of Freire’s notion of critical consciousness “requires collective action in transforming reality toward the goal of more just world” (p.26). Stanley (1992) notes that critical theorists promote the ideal of social justice.

14Maybach (1996) focuses on a distinction between true generosity and charity; Kahne and Westheimer (1996) point out the caring aspects of a social justice perspective, and Schultz (1992) discusses the two orientations as charity versus justice.
Epilogue

Rather than offering a set of conclusions, the findings of this study raise questions about basic and taken-for-granted assumptions in regard to citizenship and social education. When I met with my doctoral committee for the dissertation defense, these and other questions, which I had not previously considered, were discussed. The dialogue focused on ideas regarding change, culture, experience, voice, and representation.

The notion of change or progress has been an accepted democratic tradition. Issuing from this tradition is a focus on problem-solving in curricular proposals for social (progressive) education. Within this tradition, however, how do we approach pluralism, which is a basic tenet of democracy? Is cultural diversity a problem to be solved or should it be explored through the sharing of stories to foster understanding? Bernstein (1991) maintains that the vitality and diversity of pluralism can be best appreciated when it is approached “as an ongoing conversation consisting of distinctive—sometimes competing—voices” (p.324). His suggestion of conversation rather than debate carries a tone of interpersonal communication of the type that might occur in private rather than traditionally public settings. This approach is also found in Gilligan’s (1988) idea of expanding connections in moral development, which denotes a joining of stories and transformation of the storytellers.

Related to a discussion of change and culture is a query regarding common or shared history, knowledge, purposes, beliefs, and/or values. By focusing exclusively on
fostering a common set of beliefs, for instance, it is likely that one group’s beliefs will be raised to a higher status than others and some groups’ beliefs will be marginalized. Focusing instead on the notion of difference (diversity), the voices of those which heretofore have been devalued or relegated to marginality are provided an opening through which to speak. However, accompanying this approach must be an awareness of race/ethnicity, gender, and class differences in regard to historical and cultural precedents. There remain certain places in which members of marginalized groups have not been allowed to speak, places in which they have not felt safe to speak, and places in which they have spoken but their voices have not been heard. Sadly, for the participants in this study, their classrooms were often such places.

Even when words are spoken and heard, however, it must be recognized that stories are representations of lived experience. For the qualitative researcher, interpreting (re-representing) the stories of others requires listening closely, but also consideration of contexts and, to the greatest extent possible, acknowledgment of his or her own biases. Although interpretations are always necessarily partial and contingent, experience itself, as Seigfried (1996) suggests, can be the subject of inquiry. Stories and artistic expressions representing experiences can breathe life into the curriculum.

Seigfried (1996) notes that Elsie Ripley Clapp (1952)’s proposal for education was to consider the “whole community as an educational resource” (p. 52). While social education does occur outside the classroom, former AERA President Lauren Resnick (1987) suggests that school is a “special kind of community” that offers unique

Reproduced with permission of the copyright owner. Further reproduction prohibited without permission.
opportunities for educating students. Recognizing both the public and private
dimensions of students' experiences in the "real world," we can begin to rethink
citizenship in terms of contemporary issues. Through ongoing dialogue we can consider
the degree to which students' experiences and issues of concern to them are included in
the curriculum and the ways in which students themselves can be invited to participate
in the conversation.
References


Barth, J. L. A consistent social studies: Definition, rationale, and goals for developing responsible citizenship,” The Social Studies Teacher, 9, (2) Nov. - Jan, 1987-88.


Association of Secondary School Principals.

Kraft, R. J. And Krug, J. Review of research and evaluation on service learning in public
higher education in Building community: Service learning in the academic disciplines,

Kuh, G. D. (1993). In their own words: what students learn outside the classroom.

Leming, J. S. (1989, October). The two cultures of social studies education. Social
Education, 3, (6), pp. 404-408.

youth. In G. Grant (Ed.), Review of research in education (pp. 111-162). Washington,

LeRiche, L.W. The political socialization of children in the expanding environments

Lesko, N. Denaturalizing adolescence: The politics of contemporary representations.
Youth and Society, 28, (2), December 1996, pp. 139-161.


Lewis, Anne C. (1989). The time for youth service has come, Kappan, 70, (8), pp. 580-
581.


Linn, R. L. and Erickson, F. (1990). Research in teaching and learning, volume 2:

Service No. ED 301 118).

MacIsaac, T. (1986). An alternative to abandoning the social studies. Theory and


NCSS Position Statement, A vision of powerful teaching and learning in the social studies: building social understanding and civic efficacy. Social Education. 57, (5), September, 1993, pp.213-223.


Appendix A

Chronology of Events

Local Newspaper Front Page Story (May 15, 1987)

A two-car accident here in Parish (pseudonym) has claimed the lives of two high school teenagers. Sandy Goetz, 16, was pronounced dead at parish General Hospital early Sunday, authorities said. The second victim, Brian Walton, 16, died Monday afternoon from injuries he sustained in the crash, a spokesperson said. Both victims were sophomores at Parish High School. Both victims were passengers in a car which apparently ran a stop sign and broadsided another vehicle, according to Parish Chief Deputy. The driver of the car was identified as Sam Carlton and a fourth person was identified as Russell Tremaine, both students at Parish High....The passengers of the other car were identified as Brenda Kline and Joseph Kline and their two children.

Summer, 1988
Liza and other cheerleaders at Parish High School organize the Chapter of Students Against Driving Drunk. Mrs. Patron, the Cheerleader sponsor and a counselor at the school becomes SADD advisor.
Liza is elected as the SADD Chapter's first president.
Researcher has initial contact with the group.

December, 1988
The first school-wide public awareness event, a mock crash, was held at Parish High

May, 1989
David is elected as the SADD president for 1989-90.
Liza is elected as chairperson of the Public Relations Committee.
Janie is elected as secretary and Helen is elected as Treasurer.

February, 1991
Helen resigns presidency; vice-president Guy assumes presidency.

April, 1991
Last school-wide public awareness event, mock trial, is held.

May, 1991
Leadership structure of SADD is changed from a slate of officers to an Executive Council.
Helen, Janie, Cathy, Charlie, and Molly graduate.

September, 1991
The SADD advisor resigns; the organization disbands.

May, 1993
Guy graduates.
Appendix B
Letter to School Principal
September 29, 1989

Dear Mr. ____________:

I enjoyed meeting with you and Ms. ____________ on September 8. Thank you for approving my request to conduct research with students who are members of the SADD organization at your school. Following is a brief explanation of the research project I am proposing. If, at any time, you would like more information concerning the research, I will be most happy to comply with your request.

The research project will be an ethnographic study of students belonging to SADD at ____________ High School. The research will be conducted during the 1989-90 school year and will include interviews with students, observations at meetings and other gatherings, and observations in various social studies classes. The study will focus on the actions taken by the students as they address the issue of drinking and driving, as well as the interaction among members of the group. One important question I will be asking is: What are students learning about their role as citizens through their activities in SADD? Additionally, are educational objectives being met through this extracurricular activity?

Anonymity of students and faculty members is assured. I will consider the ethics of my actions as a researcher and will do nothing to cause concern regarding my actions. In any written analysis for public consumption, the school will not be identified, nor will any students or personnel be named. The findings of the study will be discussed periodically with the group and their input will be welcomed.

Please accept my sincere appreciation for the opportunity to learn more about this organization. I look forward to being a part of ____________ High School during the year.

Sincerely,

Cheryl J. Edwards
Appendix C
Letter to School Principal
August, 1990

Dear Ms. __________________________:

I am sure that with assuming your new position, time is a precious commodity, so I will be as brief as possible in explaining the reason for my letter. For the past two years, I have worked with Ms. SADD Advisor and members of the SADD Chapter at your school. The original reason I became involved with the group was because of my work as Educational Services Coordinator for MADD. As I observed the group and participated in some of their activities, I realized that I wanted to learn more about the students and organization. Since I have completed course work at LSU for a Ph.D. in Curriculum and Instruction, with an emphasis in social studies, I decided to focus my dissertation research on the _________ SADD Chapter.

After speaking to Ms. SADD Advisor and some of the students in SADD to get their feelings on the possibility of conducting research with the group, I was pleased to learn that they were willing to participate. The next step was to write Mr. Former Principal and arrange a meeting for the purpose of seeking his permission to go forward. In the letter to him I explained that the research project would be a qualitative study which would include interviews with students, observations at meetings and other gatherings, and possibly observing several social studies classes. The study will focus on the actions taken by students as they address the issues of drinking and driving and the use of alcohol by teenagers. Two important questions I will be asking are: What are the students learning about their role as citizens through their activities in SADD? And, are educational (social studies) objectives being met through this extracurricular activity?

I would like to continue working with the group during this school year; therefore, I am requesting your approval to do so. Additionally, I would like to extend the research to include the collection of data through the use of a survey instrument. As I assured Mr. Former Principal, anonymity of the school, as well as faculty and students, will be assured. I am aware of the ethical considerations of conducting the research and will do nothing to cause concern for my actions.

If possible, I would like to meet with you and Ms SADD Advisor to answer any questions you might have. I understand that the fulfillment of this request may be an imposition, but I will do anything I can to keep this is a minimum. Furthermore, I feel that this research is important because it comes at a time when a great deal of attention is being afforded to the problem of alcohol and drug abuse among young people and because students at your school are becoming involved in a program to address this problem.

350
Thank you for your consideration of this request. I will telephone you a couple of weeks after the beginning of school to discuss this matter. Please accept my congratulations for being named principal of __________ High School, and I wish you the best in the new challenges ahead.

Sincerely,

Cheryl J. Edwards
Appendix D
Parental Permission Form
September 24, 1990

TO: Parents of SADD Members

FROM: Cheryl Edwards, MADD Youth Programs Coordinator

Dear Parents:

As a candidate for a Ph.D. at Louisiana State University, I would like to conduct research at ______________ High School to study the educational outcomes of student involvement in the SADD organization. As part of this research, I am seeking your approval for your child to complete a questionnaire and possibly be interviewed. Subjects in the research will be members of SADD. Information on individual students will be kept strictly confidential. Students' names will not be used in my dissertation or other published documents. Additionally, the school will be given a pseudonym to assure the anonymity of the school in my dissertation.

Contingent upon your approval, I have received permission from the administration and the ______________ School Board to conduct research at the school. If you object to your child participating in this study, please complete the form below and return it to Ms. SADD Advisor at ______________ High School by October 1, 1990.

Sincerely,

Cheryl J. Edwards

______________________________

Name of Student: ________________________________

I refuse permission for my child to participate in the study to be conducted by Ms. Edwards.

______________________________

Parent's Signature
Appendix E
Guide for Interviews with Former Members of
SADD at Parish High School

1. What have you been doing since high school?

2. Why did you get involved in SADD?

3. What did you learn from your involvement in SADD that was not learned in social studies or other classes that helped you better understand what you were learning in those classes?

4. What activities meant most to you and why?

5. Why was the topic of impaired driving and drinking important to you? Would you have been involved in an organization like SADD if it hadn't been those topics/issues?

6. What is your conception of citizenship and how have you been involved?

7. How do you see your involvement in terms of the big picture? Do you think that your actions made a difference? Why?

8. Were your views on the topic and citizenship altered in any way through your participation in SADD? What about your political views or your understanding of the way government works?

9. In SADD or in other aspects of your life (school, friendships, family, other organizations, work, college, etc.), tell about ways in which you were able to express your views and take actions on things that were important to you.

10. Is there anything you think or do now that you see as a result of your participation in SADD?

11. Were there negative outcomes from your involvement in SADD -- at the time or in retrospect?
12. Do you have any ideas on education that you’d like to share? Do you have any recommendations related to social studies classes in particular? Could your activities in SADD have been used or incorporated in social studies classes? If so, how?

The remainder of the interview is open, allowing interviewees the opportunity to ask questions and lead the discussion.
Appendix F

Statement of Consent

The Statement of Consent was signed and dated by each of the seven participants and the researcher prior to follow-up interviews in 1996.

Participant’s Name:
Address: Telephone Number:

This case study of a SADD Chapter was conducted for the purpose of better understanding the learning that occurs as students participate in an extracurricular organization that focuses on the issue of drinking and driving. Information for the study was gathered primarily from interviews with members and observations at meetings and other activities. Information obtained from the interviews and observations will be included in the dissertation by Cheryl Edwards for a Ph.D. degree in Curriculum and Instruction from Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. The real name and location of the case study high school and the names of the participants will not be revealed in the dissertation. Rather, pen names or pseudonyms will be used as replacements. Participants are here informed that the dissertation will be printed as a public document.

Please complete and sign.

I, name of participant, am at least eighteen years of age, having been born on date of birth. I have been informed of the nature of the research, and I voluntarily agree to be a participant.

_____________________________________________ Date: 
Signature of Participant

_____________________________________________ Date: 
Signature of Cheryl Edwards

Note: Should you have any questions about the research, do not hesitate to ask the researcher, whose telephone number is ________________.
Appendix G

Open Letter to the Research Participants

Throughout this research, from my initial consideration of SADD as a research topic to the time of this writing, I have wrestled with the way in which I would write about the SADD Chapter and the way you experienced your involvement. While I have learned some things about you and the group as a whole through my observations and participation in your meetings and activities, it was through our interviews and informal discussions that I learned about the way you perceived your involvement. Even more, I learned about each of you as an individual. Through your personal disclosures, I learned about other aspects of your world and the way in which your life experiences colored your involvement in SADD and vice versa. I came to understand that your experiences in SADD and your perceptions of those experiences could not be disconnected from your lives outside of SADD. You have become much more to me than subjects in a research project. You have become part of my life, and I will remain forever grateful to you for allowing me to be a part of your lives.

I offer my sincere appreciation for your time and the consideration you have given to my requests for information. You entrusted me with your thoughts and feelings about personal experiences. It was with regard for that trust and great seriousness that I approached this project and the representation of your stories. Your stories as told in these pages are my interpretations of what I have seen (your actions) and heard (your words). If my representations differ from yours, I hope you will tell me so. If I have offended you in any way, I offer my sincerest apology. My intent has been to learn what your involvement in SADD meant to you, particularly as it related to your education during your high school years. As an educator, I saw the world from fresh perspectives, and doing so gained a deeper understanding of what it means to teach and learn. Furthermore, I hope those who read your stories will gain insights into what it means to educate young people. From your accounts, you learned valuable lessons from your extracurricular activities in SADD. As your stories continue to unfold, I hope that you will take your experiences in SADD with you and that they remain relevant in your lives now and in the future.

Finally, I want to thank you for your efforts to reach out to your fellow students— to save lives and prevent injuries. You may never know for sure that you made a positive difference for someone, but in all likelihood you did. I, for one, thank you and will always remember you.

Warm regards and best wishes for a happy and meaningful life!
Vita

Cheryl J. Edwards was born in New Orleans, Louisiana, on April 12, 1946. She graduated from the University of Florida in Gainesville, in 1974 with a bachelor of arts degree in elementary education. She received her master's of education degree from Southeastern Louisiana University in Hammond, Louisiana, in 1978. In 1984, Ms. Edwards received an educational specialist degree from Southeastern Louisiana University. She received her doctor of philosophy degree in May of 1998 from Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. During her professional career, she has been a teacher and, for the past ten years, has been self-employed as an educational consultant.
DOCTORAL EXAMINATION AND DISSERTATION REPORT

Candidate:  Cheryl Jeannette Edwards

Major Field:  Curriculum and Instruction

Title of Dissertation:  Reconceiving Citizenship: The Social Education of Seven Members of Students Against Driving Drunk

Approved:

[Signatures]

Major Professor and Chairman

Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

[Signatures]

Date of Examination:

April 8, 1998