

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 453 126

SO 032 769

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TITLE STORYPATH: A Cross Cultural Study of Children's Construction of Social Studies Understandings.
PUB DATE 2001-04-10
NOTE 17p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (Seattle, WA, April 10-14, 2001).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research (143) -- Speeches/Meeting Papers (150)
EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Classroom Techniques; *Constructivism (Learning); Cross Cultural Studies; Educational Research; Elementary Education; Foreign Countries; Grade 1; Instructional Effectiveness; Primary Education; *Social Studies
IDENTIFIERS Australia (Sydney); *Family Dynamics; Washington (Seattle)

ABSTRACT

This paper presents the background, procedure, and outcomes of a study of two Year 1 classrooms, one in Seattle, Washington, and the other in Sydney, Australia, that engaged in the constructivist learning experiences of a social studies unit titled "Families in Their Neighborhoods" (McGuire, 1997). The unit employed the "Storypath" planning and teaching strategy. The teacher of each classroom implemented the unit to enable children to construct understandings about families, including their diversity of structures, heritages, and designations of roles and responsibilities. Experiences for developing understandings of the ways in which families live within, as well as have citizenship responsibilities for constructing neighborhoods, or communities, were implemented and explored in the unit. This paper presents analyses of students' interview data, work samples, and classroom displays to describe the nature and level of understandings constructed by the students in each of the research sites. Some cross-cultural comparisons are drawn. Teachers' interview and observational data are analyzed, and evaluations of the Storypath strategy as a "powerful" constructivist tool for planning and teaching elementary social studies are made. Contains 3 figures, 5 tables, 5 notes, and 16 references. Appended are classroom observation data and focus group interview questions. (Author/BT)

STORYPATH: A cross cultural study of children's construction of Social Studies understandings

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at

AERA Annual Meeting: What we know and how we know it
Seattle, April 10-14, 2001

SO 032 769

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Abstract

This paper presents the background, procedure and outcomes of a study of two Year 1 classrooms, one in Seattle, U.S.A., and the other in Sydney, Australia, who engaged in the constructivist learning experiences of a Social Studies unit titled "Families in their Neighborhoods" (McGuire, 1997). The unit employed the Storypath planning and teaching strategy.

The teacher of each classroom implemented the unit to enable children to construct understandings about families, including their diversity of structures, heritages and designations of roles and responsibilities. Experiences for developing understandings of the ways in which families live within, as well as have citizenship responsibilities for constructing neighborhoods, or communities, were implemented and explored in the unit. This paper presents analyses of students' interview data, their worksamples and classroom displays to describe the nature and level of understandings constructed by the students in each of the research sites. Some cross-cultural comparisons are drawn. Teachers' interview and observational data are analysed also and evaluations of the Storypath strategy as a "powerful" (NCSS, 1993), constructivist tool for planning and teaching elementary Social Studies are made.

Introduction

Contemporary approaches for teaching Social Studies in the United States of America (U.S.A.) and in Australia mostly reflect constructivist views of learning (see, for example, Brophy, 1990; Brophy & Alleman, 1996; Hamston & Murdoch, 1996; Kaltsounis, 1994). In both countries elementary syllabus aims or goals also commonly denote social and environmental understandings and participatory citizenship as central outcomes for Social Studies teaching and learning (Brophy and Alleman, 1996; Commission on Student Learning, 1996; National Council for the Social Studies, 1994; Board of Studies NSW, 1998; Social Education Association of Australia, 1990). Likewise, the topic of families is generally a subject matter inclusion in both USA and Australian elementary syllabus documents and is, therefore, usually investigated by children in Grade 1 Social Studies classrooms in both countries. What elementary students know about families and how they construct knowledge and understandings about families and families' citizenship responsibilities were the focus of this study. The constructivist teaching and learning approach known as the Storypath strategy was used as a vehicle in the study for both enabling students to develop and demonstrate their own understandings about the topic of families and for the researchers to employ co-researching methodology for data collection and analysis.

The Storypath strategy is grounded in a belief that students learn best when they are active participants in their own learning, and places students' own efforts to understand at the center of the educational enterprise. It originated in Scotland in the 1960s as a response, by a group of researchers and experienced teachers, to a desire to help children make sense of their world as a connected whole rather than as a set of separate experiences or subjects (McGuire, 1997). It has since been implemented in several northern European countries including The Netherlands and Denmark, as well

as in the United States and Canada and, more recently, in Australia. Essentially, Storypath draws on theorising about the power of narrative (Bruner, 1965, 1990; Egan, 1988) and uses the story structure: a setting, cast of characters, a way of life and plot inclusive of critical incidents which must be dealt with, to organise Social Studies curriculum into meaningful and memorable learning experiences. Students and teachers have complimentary roles in the ultimate construction of the learning path. Teacher planned "critical incidences" are strategically introduced into the story to challenge students' previous experiences and knowledge, and to engage them in inquiry and problem solving. Incident resolutions enable students to construct new, deeper understandings and to make decisions about their social, cultural and environmental world. However, because the students are active participants and decision makers in the learning experiences they also become partial determiners of both the story's plot and the directions of their learning.

Research describing young elementary students' development of key Social Studies concepts and understandings has been relatively scant (Brophy and Alleman, 2000), yet decisions about subject matter appropriate for investigation by young school children are made regularly by national and state curriculum planners and by teachers. The *Families in their Neighborhood* Storypath unit had been implemented by both researchers in several classrooms. Whilst each researcher had obtained data pertaining to both the unit's "power"¹ for encouraging young students' construction of deep social understandings about families and community citizenship responsibilities, and the general success of the Storypath strategy in engaging students in learning, such data had been largely anecdotal (Rupp Fulwiler & McGuire, 1997). The central aim of this study, therefore, was to systematically collect and analyse qualitative data from the teachers and students of Year 1 classrooms, in Seattle and in Sydney, who participated in the teaching and learning experiences of the Storypath unit *Families in their Neighborhood* for evidence of students' development of knowledge and understandings about families and their engagement in learning. The nature of students' understandings about families, their structures, heritages, designations of roles and responsibilities and the ways in which families live within, as well as have citizenship responsibilities for constructing neighborhoods, or communities, were explored within and across the two study sites. Some possible salient factors influencing the children's understandings were also explored.

Methodology

Sample

Year 1 classrooms, similar in comprising culturally diverse, lower socio-economic student populations and teachers who ascribed to social constructivist approaches to teaching, were selected in both Seattle and Sydney. The Seattle classroom comprised 17 students, with representation from 7 ethnic groups. The Sydney classroom comprised 26 students with representation from ten ethnic groups (see Table 1). Ten students in the Seattle classroom were on free or reduced lunch programs, whilst the Sydney classroom was in a school that attracted Priority Schools Funding because of

¹ The National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS, 1993) describes "powerful" Social Studies as meaningful, integrative, challenging, value-based and active.

the socio-economic disadvantage of the school community. In the classroom selection process classes were matched also, and as closely as possible, for family structure, in particular, the presence, or not, of both parents in the students' homes. Children's understandings about family structure were deemed a salient variable in the study, and it was anticipated that they would likely draw on their home experiences. Ten students (58%) in the Seattle classroom were in families in which both parents lived together, whilst 12 students (46%) in the Sydney classroom had both parents residing in the family home.

Table 1
Ethnic Background of Students in Each of the Classrooms

Ethnic Background	Number of Seattle Students	Number of Sydney Students
Arabic		3
Caucasian	5	9
Chinese	3	3
Ethiopian	1	
Hispanic	4	
Indian		1
Indigenous Australian		3
Italian		1
Japanese	2	
Lebanese		1
Philippine		1
Samoan		2
Vietnamese	1	2
Unknown	1	

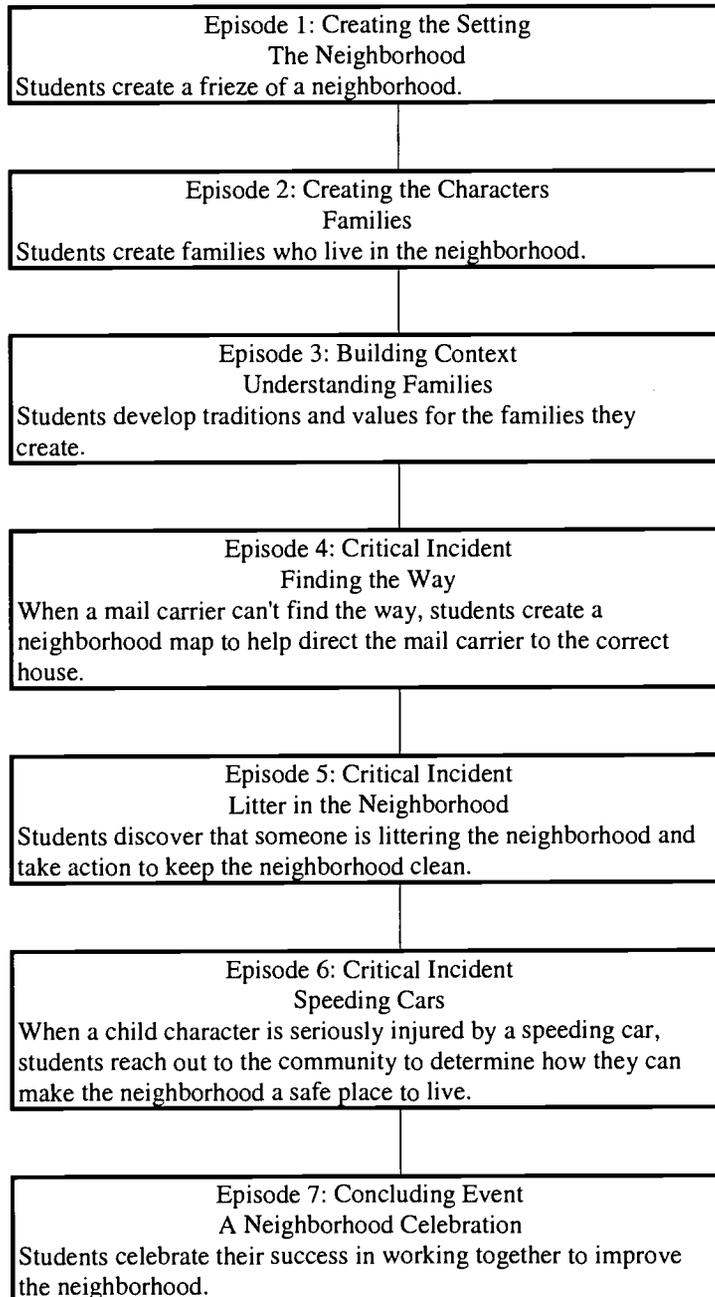
Data Collection

Data collection was undertaken in several ways. Essentially, a co-researching methodology that utilised classroom observations and discussions between the non-teaching, university based researchers and the co-researching classroom teachers, as well as focus group interviews with students, were employed at both sites. As well, data were obtained from student worksamples, namely the family portraits, values shields and bibliographies, the developing classroom frieze and students' writing samples that indicated responses to critical incidences in the storypath.

Both non-teaching researchers observed the sequence of teaching and learning episodes in the *Families in Their Neighborhood* Storypath unit, shown in summary form in Figure 1. Ethnographic memoing was completed by the non-teaching researchers during the observations. Memo notes focussed on students' demonstrations of understandings and on their cooperation and engagement. Appendix 1 provides an example of memo notes. Observations were followed by discussions between the respective co-researching teachers, and the non-teaching

researchers. Student responses recorded on class charts as well as student worksamples completed during episodes were photographed.

Figure 1
Episodes of *Families in Their Neighborhood* Storypath²



² * McGuire, M.E. (1997) *Families in Their Neighborhood*. Chicago: Everyday Learning Corporation.

Focus group interviews with students at the conclusion of the unit enabled the researchers to validate and supplement the observation and worksample data on students' understandings, as well as to explore possible influencing factors. As students had worked in cooperative pairs, or triads, to become a "family" throughout the unit, interviews were held with the members of each "family". Each "family" brought their worksamples to the interviews to assist with their recall and explanations. Interviews were recorded and transcribed by the non-teaching researchers. The contents of the interviews were discussed with the co-researching teachers. Appendix 2 provides the focus group interview questions.

Data Analysis

Preliminary analysis involved each of the non-teaching researchers developing initial codes, based on themes evident in their memo notes, the students' work samples and the interview transcripts. Following electronic exchange of the memo notes, photographs and interview summaries, further coding was completed as both common and discrete themes emerged across the two sets of data. Coded data were explored and analysed in descriptive tabulations. Resultant propositions were refined in a manner similar to Glaser and Strauss's analytical induction method (cited in Minichiello, Aroni, Timewell, & Alexander, 1995).

Results

Results indicated that there was much commonality across the two research sites in the students' responses to the tasks and interviews, and in the understandings demonstrated by the children. The students in both research sites constructed a diverse range of "families"³ but did not necessarily draw on their own families as models for their constructions. They also, generally, did not reflect their own diverse ethnic backgrounds in the activities or celebrations ascribed to their "families" nor to the foods of their "family" members. Rather, the common pattern was that the children drew on their experiences in their home neighborhood and presented a child's perspective in their understandings of families and citizenship. There was some evidence of gender and ethnic stereotyping amongst the understandings. Teachers in both classrooms attributed development in the students' cooperation and on-task behaviour to the ownership of learning that children felt when learning through the Storypath approach. Details of the results are reported under key themes.

Family Structures

Observations of the students' brainstorming of family members who could live together showed consistency across the two study classrooms. The students initially recalled members of the nuclear family such as mother, father, sister, brother, children, baby and twins. With prompting they included extended family members such as grandparents, cousins, aunts and uncles. It was only after more sustained prompting from the teachers that step-parents were listed, yet several students in both classrooms lived with step-parents.

³ Inverted commas are used to distinguish the Storypath families from the children's personal families.

Analysis of the portraits constructed by the “families”, summarised in Table 2, demonstrated inclusion of a variety of people who could live together in a family, at both research sites. This diversity feature is possibly a reflection of the diverse family structures evident in the students’ home neighborhoods, but not a reflection of their own particular families. In all but three of the nineteen “families” across the two research sites (i.e. 16%) the constructed “families” had a mother and father living together. However, approximately 50% of the children do not have this membership pattern in their own family homes. Common amongst the “families” was the inclusion of extended family members such as grandparents or cousins. Whilst single-parent families were certainly evident amongst the students’ own families in both research sites, there was no constructed “family” with a single-parent and just one had unrelated family members.

Table 2
Structures of the Storypath “Families”

Types of families	Seattle	Sydney
Two parent + children	3	7
Single parent + children		
Single parent + children + grandparent	1	2
Two parent + children + grandparent + cousin	1	1
Two parent + children + grandparent(s)	1	
Two parent + children + cousin(s)	2	
Unrelated		1

Children drew on the names of their own family relatives, school teaching staff, and make-believe or television families when naming their “family” and their individual “family” members. For example, whilst in the final constructions Simpson’s was not used by any “family”, this family name, plus the first names of all Simpson’s characters, were amongst the earliest mentioned names for the brainstorm list in the Sydney classroom. Television names used for the “families” in the two neighborhoods were Teletubbies, Richie-Rich and Alakazoo. In contrast, there was one Chinese family name used amongst the Seattle “families” and one Chinese and one Vietnamese name used in the Sydney “families”, despite there being several students of these and other ethnic backgrounds in each class.

When interviewed about their Storypath “families” students in the Sydney classroom gave one of three reasons for the structures of their “families”: they constructed their families to “*be normal*”; it was “*just because we wanted it that way*”; or they responded to the cooperative task by dividing the labour and creating a shared, constructed family as shown in the following comment, “*Well, I created and named these two and well, Student X, he just made those two.*” Students did not respond that

they had tried to construct their own families. Further, when asked whether their Storypath “families” were similar to their own families the children made distinctions on family size, such as “*No, my family has 5 but this family has 4*”, or inclusion of a pet, “*No, we don’t have a cat*”⁴. When probed about whether all their Storypath “family” members lived together, the response was always “yes”. In summary, the students certainly understood that families could have diverse structures and compositions but demonstrated preferences for the “norm”.

Family Activities

Data from the “families” values shields and from “family” members’ biographies were analysed for the students’ understandings about family activities. Whilst there was a large number of activities nominated by students, those included in their shields were almost devoid of activities that could be related to students’ ethnic backgrounds. Common across both settings was the designation of activities in which the students themselves participated, such as: going to movies; playing sports, playing with family members; going on trips or picnics; and playing with children’s toys (see Table 3). Many of these activities were mentioned also in “family” members’ biographies as things the characters liked to do. This does not mean that students ascribed age inappropriate activities to characters, but rather that there was overlap amongst the activities listed for individual family members and those depicted on the family values shields, and these were children’s favorites. For example, going to the beach, reading together, playing with family members such as the baby or going to the movies are all activities which adults often share with children.

Similarly, students in both sites consistently selected mainstream holidays for celebrations that families valued and in which families participated (See table 4). Given that this unit was done before and after Christmas in Seattle and after the Christmas period in Sydney, one would expect that Christmas would be a holiday identified and it was. However, as the co-researching teachers brainstormed with students the range of holiday options, they still focused on the mainstream holidays of the United States and Australia. After considerable prompting, the USA students identified Chinese New Years. Students in Sydney initially had trouble distinguishing the notion of a holiday from going on vacation, possibly because the unit was completed just after their long Christmas school break. However, as in the Seattle classroom, when the Sydney students understood the concept of public holidays and subsequently brainstormed, they listed mainstream Christian or national holidays, despite many of the students being from non-Christian backgrounds. The Sydney students’ confusion over the word “holiday” was demonstrated in their values shields, and is evident in Table 4 which summarises the holidays identified in the family values shields.

⁴ Pets were a strong feature in the Sydney neighborhood construction, in discussions about why the students valued their neighborhood and were created as family members.

Table 3
Family Activities

Family Activities	Seattle	Sydney
Birthday parties		1
Colouring in		1
Going to the club		1
Going on picnics		2
Going on trips	2	
Going to the movies	1	2
Playing cards		2
Playing sports		
- volleyball		1
- tennis	1	
- tetherball	3	
- soccer	1	1
- baseball	1	
- swimming (beach going)	3	5
- rock climbing	1	
- fishing		1
- jump rope	1	
Playing Barbies	1	
Playing Pokemon	1	
Swinging	1	
Bike riding		1
Scooter riding		1
Playing with family members	4	1
Reading together	1	1
Walking the dog		1
Watching videos	1	1

Table 4
Holidays Valued by "Families"

Important Holidays	Seattle	Sydney
Christmas	7	4
Easter	1	2
Australia Day		1
Going to the beach		2
Play cards		1
Going fishing		1

In specifying family members' occupations there was a dominance of "helping roles", such as police officer, fireman (sic), mailman(sic) and cleaner given to the "fathers", in both settings. Sydney students were very much influenced by a series of pictures of "People who help us", labeled and on display in their classroom. These students

demonstrated little evidence of gender stereotyping. Several “mothers” were assigned as staying at home to look after children or having no job, but a few were described as police officers and a teacher. In contrast, only one Seattle “family” assigned an occupation to a “mother” role. There was some evidence of covert ethnic stereotyping in both sites as students negotiated aspects of “family” members’ biographies. For example, lower paying jobs such as cleaners and Pizza Hut deliverers were assigned to members born in non-English speaking countries such as Lebanon or Fiji in the Sydney “families”, or Mexico in the Seattle families. The exchange presented in Figure 2, recorded in the Seattle classroom, suggests that students’ thinking on ethnicity may be well formed by Grade 1.

Figure 2
Seymour Bibliography Discussion

Seymour Family: The two boys are discussing the dad's role in their Storypath family:

Student 1 *The dad was born in Texas.*

Student 2: *He doesn't look like he was born in Texas.*

Researcher: *How do people look who are born in Texas?*

Student 2: *Like cowboys.*

Student 1: *He was born in Mexico.*

Researcher: *You decide where the dad was born, work together to decide where the dad was born.*

Student 1: *He looks like he was born in Mexico.*

Researcher: *Where does the dad work?*

Student 1: *He delivers pizza.*

Student 2: *He works in an office.*

Student 1: *He can't work in an office.*

Researcher: *Why can't he work in an office?*

Student 1: *Because people from Mexico can't work in an office. They just don't.*

Researcher: *I think that people from Mexico can work in an office, but you need to decide together where the dad works.*

Clearly, one student was covertly expressing an ethnic stereotype even when the second student tried to persuade him differently.

Family Foods

As with the students’ selections of family activities their selections of family foods were also devoid of foods that could be related to ethnic backgrounds. In the Seattle classroom foods mentioned included pumpkin pie, chicken, pizza, junk food, macaroni and cheese, and hamburger. One family mentioned fried rice as a favorite food. In the Sydney classroom chicken, take-away foods such as pizza, hamburgers, KFC, McDonalds or Chinese, sweets such as ice-creams, chocolates (including M&Ms), and lollipops, as well as fruit were common. One family mentioned lasagna and spaghetti. Across both sites, Pizza was the most commonly mentioned food and in general, the foods were those that the children themselves preferred.

Family Heritage

The concept of family heritage was difficult for the students. Analysis of the biographies from the two research sites showed that students were more captivated with listing a variety of places of birth, mostly different for each family member and varying from the local hospital to other countries. They did not ascribe a common family origin to all members.

In the Seattle classroom the family values shields depicted state or country flags for the common “family” heritage but these did not necessarily match the places of birth in the family members’ biographies. To clarify the concept of heritage, the Sydney teacher engaged in more sustained prompting to recall items of heritage in the students own family homes, as shown in the exchange in Figure 3. Individual “family” presentations of the completed shields to the “neighborhood” therefore showed students drawing on their family experiences, prompted by the discussion, and making connections with families having important possessions. Two “families” drew dragon statues; one drawn with Chinese writing by the Chinese student and explained as recognising “we’re from China” and the other to show Samoan background. One “family” drew a penguin statue, because the “family” likes the aquarium, another drew a special picture of God, another a gold coin with an eagle and one a jewel necklace, these latter three items being in students’ own families. Other “families” drew family activities or items such as the car. It was interesting to the researcher that none of the indigenous students drew items specific to their heritage.

Figure 3 Class Discussion about Family Heritage Items

Researcher: Class discussion : Focus on family heritage for the “families” – children had been suggesting items such as cars.

Teacher: *Does anyone have something in their own home that their family thinks is very important just to their family?*

Student 1: *A statue of a dragon*

Teacher: *Yes. That’s good. Why does your family think the dragon statue is important?*

Student 1: *Because we’re from China.*

Teacher: *Does anyone else have a statue or something important in their home?*

Student 2: *A picture of God.*

Teacher: *Good. Is it a picture of God or Jesus?*

Student 2: *God*

Teacher: *Okay. That’s because your family thinks God is important. Did anyone get something special with the newspaper yesterday?*

Student 3: *A gold coin.*

Teacher: *What was on the coin?... Why might that coin be important to keep?*

Family and Citizenship

Observations of the resolutions of the critical incidences, discussions with the co-researching teachers plus the students’ self assessments of their learning demonstrated that the critical incidences were “powerful” and that students understood the value of

being a good member of the neighborhood. Students were able to connect the experiences of litter in the neighborhood to the value of not littering and being responsible for picking up their litter. Students understood the importance of safety and the importance of having stop signs (Seattle) and zebra crossings and signs (Sydney) to make the neighborhood safer. The engagement level of the students was noted by both co-researching teachers and is demonstrated in the following comments from the Sydney teacher:

“I couldn’t believe how they responded to the car accident. You could have heard a pin drop. They thought it was real. Student Y was sitting next to me and she asked ‘Did it really happen?’ ... I didn’t think they could handle the neighbourhood meeting on their own but they were really good. That surprised me. Sitting in their family groups, they were really focussed.”

Students most frequently listed learning about solving litter and speed problems, as well as how to number houses and have meetings in their self assessment worksamples (see Table 5).

Table 5
“Families” Self Assessments of Learnings in *Families in their Neighborhood*

WE learnt...	Seattle	Sydney
People need to cooperate	2 ⁵	1
We need to clean up and throw rubbish in bins	6	8
It is important to be a good neighbor	3	1
We can stop speeding cars with e.g. signs and crossing	1	8
How to number houses		1
How to have a meeting		1

It was not clear, however, if the Seattle students really believed that writing letters to the city government would result in government action even though the stop sign was installed in the neighborhood. When the suggestion was made to write a letter to the Mayor to request the placement of the stop sign at the intersection, the students were dubious. The previous year the Mayor had visited the school, and students had requested that their playing field be improved. The Mayor promised to follow up at the city government level; however, no improvements were made. As students discussed this critical incident of the Storypath, they raised the playground issue from the previous year and the lack of response from the city government.

In contrast, the Sydney students demonstrated more confidence with their solution to the litter problem, i.e. a Clean Up day and more litter bins. They had participated as a school, in Clean Up Australia Day, several weeks prior to this incident. The extensive media coverage of the Day had been positive.

⁵ Students were asked to list 3 learnings per “family”. Some listed 2 and some 3.

Significant in both of these incident solutions, is the influence of the students' previous citizenship participation successes on their understandings and efficacy levels.

Discussion and Implications

The findings of this study clearly show that children as young as those in Year 1 have well formed understandings about diversity amongst and within families. They also, however, have established attitudes regarding accepted norms for family structure and composition, family activities and celebrations. These attitudes include well-formed beliefs about gender roles and ethnicity. Salient in this study also, was that students' understandings and attitudes about families and norms emanate from their everyday experiences, both real and mediated. There was substantial evidence that the Seattle and Sydney students drew on their own experiences and their own child perspectives or preferences when completing the tasks for the Storypath "families" and neighborhood.

The findings of this study, therefore, have implications for curriculum planning, including resource selection, and for the role of the teacher in implementing curriculum through constructivist approaches such as the Storypath strategy. Constructivist teaching and learning approaches encourage children to have ownership of their learning. In the Storypath strategy students construct the characters, in this unit the members of the "families", and they co-construct with the teacher, and via the characters, stories that provide concrete contexts for developing understandings of a wide range of knowledge and skills. Whilst, the sense of ownership of learning that the Storypath approach encourages was seen as a powerful force in engaging the students in the learning tasks at both research sites, this study clearly alludes to the important role that the teacher has when students are creating and discussing their characters, and their subsequent learning contexts. As with all constructivist approaches, the teacher's role should not be a passive one. Rather, the teacher has a responsibility to acknowledge, probe, respond to and challenge the students' constructions in order to lead them to new information, perspectives, investigations, and answers. In this study of the *Families in their Neighborhood* unit, for example, to not raise questions about the children's beliefs about gender roles and ethnicity, or about the importance of diverse ethnic holidays, only reinforces what the children have already learned through their everyday, and mostly mainstream, experiences. Surely, this is not the aim of schooling in diverse civil societies such as the U.S.A. and Australia.

Given the power of the sense of ownership of learning identified in this study, it is imperative that teachers do not undermine what children are bring to the learning situation, when engaging them in challenges to their beliefs. The use of collaborative groups, such as the "families" groups in this Storypath unit, can serve as a vehicle for enabling children to tackle problems with others. Because they have worked collaboratively, the students do not feel alone when the teacher challenges beliefs expressed by their group or "family". Further, they have opportunities to interact with

their peers, clarify their own thinking and reach conclusions and solutions that they may not have reached alone and prior to the teachers' challenge.

The students in the two research sites of this study responded positively to their family and neighborhood citizenship responsibilities. They were focussed in solving the problems and in making their communities better places. Clearly, curriculum planners and teachers should be capitalizing on these citizenship experiences so that they can be developed with further sophistication as students mature. Promotion of informed citizenship opportunities is particularly pertinent in both the USA and Australian contexts in which the emphases have been on literacy and numeracy often to the detriment of Social Studies education.

The Year 1 students in this study responded in a fairly sophisticated manner when solving the neighborhood problems. They understood that families in neighborhoods have to work together to solve problems. They felt that they had learnt a worthwhile strategy when they engaged in the neighborhood meeting as a group of families. To develop a disposition towards the concept of working together, lays a strong foundation for citizens working out neighborhood problems in the future. Given that neighborhood disputes can often result in neighbors suing neighbors over overgrown trees, roadways, pets, and so forth, valuing the ability for neighbors to work on problems together is worthwhile. Obvious in the meetings however, was the influence of the students personal experiences of success with previous citizenship actions. Ensuring that children have experiences of success when working together may be valuable in developing the disposition towards citizenship.

Limitations of the Study and Where to Next

The results and conclusions of this study emanate from two classrooms in two communities only. The communities were similar in socio-economic levels and ethnicity. The generalisability of the findings are, therefore, limited. It may be of interest to explore some of the issues raised about children's understandings of and attitudes towards diversity in a greater range of classrooms, including classrooms in more affluent and less diverse communities.

Appendix 1
Observation of Seattle Classroom

Date of Lesson: January 8

Teacher: What are family holidays? Let's brainstorm.

Student responses: Hanukkah
Christmas
Thanksgiving--turkey day
Easter
Halloween
Valentine's Day
Mother's Day and Father's Day
Children's Day--Sister Day and Brother Day
Presidents' Day
New Years Day

Teacher: Is there another kind of New Years Day?

Student responses: Martin Luther King Jr. Birthday
St. Nicholas Day

Teacher: Is there a lunar day celebrated in January?

Student responses: Winter solstice
Summer solstice

Teacher: I want you to stop and think about a holiday in January or February.
The dragon is part of the holiday. What is the holiday called?

Student response: Chinese New Year

Appendix 2
Focus Group Interview questions

- Tell me about your family again.
- Why did you draw these members of the family?
- Could you have drawn other members?
- Tell me about who does the different jobs in your family.
- Could people in the family change jobs or could other people in the family do some of the jobs (to check gender stereotyping etc)?
- Do you think your family will change? How might it change? (to check understanding of why families change)
- Is your family important to the neighbourhood? How? (to check any notions of neighbourhood citizenship)
- What were three things you learned from the Families in the Neighbourhood unit.

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