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The Effect of Direct Experience on Generating Insight into and Deepening Understanding of Academic Topics Studied by high School Seniors in the Field

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THE EFFECT OF DIRECT EXPERIENCE ON GENERATING INSIGHT INTO AND DEEPENING UNDERSTANDING OF ACADEMIC TOPICS STUDIED BY HIGH SCHOOL SENIORS IN THE FIELD

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Progressive educators have long criticized many traditional teaching methods at the secondary level as intellectually stultifying and irrelevant. The current wave of progressive secondary school reform, including in Maine, seeks to improve learning for all students by actively engaging them in the learning experience. The focus, however, is primarily on classroom practices, with little written about the potential importance to academic study of one practice - field-based learning - which has an established record for engaging students actively in learning. The reasons for this omission are varied, including a lack of understanding of field-based learning at the secondary level.

This comparative case study examined the experiences of nine high school seniors at the Waynflete School in Portland, Maine, completing an interdisciplinary field-based course in anthropology and geography. The goal of this study was to determine the effect of direct experience in the field on how students learned about the topics they studied and about themselves. Data were gathered through student and teacher interviews and analysis of course and student produced materials.

The study found that the depth of immersion in the field was closely related to the number of insights generated into the topic but not necessarily themselves. It also found that depth of immersion was closely related to depth of understanding. Understandings, however, were markedly enhanced when students combined an adequate experience in field with strong academic processes. Key academic processes included the development and use of a central question, the use of secondary sources, reflectiveness, and analysis and paper writing. In addition, two modes of academic processing, deductive and inductive, were identified. Students arrived at their deepest understandings when the two modes of processing were combined.

By examining the experiences of students participating in an academic class, this study provides educators a useful perspective on this potentially important but seldom used pedagogy. It also further defines what is meant by "deep understanding," which many scholars identify as one of the primary goals of a secondary education. In doing so, this study makes a contribution to the literature on educational reform by linking it with knowledge about insight development.

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At this exalted stage of my academic career, I must formally acknowledge that without my mother, I might still be in second grade. I miss her.

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Chapter 1

EXPERIENCE AND SECONDARY EDUCATION IN THE 21ST CENTURY

> Our children are dying like flies in schooling, good schooling or bad schooling, it's all the same. Irrelevant. (Gatto,1999, 9)

John Gatto, as exemplified by the excerpt above from his speech accepting the New York City Teacher of the Year Award in 1990, is an extreme voice in the national dialogue on the future of America's public schools. In books, essays, and speeches, he condemned what he called the nation's system of "confinement schooling," in which schools separate young people from the real world and teach them in a manner that is impossibly abstract and detached from anything that could have meaning for them. All that schools teach well, according to Gatto, are obedience, emotional and intellectual dependency, confusion, and irresponsibility.

As a remedy, Gatto (1999) suggested "deconstructing schooling—minimizing the 'school' aspect and maximizing the education one" (14). In explaining how that might be done, he described the student experience he prizes; Gatto called for schools to:

> restore the primary experience base we have stolen from kids' lives. Kids need to do, not sit in chairs. The school diet of confinement, test worship, bell addiction, and dependence on low grade secondary experience in the form of semi-literate printed material cracks children away from their own innate understanding of how to learn and why. Let children engage in real tasks, not synthetic games and simulations. Field curriculum, critical thinking, apprenticeships, team projects,

> independent study, and other themes of primary experience must be restored to the life of the young. (17)

Although much of Gatto's thinking is extreme, his central critique of American schooling falls squarely within the mainstream of progressive thinking about learning. The guiding light of the American progressive movement in education, the philosopher and educator John Dewey, made a similar observation about American schools in the early part of the century when he wrote:

> From the standpoint of the child, the great waste in school comes from his inability to utilize the experience he gets outside...while on the other hand, he is unable to apply in daily life what he is learning in school. That is the isolation of the school - it's isolation from life. (quoted from Bransford, Brown &, Cocking, 1999, 135)

As a result. "this isolation renders school knowledge inapplicable to life and so infertile in character" (Dewey, 1916, 417).

This study addressed this problem by examining the experiences of nine high school students engaged in a field-based course. More specifically, it examined how field experience influenced the students' understanding of the topics they studied and of themselves. In doing so, the study was meant to provide relevant information to educators seeking to make schools less isolated by moving the curriculum outside of the classroom.

School Reform in the United States after "A Nation at Risk"

In 1983, the United States Department of Education published A Nation at Risk, a report on the condition of schooling in America. The report initiated massive efforts to reform America's elementary and secondary schools. The first wave of reform was largely top-down and legislative, and it emphasized traditional ideas about schooling including "more days and hours of schooling, more academic courses, more attention to "basics," more discriminating standards for evaluating and compensating teachers, more standardized testing of pupil achievement, more elaborate reporting of test results by local districts to state officials" (Tyack & Cuban, 1995, 78-79).

This emphasis on traditional methods of instruction has found expression more recently in efforts closely linked to the Bush administration to establish specific culturally relevant content standards and to assess student knowledge of them through standardized testing. The testing movement is linked to efforts to promote educational practices that are teacher-directed, knowledge-based, and that involve direct instruction, practices that Chester Finn and Diane Ravitch (1996) referred to as "instructivism." Instructivist practices,

> variously called "direct instruction," "mastery learning," "explicit teaching," or "precision teaching," ... have key points in common. Teachers who use them are specific about what students are expected to learn, and they communicate these expectations clearly to their pupils; virtually all school time and energy are focused on the desired learning; testing provides frequent feedback on progress; success is rewarded; failure is not accepted; and effort continues until the goals are attained. (Part IV)

A progressive philosophy of school reform also arose following A Nation at Risk. Proponents of this approach believed that schools remained too much in the grip of the traditional methods of education such as those advocated by Finn and Ravitch. Underlying much of the progressive school reform movement since 1983 is constructivist learning theory, a contemporary iteration of John Dewey's philosophy. Constructivists, in contrast to instructivists who "believe that the teacher's most solemn job is to instruct the young in the knowledge, skills, and behaviors determined by adult society to be valuable" (Finn & Ravitch, 1996), hold that learning should be an active process in which the learner constructs knowledge through experience and primary materials, not merely an acceptance and reiteration of the conclusions of others. Constructivist learning occurs "when students search for meaning, appreciate uncertainty, and inquire responsibly" (Brooks & Brooks, 1993, 5). It is "a self-regulated process of resolving inner cognitive conflicts that often become apparent through concrete experience, collaborative discourse, and reflection" (83). In short, constructivists believe, like Dewey before them, that engaging students in an experiential process of learning can help them deepen their understanding of the topics they study.

The Limits to Progressive School Reform

Specific efforts to fundamentally alter teaching and learning in secondary schools, such as those sponsored by the Coalition of Essential Schools, have helped some secondary schools and teachers change how their classrooms function by making classroom learning more constructivist. Despite this progress,

> the basic grammar of schooling, like the shape of the classrooms, has remained remarkably stable over the decades. Little has changed in the ways that schools divide time and space, classify students and allocate them to classrooms, splinter knowledge into "subjects," and award grades and "credits" as evidence of learning. (Tyack & Cuban, 1995, 85)

A variety of reasons is given for the intractability of the traditional structures and methods of schooling, including an emerging consensus among some progressive reformers who believe that change toward constructivist learning is significantly limited by the movement's narrow focus on the classroom. James W. Fraser (1998) commented on this limitation in the forward to Adria Steinberg's book, Real Learning, Real Work. "For all of the noble efforts to make schooling more interesting, to use technology and important topics to get students interested, far too many of today's students and adults view the school experience as something totally alien to the 'real world'" (viii).

Fraser goes on to say that only through integrating school and the "real world" in fundamental ways will "the schools of the twenty-first century [be] places of energy, excitement, and relevance for all who are involved in them" (viii). In short, school reformers have focused inside the school and on the classroom, overlooking the potential of opening the school curriculum to include the community and the field. If this potential is not realized, some progressives believe that the authentic learning envisioned by thinkers from John Dewey to Adria Steinberg cannot be realized.

The reasons that secondary school curricula have stayed closed, even at schools guided by a progressive philosophy, are multiple. Certainly, most progressive thinkers espouse the importance of authentic experience to learning, and recent developments in

cognitive research underscore its value. Creating opportunities for authentic experience is a primary reason for moving the school curriculum outside of the classroom and into the "real world." However, a key problem for practitioners so intended is a "lack of training in alternative pedagogies" which is necessary "to ground their lessons in workplace and community problems" (Allen, Hogan &, Steinberg, 1998, 74). The scholarly literature does contain anecdotal reports of both long-standing and recent efforts at community and field-based learning. However, exact descriptions of how direct experience in the field can deepen understanding of academic topics and of how such experiences can be incorporated into a school program are absent from the literature. As a result, the opportunities for teachers nationwide to learn about field-based pedagogy is limited. For teachers to overcome the many other obstacles to implementing field-based curricula and make such learning central to the school reform movement, they would need this specific knowledge and training.

The State of Maine offered a case in point illustrating how this limitation of knowledge limited progressive school reform nationwide. In 1984, facing the same challenges as schools across the nation, the State launched a series of efforts at school reform. In 1997, Maine's Department of Education formed a Commission on Secondary Education and asked it to study the current reality of secondary education throughout the state and to recommend ways that schools could "improve student achievement and elevate students aspirations" (Albanese, 1998).

The Commission found Maine schools akin to those described by progressive reformers. It noted some academic success, especially for college-bound students, but achievement was uneven between schools, depending generally on community attitudes

toward and resources available for education, and within schools, depending sharply on the quality of curriculum and instruction to which students have access. Even for high achieving students, learning was rarely engaging, particularly challenging, or personally meaningful. In fact, "many Maine students (and some secondary educators) find secondary education irrelevant and feel disengaged from learning...and from serious decisions about their own education, about school life, and about their futures" (Maine Commission on Secondary Education [MCSE}, 1998, 9).

The Commission's recommendations for change were based in large part on a constructivist conception of learning. The report, Promising Futures, challenged schools "to authentically engage students, teachers, and parents in learning experiences that are rigorous and that students find relevant to their current needs and future ambitions" and "to develop means through which students and their parents can make important decisions about future goals and current educational activities and can participate democratically in shaping school procedures that significantly affect student learning" (MCSE, 1998, 9). In defining core practices to support learning, the report recommended that student learning govern the use of resources, that students be granted individualized pathways determined by the learner's needs, interests, and future goals, that curriculum be integrated, and that graduation be determined through performance exhibitions of appropriate knowledge and skills. Much of the report clearly exemplified progressive reform.

While it did not preclude field experiences as part of the learning experience, however, the Commission's report did not explicitly promote the value of academic learning outside of the classroom. The most significant reference to learning outside of

the school was in a list of community resources. Nowhere was it considered as a primary mode of learning, nor did the report directly challenge the assumption that schools should remain closed systems. In short, the Commission did not advocate forcefully for a philosophically compatible and potentially important means to promote change. Why?

According to Gordon Donaldson and Pam Fisher, the co-chairs of the Commission, there was in fact substantial interest in academically based fieldwork among the commission members. Donaldson, the report's primary author, could "recall a number of instances where [he] consciously did not use 'in the classroom' in order to widen the possibilities that learning activities might happen elsewhere" (Personal Communication, August, 1999). Fisher noted that many parts of the report would allow for out-of-school learning, but the intent of the report was to invite schools to focus on "designing environments for equitable opportunity for all students," not to prescribe a particular strategy such as adopting field study at the core of the curriculum (Personal Communication, September, 1999).

While the report was not intended to prescribe particular strategies, its recommendations were explicit in some areas. For example, the report did advocate for personal learning plans, teacher loads no larger than 80, homogeneous learning groups, and structures to personalize the learning environment such as teams and advising groups. Donaldson acknowledged that the report offered few recommendations about ways to integrate out-of-classroom learning into the core of the academic program. The major reason, he explained, was that "so few of us [commission members] had done it [or] knew how it would work…" (Personal Communication, August, 1999). Fisher agreed, noting that "the overall experience of the folks within the commission did not

lend itself to deeper discussion" of engaging kids in real world or community issues (Personal Communication, September, 1999). In other words, a problem the Commission faced was a lack of expertise in and information about field-based learning.

Grant Wiggins (1998) asked rhetorically, "What dooms curriculum to failure?" He answered his own question by saying that the failure of any curriculum is "a failure to understand what learning is, and that the leadership's job is to cause it" (41). This problem underlies the limits of constructivist reform in Maine. Given the closed nature of nearly all secondary schools, the lack of field expertise of most school personnel, and the limitations of the literature in this area, it is doubtful that many schools, even those using a progressive document as Promising Futures as their guide, will throw open their doors to field-based learning. Thus, the nation's problem, cited by James Fraser, was evident in Maine. Without a body of literature examining how academic field-based learning works and why it is vital to school reform, it is doubtful that such learning will ever become a major force in even a progressive reform movement. As a result, schools in Maine and across the nation may be overlooking a form of learning that could be helpful, or even necessary, to achieve their goals.

The Study

The problem, then, was that constructivist educators did not have a clear enough idea of how school sponsored experiences outside of the classroom could be used effectively to promote constructivist learning. Accordingly, this study was intended to address the problem by focusing on the thinking processes of students engaged in school

sponsored experiential learning and in particular on the role of field-based research activity in the development of insight.

As a case study of real students in a real class, this study was intended to fill a parallel gap in the experiential learning literature as Kevin Dunbar filled in the literature on scientific thinking in his study on how scientists really think (Dunbar, 1995, 365-395). Dunbar found in the scholarly literature an abundance of material on the thinking processes underlying scientific reasoning and discovery. Most of this material was generated from studies that simulated the conditions of scientific research. Given the control of the variables it affords, this approach allowed researchers "to isolate aspects of the reasoning process and to tease apart particular mechanisms," a process that has "identified important components of scientific reasoning" (Dunbar, 1995, 392). Because of the differences between such controlled experiments and the experience of scientists at work in the real-world, the picture this type of study yielded of scientific reasoning was inherently limited.

To address this problem, researchers adopted various strategies, each of which having limitations. For example, researchers conducted historical case studies on actual scientific discoveries, which shifted the focus from simulated exercises to real-word experience. This research was limited, however, because "only indirect and selective access to the cognitive processes underlying scientists' discoveries can be obtained" (370) through this method. In short, "although the standard cognitive and historical analyses have provided rich and important discoveries, there are many crucial aspects of the scientific discovery process to which access cannot be gained using these methodologies." Finding that "no cognitive scientists have actually investigated real

scientists conducting their day-to-day research," Dunbar conducted a study "of how scientists reason while conducting their research" (371).

The body of research on how insights develop for high school students studying academic topics in the field and what influences that development was found to be analogous to what Dunbar found regarding scientific thinking. There was a rich learning theory literature, including constructivism. There was much in the literature analyzing the nature of insight and understanding, explaining learning in relation to the functioning of the brain, and identifying the conditions that bring about understanding. As with the controlled experiments that Dunbar found regarding scientific thinking, this research had not only defined understanding and offered detailed descriptions of the mechanisms of understanding, but it had also extrapolated from theories of learning to identify the conditions that enhance it.

As with scientific reasoning, however, the research on what influences how high school students really learn while immersed in the field was limited. The closest the literature came to the kind of real-world study that Dunbar conducted was in providing real-life examples of various learning phenomena. These examples, however, tended to be of younger students and tended to be used to illustrate a particular phenomenon. They also did not chart the learning experiences of students engaged in projects in the field that were intended to create knowledge.

In fact, Nickerson (1994), in describing the divide between the researchers and the practitioners, noted that "much of the research that is done in the psychology laboratory is of questionable relevance to the problem of classroom teaching." He wrote that "one of the most noteworthy trends in psychological research during the recent past has been

an increasing emphasis on questions that are motivated by an interest in what one might call real-world cognition; learning as it occurs in natural settings, and thinking and problem solving in daily life" (440).

To help close the gap between practitioners and researchers, this study sought *to determine the role of direct experience in generating insight and deepening understanding by recording and analyzing the thinking of nine high school seniors engaged in a field-based course.* In a course entitled Ethnic History of Portland, the teachers trained the students to use anthropological and geographical research methodologies and coached the students as they applied the methodologies to conduct primary research in the community. Data about the evolution of student thinking were gathered from a variety of sources, including field journals, student interviews, teacher interviews, a paper, and various course materials. The course and the study's methodology are explained in more detail in Chapter Three. The course syllabus and other materials comprise Appendix A.

This study constituted an analysis of a particular kind of experiential learning. A review of the Association for Experiential Education publication index revealed many types of experiential learning. Sponsors of such learning include schools, employers, camps, and other organizations. For their students, clients, or workers, sponsors might simulate real-life experiences in controlled contexts such as the classroom, or they might facilitate real-life experiences in the field or work-place. The object of such experiences might be creating, acquiring, or testing knowledge, applying skills, developing character, building groups, or gaining cultural awareness. Experiential learning always includes primary experience, although secondary sources may also be used to stimulate learning.

Paradoxically, experiential learning can produce "both conformist and innovative outcomes" (Jarvis, Holford &, Griffin, 1998, 55). It is conformist when the outcome is reaching a predetermined goal, such as becoming expert at a prescribed task, acquiring particular knowledge, or gaining a predetermined awareness. In this case, the sponsor is shaping the experiences accordingly. Learning is innovative when the outcome is unknown even to the sponsor at the beginning of the process, such as when a work-place team solves a real problem or when students conduct primary research. In this case, the sponsor facilitates the learning process in some way, but the student/client/worker is more active in shaping the experience and drawing the conclusions.

This study, then, was of experiential learning that was school sponsored, influenced by classroom activities, student generated, and innovative. In it, generating insight referred to the quantity of insights generated, while deepening understanding referred to the quality of that thought. The research goal was *to determine what influences tended to generate insight and deepen understanding, with particular attention paid to the influence of direct experience and its relationship to the other influences.* The study, more specifically, was intended to answer the following research questions about the learning of the high school seniors studying academic topics in the field.

What was the role of direct experience in generating insight into the topics?

What was the role of direct experience in generating self-insight?

What was the role of direct experience in deepening understandings of the topics?

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW: CONSTRUCTIVISM, SCHOOL REFORM, AND INSIGHT DEVELOPMENT

The purpose of Chapter Two is to review the literature relevant to this study. The first section establishes the link between progressivism and constructivism, as well as the importance of experiential learning to both. The second section examines the limited impact of progressive school reforms historically. The third section elucidates the aims of the current constructivist reform movement. The fourth section examines the idea of a pedagogy of understanding, a key reform goal, by reviewing the insight development literature to define deep understanding and to explain what enhances and inhibits it. The fourth section develops a rationale why, based on the preceding literature, learning outside of the classroom may be essential to promote school reforms based on constructivist learning theory. The chapter concludes with a summary of the literature and a statement of what this study intended to contribute to it.

Progressive, Constructivist, and Experiential Learning

Based on his years of experience at his laboratory school at the University of Chicago and as an observer of American education, John Dewey outlined the distinctions between what he called the traditional and progressive philosophies of education in his book, Experience and Education, first published in 1938. Traditional education, according to Dewey, is based on the belief that knowledge and codes of conduct have been rightly established in the past. In schools, which exist as institutions separate from

the society, the job of teachers is to pass along to students the accumulated wisdom of the past in order to prepare students for future success. In this approach, characterized by the acquisition of facts and skills through the imposition of external force upon the students, "the attitude of pupils must, upon the whole, be one of docility, receptivity, and obedience (Dewey, 1997, 18).

Unfortunately for these students, the reward for conformity is anything but a preparation for a future life. Knowledge and skills taught in a manner segregated from experience "is not available under the actual conditions of life" (Dewey, 1997, 48). In fact, given that preparation, one is likely to have to relearn or even unlearn what has been taught in school. Beyond this waste and inconvenience, the result of such mis-educative experiences in school is that "the individual loses his own soul: loses his appreciation of things worth while, of the values to which these things are relative, ...[loses the] desire to apply what he has learned, and, above all, loses the ability to extract meaning from his future experiences as they occur" (49).

Dewey believed that experiential learning was at the core of progressive education. He wrote of the "intimate and necessary relation between the process of actual experience and education" (1997, 20). In sharply distinguishing traditional and progressive education, he further delineated the importance of experience to learning.

> To imposition from above is opposed expression and cultivation of individuality; to external discipline is opposed free activity; to learning from texts and teachers, learning through experience; to acquisition of isolated skills and techniques by drill, is opposed acquisition of them as means of attaining ends which make direct vital appeal; to preparation for a more or less remote future is opposed making the

most of the opportunities of present life; to static aims and materials is opposed acquaintance with a changing world, (19 - 20)

In fact, progressive education has been linked with experiential learning historically. Indeed, "the whole history of progressive education has been student-centered and has tended to use the experiences of learners" (Jarvis, Holford &, Griffin, 1998, 46). John Dewey himself understood that all human beings learn from all experiences, whether those experiences are sitting behind a desk for hours on end passively listening to a teacher talk or being actively engaged in a project. He focused his efforts on shaping experiences that would enhance learning. While he recognized the learning limits of sitting passively at a desk, he also realized that being away from the desk was an important but by itself insufficient step to enhance learning. Experiential educators have built their programs from the kinds of experiences that Dewey found to maximize learning. Experiential learning, properly construed, fulfills the aims of progressive education.

Constructivism is a theory of learning. In a contemporary iteration of John Dewey's philosophy, constructivist thinkers describe the kind of learning central to that espoused by progressive and experiential educators. While the application of constructivist theory is not necessarily limited to learning embraced by experiential educators, the definition of experiential education used by the Association of Experiential Educators [AEE] illustrates the close link between experiential and constructivist learning: "Experiential education is a process through which a learner constructs knowledge, skill, and value through direct experience" (Email correspondence with AEE).

In short, the literature shows that constructivist theory describes the kinds of learning valued by progressive educators. It also reveals the importance of experience to effective constructivist, and therefore progressive learning. It is experientially based constructivist learning, whether or not by name, that progressive educators have been trying to promote in schools since the first part of the 20th century.

The Limited Impact of Progressive Reforms

John Dewey expressed concern about the separation of experience from education in traditional schools in the early part of the 20th century. While defining the progressive view of learning, Dewey warned emphatically that the "new" progressive education would fail, too, if it were no more than a reaction to the traditional philosophy. A sound education must consider both internal experience and objective conditions. Traditional education, he believed, paid too little attention to the internal experience of the individual; failed progressive education paid too little attention to the external world. Properly construed, learning integrates the two.

John Dewey wrote Experience and Education in 1938, to summarize the tenets of progressivism in large part "because he was disturbed by the way practitioners had misinterpreted his ideas since its origin" (Knapp, 1994, 9). In fact, "despite the successes by some progressive schools and supporting evidence from an extensive research project – the Eight Year Study – the progressive education movement began to weaken nationally in the 1940's and 1950's" (Knapp, 1994, 9). The reasons for this decline were multiple, including a lack of clarity in the principles and practices of progressivism, a

philosophical rift within the movement, and the fact that the movement was never enthusiastically embraced at the secondary level.

The fate of project-based learning, a type of progressive methodology, exemplified this decline. There was both a lack of support for such curricula among schools more geared toward traditional education and a failure of progressive educators to deliver substantial learning experiences consistently. It declined because of:

> inadequate material resources, little time to create new curricula, large class sizes, and over-controlling administrative structures that prevented teachers from having the autonomy necessary to implement progressive approaches. Also cited were growing incompatibilities between progressive approaches and college entrance requirements. Critics of mid-century attempts to renew interest in project-based approaches further dispelled the public's enthusiasm by arguing that project-based learning often leads to doing for the sake of doing. (Barron et al., 1998, 272)

Although severely limited in practice for such reasons, the progressive movement never died entirely. "Elliott Wigginton, through the Foxfire approach, was among those who kept progressivism alive" (Knapp, 1994, 9). The connections of Foxfire to Dewey are multiple, including in their notions of how learning occurs. Akin to Dewey, Foxfire's "core practices also define the most powerful learning experiences as those that engage learners in posing and solving problems, making meaning, producing products, and building understandings" (Starnes, 1999, 2).

Although progressive practices never disappeared entirely, the definite decline of progressivism was evident almost half a century after John Dewey's Experience and Education was published and a half dozen years before John Gatto's teacher of the year

speech, when two progressive thinkers, John Goodlad and Theodore Sizer, reported their findings about American schools. In separate studies, they each found that what Dewey described as the traditional education dominated schooling in America and, as Dewey had predicted, did so to the detriment of the schools and their students. Goodlad (1984) and Sizer (1985) found teacher dominated classrooms, pedagogical strategies limited to those that supported the teacher's role, individual students working independently in a group setting, few hands-on experiences aimed at intellectual development, a near paucity of group building exercises, a fragmented curriculum focused on covering a disjointed array of subjects, little opportunity for teachers to challenge student thinking, and a casual, flat, neutral, wasteful, and intellectually dull atmosphere.

As a result, Goodlad (1984) noted, schools were not "developing all those qualities commonly listed under 'intellectual development': the ability to think rationally, the ability to use, evaluate and accumulate knowledge, a desire for further learning" (236). These schools did not tend to arouse curiosity, engage students in problem solving, or push students beyond the mere acquisition of information "to understanding its implications and either applying it or exploring its possible applications" (237). Sizer (1985) concurred, arguing that the reality of schools was far different from their rhetorical purposes, and further noted how few seemed to be upset by this. In what he called the Conspiracy of the Least, "the agreement between teacher and students to exhibit a facade of orderly purposefulness" (156), students made steady progress toward graduation, they were generally well supervised for much of the day, and the expected rituals of high school were preserved. The cost of accepting such education, Sizer believed, was student docility, disengagement, and low achievement.

In short, almost 50 years after Dewey issued his warning, Goodlad and Sizer found little evidence of progressive learning inside the American high school. They did not witness failed progressive pedagogy, but rather failed traditional pedagogy. The failure of progressive education was a failure to take hold at all.

The Current Aims of Constructivist Reform

Goodlad and Sizer agreed that, absent purposeful efforts at substantial change, the American high school was unlikely to improve. Central to each of their ideas for school improvement was the adoption of pedagogical methods and school structures that would actively engage students in more experiential learning, the kind of learning that tends to be less available the older the age of the student. While younger students learn to count handling logs, older students are strapped to their desks studying logarithms. In his watershed book on secondary education, Horace's Compromise, Sizer (1985) quoted Alfred North Whitehead's 1929 work, The Aims of Education, that "education with inert ideas is not only useless: it is, above all things, harmful" (95). Sizer went on to cite an ancient Chinese proverb to suggest a philosophy for a better school: "I hear and I forget, I see and I remember, I do and I understand" (95). While the pedagogy of telling may be the most efficient method of teaching, Sizer believed that the most effective approach is to engage students more deeply in fewer ideas, coach them to "learn more while being taught less" (34), require exhibitions to demonstrate learning, stress the competence rather than the vulnerability of students, and inspire students to join with adults in the learning process.

After writing Horace's Compromise, Sizer founded the Coalition of Essential Schools, which became a growing network of schools dedicated to restructuring along the lines of the Coalition's Ten Guiding Principles. In the principles, the Coalition calls on schools to "focus on helping young people learn to use their minds well.... The governing practical metaphor of the school should be student-as-worker, rather than the more familiar metaphor of teacher-as-deliverer-of-instructional-services. Accordingly, a prominent pedagogy will be coaching, to provoke students to learn how to learn and thus to teach themselves" (Coalition Website, 4/16/01).

In proposing his ideas for improved schools, Goodlad emphasized the need for getting out of the classroom and getting away from textbooks. In the schools he had observed, he believed that "for most students academic learning is too abstract. They need time to see, touch, and smell what they read and write about.... Drawing or building can be an alternative way of gaining insight. The effectiveness of such techniques has been known for centuries (Goodlad, 1984,128-129). In fact, he advocated what he called a "Fourth Phase" of school for 17 and 18 year olds that "would be heavily experiential in its orientation, with more academic aspects arising out of guided experiences rather than the other way around" (347). He also advocated for a kind of community education in which the school extends itself beyond its students to the surrounding community. In this vision, the school would seek to develop the best possible resources for educating its students, while assisting the community to be the best it can be.

Clearly, Sizer and Goodlad championed experientially based constructivist reform. As the education reform movement of the 1990s focused on raising student

achievement (Darling-Hammond, 1997, 5), many mainstream school reformers shared their critique of modern schooling and the constructivist philosophy underlying the remedy. In 1991, the year after Gatto was recognized as New York City's Teacher of the Year, Harvard psychologist Howard Gardner (1991) called for schools to provide a blend of opportunities for students to acquire "skilled performance, rich information, and deep understanding" (118). The following year, Ted Sizer (1992), whose Essential School Coalition had become a movement, called for schools to create "a curriculum of questions" (90) that would allow students to make "repeated rushes at a concept, each time gaining a better grasp of its meaning and eventually understanding it" (114). Linda Darling-Hammond (1997) called on schools to teach for understanding so that students can "understand ideas deeply and perform proficiently" (5). Darling-Hammond, who described a pedagogy for understanding that promotes active, contextualized learning, summarized what all of these thinkers wanted for students when she said that "the education that we more and more require for fulfilling lives and a peaceful and productive society demands that children learn to understand concepts as well as facts, ...link and apply ideas, produce their own work, and learn to cooperate productively with diverse peers." (331).

School reformers of the 1990s generally agreed that neither good schools nor bad ones were enabling students to make connections between acquired knowledge and its practical applications. In an interview reported in 1994, Howard Gardner stated, "My biggest concern about American Education is that even our better students in our better schools are just going through the motions of education" (Siegel & Shaughnessy, 1994, 563). Gardner (1991) had reported evidence for this concern earlier in his book, The

Unschooled Mind, observing that "the relative absence in schools of a concern with deep understanding reflects the fact that, for the most part, the goal of engendering that kind of understanding has not been a high priority for educational bureaucracies" (8). As a result, even schools "deemed a success yield students who, by and large, do not display deep understandings" (249).

In Horace's Hope (1996), Ted Sizer stated that students "being disposed to use [school learned knowledge and skills] always, as a matter of habit, is the brass ring, the ultimate standard" (45). He offered examples of schools that provided students the opportunities to develop such habits of mind. He also confronted the fact that despite sustained efforts of the reform movement, its influences were far too limited. As a result, Sizer's observation that "careful probing of students' thinking is not a high priority" (1984, 82) still held true even at schools regarded as successful. Again, Darling-Hammond (1997) spoke for these reformers when she noted that at the end of the 20th century, the American education system had "not developed a widespread pedagogy for understanding" (96), so that "most [schools] are still organized to impart a largely fact-based, rote-oriented curriculum through structures that do not allow ... in-depth study" (47).

Whether or not they accept the constructivist label, each of these thinkers would agree with the constructivist description of ideal learning. Gardner (1991), for example, noted that "processes of understanding involve performances - carrying out analysis, making fine judgments, undertaking synthesis, and creating products that embody principles or concepts central to a discipline" (186). These reformers would also agree that the prevailing characteristics of schools in the 1990s - dominant teachers, over-

reliance on textbooks, isolation of students from each other, emphasis on the right answers rather than problem solving, and the assumption of a fixed body of knowledge that students must come to know – were not conducive to achieving constructivist goals (Brooks & Brooks, 1993, v). These were the same characteristics witnessed by Dewey in the first part of the 20th century, and the concerns with them are central to the constructivist school reform movement today.

In short, the constructivist reformers at the end of the 20th century were working with mixed success to promote the what Darling-Hammond called a pedagogy for understanding in order to achieve what Gardner referred to as deep understanding. Their task as educators, as was the case for John Dewey and the progressives who followed him, was to understand the learning process and enhance it by guiding the experiences of the learner. The challenges they faced seemed reminiscent of those that concerned Dewey and eventually defeated earlier waves of progressive reforms.

In this study, the term insight development refers to when insight is generated and understanding deepened. Given the centrality to constructivist reform of developing a pedagogy for understanding and the ongoing difficulty establishing progressive reform, it is important for educators to better understand how students think by reviewing the relevant literature on insight development. The next section examines that process from different but mostly fundamentally constructivist perspectives.

Insight Development

The purpose of this section is to review what the literature says about how insights develop, given the importance of promoting deep understanding in the current

constructivist reform movement. Because of this study's interest in the role of direct experience in stimulating insight development, the first part of this section reviews the experiential base of constructivist learning. Because insight development refers to the generating of insight and the deepening of understanding in this study, subsequent parts of this section are devoted to each of these two concepts. Finally, this section concludes with a rationale for why experiential learning outside of the classroom may be essential to constructivist reform.

Direct Experience

The first section of this chapter established the experiential base of constructivist learning. From the constructivist perspective, learning is a process of mental construction through experience. In fact, constructivist theorists believe that "learners respond to their sensory experiences by building or constructing in their minds schema or cognitive structures which constitute the meaning and understanding of their world" (Saunders, 1992, 136). Although such meaning making is an inherent part of being human, learning is enhanced, according to constructivist theory, "when students search for meaning, appreciate uncertainly, and inquire responsibly" (Brooks & Brooks, 1993, 5). It is "a self-regulated process of resolving inner cognitive conflicts that often become apparent through concrete experience, collaborative discourse, and reflection" (Brooks & Brooks, vii). As such, constructivist learning requires "that students evolve their thinking beyond current understandings to more accurate and sophisticated new understandings" (Brooks & Brooks, 83) through experience.

This notion that understanding is developed through experience was validated by recent cognitive research. In summarizing what that literature said about the nature of learning and its implications for curriculum and instruction, Bransford and Vye (1989) stated about an ASCD Yearbook dedicated to reporting the implications of cognitive research for school curricula that "the authors of this volume appear to agree with the importance of helping students 'learn by doing.' They envisioned students actively engaged in activities such as reading for meaning, writing for a purpose, thinking mathematically, and explaining scientific phenomena" (195). Bransford and Vye echoed Dewey's concern with traditional approaches to instruction. They argued that such methods "do not help students make the transition from 'knowing that' something is true to 'knowing how' to think, learn, and solve problems" (193). If students are only presented with new information and not asked to apply it, then "the new information does not replace previous misconceptions. When new situations are encountered, students' thinking is driven by their misconceptions rather than by the new information" (194), which explains why traditional methods of education fail to promote what Harvard psychologist Howard Gardner called "deep" or "genuine" understanding.

Caine and Caine (1994, 88-95) drew from cognitive science and neuroscience to establish principles of learning, including:

1) Learning engages the entire physiology.
2) The search for meaning is innate.
3) Emotions are critical to organizing and categorizing information.
4) Learning involves both focused attention and peripheral perception.

5) We have a spatial memory system which allows for "instant" storage of experience in three dimensional space and is enriched over time as we increase memory categories.
6) We understand and remember best when facts and skills are embedded in natural, spatial memory.
7) Learning is enhanced by challenge and inhibited by threat.

The link between these principles and experiential learning is obvious. After reviewing these brain-based learning principles, Knapp (1994) wrote, "As we review the modern research supported principles, we might imagine that we hear John Dewey, Boyd Bode, W. H. Kilpatrick and their followers in outdoor and experiential education ... saying the same words years earlier" (11).

In short, experiential learning was at the core of John Dewey's progressive education. Likewise, the constructivists view 'doing' as an essential part of learning. For them, as was the case for Dewey, uniting the activities of the hands and the head is essential for meaningful learning to ensue. Learning research in the field of cognitive science has validated the necessity of such a link.

Generating Insight

The literature on insight yields two basic definitions of the term. The most commonly held definition equates insight with a moment of realization or inspiration, "the sudden emergence of an idea into conscious awareness" (Schooler, Fallshore, & Fiore, 1996, 560). Caine and Caine (1994), drawing from brain research, referred to this kind of insight as felt meaning, which "begins as an unarticulated general sense of

relationship and culminates in the 'aha' experience that accompanies insight" (103). The second, broader definition is to see inside or to gain an understanding. Accordingly, "insight can refer...to understanding a mechanism, an analogy, an inductive principle, or a reconceptualization. By this definition, insight can be acquired in a variety of ways, including an incremental acquisition of knowledge or via a sudden realization of an idea" (Smith, 1996, 232).

Robert Sternberg, studying creativity, identified two main aspects of intelligence, including "the ability to define and redefine problems and the ability to think insightfully" (Sternberg & Lubart, 1991, 609). The use of the two is interconnected. "Insight skills are involved when people perceive a high-quality solution to an ill-structured problem to which the solution is not obvious." Such an application of intelligence will yield, Sternberg and Lubart wrote, three kinds of insight:

> The first kind of insight involves seeing things in a stream of inputs that most people would not see. In other words, in the midst of a stream of mostly irrelevant information, an individual is able to zero in on particularly relevant information for his or her purposes.... The second kind of insight involves seeing how to combine disparate pieces of information whose connection is nonobvious and usually elusive.... The third kind of insight involves seeing the nonobvious relevance to old information to a new problem. (609)

They went on to warn, as Dewey had before him, that most school activities in a traditional curriculum discourage insightful thinking. Memorization activities clearly do. Even when schools ask students to solve problems, the problems are set by the teacher and the problem solving activities are too well structured. Students then try to think like

the teacher rather than to find their own solutions. Endorsing experiential methodology, Sternberg and Lubart stressed that if students are to "think insightfully, we must give them opportunities to do so by increasing our use of ill-structured problems that allow insightful thinking. Project work is excellent in this regard, for it requires students not only to solve problems but also to structure the problem for themselves" (610).

In short, the literature defines the study's idea of insight as the emergence of new understanding in light of prior experience. While by most accounts there is a moment of realization, that realization may come suddenly or incrementally over time. The literature also suggests factors that enhance or inhibit the likelihood of insight occurring. Experiential methods of education are frequently cited as enhancing factors, while traditional methods often either fail to promote or actually inhibit insight.

Deep and Deepening Understanding

This section reviews the literature for definitions of deep understanding and for explanations of what tends to enhance and inhibit the deepening process. The literature offers various, related conceptions of deep understanding. In fact, Wiggins and McTighe (1998) noted that the multiple definitions that exist for understanding are potentially bad for teaching because "teachers can often be satisfied by signs of apparent understanding" (40). In attempting to bring conceptual clarity to the definition of understanding, they identified six facets of understanding: explaining, interpreting, applying, having perspective, empathizing, and having self-knowledge. "The facets reflect the different connotations of understanding…, yet a complete and mature understanding involves the full development of all six kinds of understanding" (45). To judge the depth of an

understanding, one considers the clarity of the expression, the quality of the evidence and its presentation, and the power of the explanation.

> In other words, does it explain many heretofore unexplained facts? Does it predict heretofore unpredicted results? Does it enable us to see order where before there were only random or inexplicable phenomena. Good explanations are not just words and logic but insight into essentials.... We as assessors need to distinguish between the adequacy of the explanation and the power of the idea.... We believe understanding reveals itself best through certain kinds of performances, and performance assessment is made more precise and helpful by distinguishing the sophistication and power of the ideas from their expression or other performance." (80 and 81)

Cognitive science offers a conception of intellectual quality through expert-novice research. Such research defines understanding by identifying what experts in different fields know and are able to do in comparison to novices when they face complex problems to solve. The research has determined that "an expert in any domain has a great deal of knowledge about the domain.... The most striking feature of expert knowledge is that it is extraordinarily well organized, and this organization centers around a relatively smaller number of 'big ideas'" (Niemi, 1997, 240). While secondary level students would not be expected to have expert mastery of a domain, this research is relevant to gauging growth towards deep understanding and for shaping learning experiences that are consistent with expertise in particular fields.

Building on the expert/novice concept, Howard Gardner (1991) described three kinds of learners. The first is the intuitive or preschool learner. While this young learner

can absorb symbolic systems such as languages, her understandings about the world "are often immature, misleading, or fundamentally misconceived" (9). Second is the traditional student or scholastic learner. This learner "seeks to master the literacies, concepts, and disciplinary forms of the school" (7). Unfortunately, most school learning fails to dislodge the understandings of the intuitive or unschooled mind. Students, even successful ones who can routinely identify the correct answer on school sponsored tasks such as tests, fail to exhibit mastery of the concepts when taken out of the context of school. Thus, "the gap between what passes for understanding and genuine understanding remains great" (6).

Gardner's third kind of learner is the disciplinary expert, akin to the expert identified by the research in cognitive science. Each discipline constitutes a domain of knowledge and has a specialized way of understanding the world. The disciplines together constitute the amassed wisdom of human kind. The disciplinary expert "has mastered the concepts and skills of a discipline or domain and can apply such knowledge appropriately in new situations." Again, while a high school student cannot be expected to know as much as people who have devoted their lives to understanding their particular disciplines, "included in the ranks of the disciplinary experts are those students who are able to use the knowledge of their physics class or history class to illustrate new phenomena. Their knowledge is not limited to the usual text-and-test setting, and they are eligible to enter the ranks of those who 'really' understand" (Gardner, 1991, 7). Failing such mastery, Gardner feels that humans are doomed, in effect, to live believing that the world is flat.

Also drawing from cognitive science, Caine and Caine's (1994) concept of "natural knowledge" is related to Gardner's idea of deep or genuine understanding. Natural knowledge "is what results when information, felt meaning, and deep meaning come together" (99). Felt meaning, as described above, is related to insight. Deep meaning refers to the interests of the learner, or "whatever drives us and governs our sense of purpose" (97). For natural knowledge to occur, "the learner has acquired a felt meaning for the subject or concept or procedure so that new information and procedures fit together. In addition, there is sufficient connection with the learner's interests or deep meanings so that the information and procedures are personally relevant" (99). The construction of natural knowledge is possible when the brain's natural ways of learning are accessed. "The brain understands and remembers best when facts and skills are embedded in natural spatial memory" (Caine & Caine, 1990, 69). Spatial memory is the memory system "designed for registering our experiences in three-dimensional space.... It is always engaged and is inexhaustible. It is enriched over time..., motivated by novelty, [and] is one of the systems that drives the search for meaning" (68).

Others refer to deeper learning using other terms. Newman and others (1995), who wrote about authentic pedagogy, described in-depth learning as the primary aim of successful learning. Authentic pedagogy contends that knowledge is constructed through disciplined inquiry and must have value beyond school. In-depth understanding occurs when:

> prior knowledge is mastered ... to facilitate complex understanding of discrete problems. In-depth understanding requires more than knowing lots of details about a topic. Understanding occurs as one looks at, tests, and creates

relationships among pieces of knowledge that can illuminate a given problem or issue." (5)

In short, the constructivist literature defines deep understanding as the comprehension of a topic that is constructed in some measure by a student (Gardner, 1991, 119) in such a way that it can be transferred to new settings (9). Deep understanding involves "sets of performances - carrying out analysis, making fine judgments, undertaking synthesis, and creating products that embody principles or concepts central to a discipline" (186). Deep understanding is contrasted with rote, ritualistic, or conventional learning (9) taught in a single context (Bransford, Brown &, Cocking, 1999, 65) and producing superficial and fleeting comprehension.

Another quality of deep understanding is that its definition almost always makes reference to the process of reaching it. In other words, deep understanding is portrayed in the literature as a dynamic condition, not a static achievement. The simplest definition of deepening understanding is the process through which deep understanding is reached. Fitting with the dynamic nature of deep understanding, for the purposes of this study, it occurred when an insight was reconceptualized by being reinforced, built upon, or contradicted; when insights were linked or clustered to form a complex idea; and when insight clusters themselves were linked. In short, deepening understanding was the process of reconceptualizing insights by seeing them in relation to each other and prior experience.

Also embedded in the definitions of deep understanding above are several conditions necessary to enhance it. Obviously, students must be allowed to experience their own learning and to construct their own meanings. The learning tasks must be

open-ended and even ill-structured, requiring students to think innovatively. Teachers act as mentors for their students who are apprentices working to gain disciplinary expertise through authentic experiences.

Drawing from cognitive science, Caine and Caine (1994) offered an overview when they identified three qualities in the deepening process: orchestrated immersion, relaxed alertness, and active processing. Orchestrated immersion refers to the effort "to take information off the page and the blackboard and bring it to life in the minds of students. Immersion focuses on how students are exposed to content.... The objective, therefore, is to immerse students in ... compelling experiences" (115). Immersion in such experiences provides students not only a rich and complex context for learning, but also one that can help make learning personally meaningful.

> Relaxed alertness considers the role of emotions in learning. Relaxed alertness ensures that students are challenged within a context of safety. A sense of purpose serves to orient and focus experiences. When students do what is important to them, they interpret their 'work' differently. Intrinsic commitment includes a degree of excitement that energizes processing and patterning. Relaxed alertness also includes a personal sense of well-being and safety that allows students to explore new thoughts and connections with an expanded capacity to tolerate ambiguity, uncertainty, and delay of gratification. (155-156)

Active processing "is the consolidation and internalization of information, by the learner, in a way that is both personally meaningful and conceptually coherent. It is the path to understanding, rather than simply to memory" (156). Because it is the way that students make sense of their experiences, active processing is both natural and extremely

important to learning. Because students do not always know how to push their understanding of a subject deeper, the teachers have a crucial role in guiding active processing.

Building from this brain-based conception of learning, Marshall (1998) stressed the importance of moving learning outside of the school. In describing a schooling that fosters the brain's natural learning, she wrote that students must "study 'big' concepts and problems that are relevant to the real world" because their "learning must transcend classroom and school boundaries" (54). Newman (1995) elaborated on that point when he wrote, "When students' achievements are valued only because they contribute to a record of success in school, success in these tasks often carries no adaptive value, because large numbers of students consider school to be only a restricted, even insignificant, arena of personal experience" (9).

In addition to enhancing qualities and conditions, the literature also describes inhibitors of the deepening process. This chapter has already cited numerous progressive educators, starting with John Dewey, who blamed traditional educational methods predominant in schools for limiting the potential of student thinking. In this view, traditional methods are dominant in American schools but ill-suited to teaching for understanding. There are others, however, who blame the progressive themselves. Chester Finn and Diane Ravitch, whose philosophy of instructivism was presented in Chapter One, believe that progressive philosophy underlies a wide-spread resistance in the education establishment to the standards movement, an effort to hold schools and teachers accountable for student achievement. In explaining the mediocre impact of the standards movement to date, they wrote that the:

> 'child-centered' version of progressivism from which so much of today's constructivism flows is hostile to standards, assessments, and accountability. In the child-centered classroom, teachers are supposed to 'facilitate,' not teach. Teaching is scorned as didactic, almost authoritarian. Objective knowledge is replaced by learner-constructed knowledge, as though each child is ideally situated to reinvent what has been painfully learned by humankind over the centuries. (Part IV)

Finn and Ravitch believe that any instructional method that is not held accountable for what it actually teaches is doomed to failure, and they see constructivism as inherently hostile to accountability. Many progressive thinkers, while they obviously do not see their methods as inherently flawed, share this concern about accountability. In fact, as noted earlier, John Dewey himself wrote Experience and Education toward the end of his career to clarify his ideas because he was concerned that they were being mis-applied by the progressives themselves. More recently proponents of authentic pedagogy, which is closely aligned with constructivism, distinguished the two by focusing on standards for intellectual quality, including accuracy and appropriateness of what is being taught and learned. In words reminiscent of Finn and Ravitch, Newman (1995) wrote "if the implementation of student-centered, or constructivist practices were guided by explicit standards for authentic intellectual quality, student performance would benefit" (30). Howard Gardner (1991) agreed with this need for assessment when he wrote that progressive education has been limited historically by "its excessive faith in the capacity of students to educate themselves, its reluctance to engage in assessment, and the risk of confusing worthy goals with their successful achievement" (199).

Thus, the critique of the constructivist efforts to promote deep understanding in schools comes from the two fundamental elements of the school reform movement cited in Chapter One: the progressives and the traditionalists. They each see the methods of the other as inherently flawed and as undermining the schools' capacity to deliver what students need to learn. Regarding constructivist goals for learning, their concerns overlap about the need to assess learning.

In summary, deep understanding refers to when knowledge that has been constructed by the learner and is both personally meaningful and conceptually coherent, consistent with expert thinking in the relevant disciplines. Deepening understanding is the experiential and intellectual process by which insights are reconceptualized or reconstructed, leading from prior to new insight. Conditions that engage students actively in this dynamic, creative process enhance understanding; those that do not inhibit it, as does a failure to assess learning effectively. In addition, some thinkers stress the importance of making learning truly authentic by getting students out of the classroom and into the field.

Learning Outside the Classroom

What should the role be of school sponsored learning outside of the classroom? Schools have long sought, at least sporadically, to incorporate the world outside of school into the curriculum through such initiatives as field trips, laboratories, and work study programs. Such field activities are compatible with the constructivist agenda for reform, so long as they are authentic, active, hands-on, applied, cooperative, and performance

based and are assessed "in contexts as realistic as possible (Darling-Hammond, 1997, 108).

Gardner (1991) is explicit about the value of educational experiences outside of the classroom, citing the use of apprenticeship for learning of all kinds throughout the world. He wrote that integrating apprenticeship methods in schools "should yield students whose potential for understanding is engaged and enhanced" (181). In addition to promoting in-depth learning, schools, Darling-Hammond (1997) believes, should help to mend social rifts (30). To help accomplish both goals, she noted the importance of schools reaching out to communities and incorporating meaningful performances in real world contexts that guide assessment practices in the curriculum (115). She cited apprenticeships (110) and neighborhood studies (126) as examples of how to do this.

Given the compatibility between constructivist philosophy and experiential learning, it might be assumed that schools would open up to their communities in the current reform movement. The call to bring education outside the school into the community, however, has not been heeded. Experiential "activities have seldom been at the heart of academic instruction, and they have not been easily incorporated into schools because of logistical constraints and the amount of subject material to be covered" (Bransford, J. D., Brown, A. L., & Cocking, R. R, 1999, 195). In addition, field experiences are complex to manage. Teachers may not have the expertise or planning time necessary to create field experiences (Allen et al., 74), and they may overlook the importance of teaching students the requisite skills (Allen et al., 26). Even for teachers motivated to use constructivist methods, moving outside the classroom may seem too complicated to be feasible. In addition, teachers cite the lack of class time to cover the

assigned topics, much less do projects, as a primary reason that they do not do field studies (Allen et al., 21).

There are other reasons for limited experiential practice as well. Some out-of-classroom experiences, such as apprenticeships and internships, have been more associated with vocational than with academic education (Gardner, 1991, 125). From this perspective, real learning and thinking is academic and takes place inside the school (Allen, Hogan, & Steinberg, 1998, 42). It is almost the duty of school personnel to protect the curriculum from being taken over by vocational forces, except in the case of a student who is not suited for academic pursuits and so therefore should be prepared for work. John Goodlad (1984) called for the elimination of vocational education that was limited to career preparation and did not take up intellectual development. In addition, many field experiences that are part of most schools, such as field trips, are often not well integrated into the curriculum. Thus, teachers see them as enrichment activities that interrupt or distract from the core academic experience. From this perspective, the potential for such experiences to deepen students' understanding of the core academic curriculum is overlooked and the potential for such experiences to set new, important priorities for schools is seen as a threat to the academic program (Allen et al., 22-23, 26).

Even the constructivist reform literature focuses on the classroom, often expressing the belief that "meaningful school reform must address the central unit of the entire enterprise, the classroom, and must seek to alter the ways teaching and learning have traditionally been thought to interact in that unit" (Brooks & Brooks, 1993, 120). Ted Sizer's Coalition of Essential Schools movement is a case in point. "Growing out of Theodore Sizer's fine-grained observations of numbing high school routines and the

pervasive institutional culture to 'do the minimum,' ... the focus [of the Essential School movement] was inside the school" (Cushman, Steinberg, & Riordan, 1999, 2). While Sizer did early on suggest a fundamental relationship between school and the world around it with his "student as worker" analogy, the focus of his thinking has been on making activities within the school more authentic, although not because of an antipathy for out-of-school learning.

This school focus is logical. Certainly "a major goal of schooling is to prepare students for flexible adaptations to new problems and settings" (Bransford et al., 1999, 61). In fact, some argue that "transfer from school to everyday environments is the ultimate purpose of school based learning" (Bransford et al., 66). Of course, there are fundamental differences between what traditional schools tend to emphasize and what is emphasized in everyday life: school emphasizes isolated work, mental work, and abstract reasoning; everyday life emphasizes collaboration, using tools, and contextualized reasoning (Bransford et al., 62). Because making the in-school experience more like life experience would logically help students make this important transfer more readily, reforming the classroom has naturally become the focus of such reform initiatives.

In short, constructivist reformers have tended to focus their efforts inside of the school to create authentic learning because of the complexities of opening the curriculum to community and the field, the historic delineation between academic and vocational learning, and the pressing need for significant change in classroom instruction. An emerging school of thought, however, suggests that keeping the focus inside the school not only limits but even impedes reform. Cushman, Riordan, and Steinberg (1998) noted that, driven by a desire to make rigorous intellectual work accessible to all students, the

Coalition of Essential Schools has begun "to look for ways to situate learning in meaningful contexts" (3). In fact, the skills required to be successful in life, "framing questions, planning, organizing, finding and analyzing information, working with others, assembling key resources and tools, testing out ideas, and trying again," are much more compatible with field rather than school work (Allen et al., 1998, 7). Not every experience outside of the classroom has value, but those characterized by academic rigor, authentic value, and real world assessments do have the potential to be extraordinarily powerful for students (Cushman, Steinberg &, Riordan, 1999, 19-20). Out-of-classroom learning does not need to exclude classroom learning, but certainly "teaching for understanding and fostering students' ability to use school-taught knowledge in non-school settings requires more active, contextualized approaches" (xvi).

In fact, some thinkers believe that incorporating field experience into school learning is more than just adopting a new method for teaching; it "is one of the major challenges of this era of school reform" (Allen et al., 1998, 8). First it challenges the assumed dichotomy in learning theory between head and hand, "a dangerous division that has plagued public education in this country for over half a century – a division as deeply inequitable as it is unjustified from the point of view of learning" (Cushman et al., 1999, xv). Second, "authentic, project-based, and contextualized forms of teaching and learning" have the power to be a "lever for change across the school" (45). In an open school, mapping backward from real world contexts will underscore the importance of some academic priorities, while suggesting both new priorities and structures for the school to adopt (22). Third, the current reform movement focusing on higher standards for academic achievement may inadvertently deepen the dichotomy between head and

hand. The evolving standards need to be influenced so that they emphasize "new combinations of academic and applied learning, demonstrated through projects and performances that reveal habits of mind and work" (90).

With such authentic standards, schools themselves could incorporate both kinds of learning - head and hands - into the daily experience of students, work that is rigorous, meaningful, and developmentally suited to them. As this happens, many are starting to believe that schools would be harnessing the power of change. In fact, the most promising examples of experiential learning initiatives are part of larger efforts to reform America's system of schools. The Annenberg Rural Challenge is a national effort to change rural schools by developing a pedagogy of place that promotes a school/community exchange (Perrone, 1998, 3). The Metropolitan Regional Career and Technical Center in Providence, Rhode Island, has a totally project oriented curriculum and is purposely linked to the state's plan for reforming schools (Steinberg, 1998, 180). Jobs For The Future is an organization promoting a school-to-work curriculum that is also intended to reform schools.

In short, schools have long sought ways to connect school learning to the 'real world.' These efforts to date, with few exceptions, have been peripheral to the core practices of the school. Some thinkers now believe that the focus on learning inside the school not only limits the potential for learning, it actually impedes a school's progress. By adopting a primary pedagogical strategy to get students out of the classroom and into the field, schools, these thinkers believe, will be harnessing a powerful force for school change. From this perspective, without the widespread adoption of some form of

pedagogy of place, America's system of schooling will be unable to deliver universally a pedagogy for understanding.

Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the relevant literature in five areas: the link between progressivism and constructivism, including the importance of experiential learning to both; the limited impact of progressive school reforms historically; the aims of the current constructivist reform movement; the definition of insight development, including what enhances and inhibits it; and the role of field-based learning in school reform. From this review emerges the clear primacy to constructivist reformers of developing a pedagogy for understanding and their limited success in doing so.

Also emerging from this review is the question of the role of learning outside of the classroom in developing a pedagogy for understanding. Historically, even in schools reformed according to constructivist theory, that role has been minimal or nonexistent. Some now believe that such limiting of field-based learning impairs school reform. Although the data evaluating the relationship between field-based curricula and school reform are preliminary, anecdotal results at the few schools and school systems that have adopted such measures are promising.

A key component to expanding this literature would be studies pinpointing how being in the field influences learning. Such research is rare, as is research designed to "track the growth of learning, not just the cumulation of the facts" (Bransford et al., 1999, xxi). This study was intended to help fill those gaps. By examining the evolving thinking of students engaged in actual fieldwork, with a specific effort to pinpoint how

direct experience in the field influences that evolution, this study should help practitioners and reformers to better understand this underutilized but promising and perhaps vital learning strategy.

Chapter 3

THE STUDY

This study was designed to help delineate how being in the field helps secondary students to deepen their understanding of academic topics. Such a study is important because of the focus progressive school reformers place on cultivating understanding for all students. Doing has long been known as a fundamental way of learning. Experiential methods, however, are seldom applied in secondary schools. The reasons for this are multiple, including the logistical complexity of moving learning outside of the classroom. If school practitioners are to overcome such challenges, they will have to understand better exactly how field-based learning deepens understanding and how schools can successfully sponsor such learning.

Thus, this study was designed to help fill these gaps in the scholarly literature by seeking *to determine what influences tended to generate insight and deepen understanding, with particular attention paid to the influence of direct experience and its relationship to the other influences.* More specifically, the study was intended to answer the following research questions about the learning of the high school seniors studying academic topics in the field:

What was the role of direct experience in generating insight into the topics?

What was the role of direct experience in generating self-insight?

What was the role of direct experience in deepening understandings of the topics?

Definition of Terms

The research goal and questions above use several key terms. Additional key terms were used in conducting the study itself. Following are the definitions of these terms as used in this study:

Academic Topics: The disciplinary and interdisciplinary knowledge, structures of knowledge, and skills that schools are intended to teach students.

Deep Understanding: Deep understanding is the comprehension of a topic that is constructed by the student, is transferable to new settings, involves performances and the creation of products that are central to a discipline, is learned in multiple contexts, and contrasts with rote, ritualistic, superficial, or fleeting learning.

Deepening Understanding: Refers to the process of moving toward deep understanding. An understanding is deepened when an insight is reconceptualized by being reinforced, built upon, or contradicted; when insights are linked or clustered to form a complex idea; and when insight clusters themselves are linked. In short, insights are the building blocks of deep understanding; deepening understanding is the process of reconceptualizing insights by seeing them in relation to each other.

Direct Experience: What students do outside of the classroom and in the field, especially by gathering data through interactions with subjects and active engagement with other community resources.

Immersion: The frequency and quality of activities outside of the classroom and in the field.

Insight: While acknowledging the role of "sudden realization" in the learning process, this study adopted the broader definition of insight: to see inside or to gain an

understanding, occurring both suddenly or incrementally over time. Insight occurred when an idea or thought emerged into conscious awareness and, for this study, was indicated when a student expressed it orally or in writing.

Insight Development: Refers to the processes of generating insights and deepening understandings, which in turn led to new insights.

Research Setting

The study examined the experiences of nine seniors enrolled in a field-based course at the Waynflete School. Waynflete is located in Portland, Maine, in the West End neighborhood. Its campus consists of buildings that were formerly residences, a horse stable, and a Home for Aged Women, as well as various additions made to these structures, a gym, and a complex of athletic fields. It serves 540 students, ages three to eighteen, grouped into a lower, a middle, and an upper school. The Upper School serves 224 students in grades nine through twelve.

An independent school, Waynflete is somewhat isolated from current efforts to reform public schools. Strongly influenced by the writings of John Dewey, however, it has a long history of progressive education dating back to the 1920s, characterized by an experiential and student-centered philosophy (Brooks & Soule, 1998, 35). Evidence of the School's progressive character has surfaced repeatedly ever since. In the 1930s it defined itself as "a true community school where pupils, faculty, and parents share the responsibilities of a common educational enterprise" (47). In the 1950s, a visiting Bowdoin professor criticized the School for "progressive education as exemplified by student-directed classes or projects" (88).

In the 1970s, the foundation for the current Upper School was laid through the leadership of Headmaster William Bennett and the work of the faculty which reformed the curriculum and developed innovations that were "geared toward an active learning style" (Brooks & Soule , 1998, 119), including an urban study project. In an address to the faculty in 1990, the visiting New England Association of Schools and Colleges (NEASC) accreditation committee stated that it had come to Waynflete "openly skeptical about whether, in our modern world, such an ideal place for children could exist...We came to realize ... that Waynflete works" (132).

A few years later, the School revised its mission statement, recommitting the School to its progressive roots and stating, among other beliefs about educating the mind, body, and spirit, that students' "enthusiasm for learning thrives when they have opportunities to discover, to create, and to invest themselves with a passionate interest in areas both familiar and new" (Waynflete School [WS], 2001, 3). When launching the Centennial Capital Campaign in the fall of 1998, the campaign case study emphasized the need for improving student workshops in science and the arts, based on the importance hands-on learning. The continuity of the School's progressive ideals was well illustrated on its website in the year 2000, where the School described itself in words lifted from an early school publication:

> Waynflete believes that the function of the modern school is twofold: first, to help each child discover his/her own possibilities of mind, character and special talents; and second, to foster cooperative living through sensitive response to fundamental aspects of the society in which he/she lives. To introduce young people to a way of life characterized by creative thinking, creative expression, and

cooperative enterprise has always been the aim of Waynflete teachers. (Waynflete Web Page [WWP], February 14, 2000)

Building on its progressive base and guided by its mission "to engage the imagination and intellect of our students, to guide them toward self-governance and self-knowledge, and to encourage their responsible and caring participation in the world" (WS, 2001, 3), Waynflete's upper school classes generally reflect the kinds constructivist methods of teaching that are espoused in much of the reform literature. Waynflete students expect questions rather than statements from teachers, discussions rather than lectures in the classroom, and primary documents rather than textbooks to read for homework. The pedagogical focus is as much on encouraging "individual initiative and risk-taking" and teaching the "skills of quantitative reasoning, critical thought, and aesthetic understanding" (3) as it is on conveying any a particular body of knowledge.

As a result of this philosophy, Waynflete students have also come to expect experiences outside the classroom. Some out-of-classroom experiences are part of the academic program. Students may have classes that incorporate significant work in the field or draw directly from issues and situations outside of school. For example, in the spring of 1998, to celebrate the School's centennial and its commitment to progressive methods of teaching and learning, the Upper School offered to second semester seniors the Centennial Senior Seminar, a field study in ethnic geography. Students may also experience student-directed independent studies and senior projects, as well as field-based alternative programs, including Cityterm, Maine Coast Semester, and special programs tailored to the needs of and/or developed for individual students. Some out- of-classroom activities are not directly related to the academic program such as experiences

through the School's long-standing Outdoor Experience and Community Service programs.

Waynflete was chosen as the research setting for two reasons. Most importantly, it was chosen because its curriculum is shaped by the same constructivist philosophy that imbues Promising Futures and because of the School's efforts to actualize that philosophy using field-based learning. In other words, understanding Waynflete's experience with field study should prove relevant to schools seeking to understand better the learning that can take place in the field. Because neither Promising Futures nor the scholarly literature offers much direct guidance in field study, examples such as Waynflete's may prove to be particularly valuable.

Waynflete was also chosen as a research setting for the convenience of the researcher, who was an employee of the school. While this fact did create some limitations to the study, which are reviewed in Chapters Three and Seven, it also gave the researcher regular and open access to the data. Given the nature of the case study design, this access proved a key to being able to closely scrutinize the students' thought processes.

Design of the Study

The design was a comparative case study of the experiences of the nine seniors enrolled in a course entitled The Ethnic History of Portland, a repeat of the Centennial Senior Seminar mentioned earlier. This study considered all of the class and field-based influences on learning, but the primary focus was on the direct experience of students

gathering data in the field. The other influences were considered in relation to the field influences.

The design was selected for several reasons. First, the course chosen was field-based, with students each choosing a research project of her/his own in the Portland area, gathering primary source data by conducting interviews, making observations, and keeping field journals. Second, the field experience in this course was closely linked to classroom learning, as students were instructed in research methodologies, were coached on ways to generate ideas and solve problems, researched secondary sources, and analyzed and reported their findings orally and in writing. This close linkage between the field and classroom learning helped to make the research relevant for school practitioners. To the extent that the field experience helped deepen student understanding of the topics they studied, the research is relevant to practitioners whose focus is to promote such understanding.

The case study design was chosen deliberately as well. As a form of descriptive research, case studies are "undertaken when description and explanation (rather than prediction based on cause and effect) are sought" (Merriam, 1988, 7). Indeed, the researcher was "interested in insight, discovery, and interpretation, rather than hypothesis testing" of a situation, "where it [was] impossible to separate the phenomenon's variables from their context" (10). The desired result of the research was contextual knowledge about student learning, "distinguishable from the abstract, formal knowledge derived from other research designs" (15).

As with Dunbar's (1995) study of scientific thinking, the literature on how student's thinking evolves when engaged in actual learning tasks is limited (Bransford et

al., 1999, xxi). The case study design, by focusing on the thought processes of students engaged in school sponsored learning tasks, allowed the research not only to delineate the evolution of thought and the influences on that evolution, but also to pinpoint the pedagogical strategies involved in shaping the learning experiences. Again, this approach not only filled in gaps in the scholarly literature but also offers educators a practical model from which to learn.

The students' research combined methodologies from the disciplines of anthropology and geography, disciplines in which the two teachers were trained respectively. In addition, both teachers had had previous experience conducting and guiding field study, including an earlier version of this class. The course was described in the syllabus as follows:

> With two teachers working in a mentor relationship with students, Ethnic History of Portland will examine the social fabric of Portland, Maine, from the earliest European settlement to current city configurations. Rooted in anthropology and geography, this two-credit field study course will expose students to independent and collective field work experience and research methods. Such topics as ethnic composition, ethnic displacement, the relationship between physical geography and settlement patterns, and social structure and issues (e.g., the homeless, gangs, socioeconomics, etc.) will provide structure to the semester. Students will maintain field notebooks and portfolios and be responsible for one portion of a collective document. At the conclusion of the semester, students will have the opportunity to present their ethnographic study to the school and the city community.

A student's grade was based on homework completion, class participation, and portfolio. The portfolio consisted of a field journal, a map component, data compilation, an applied piece, a contribution to an annotated bibliography, and a final project. The final project consisted of a written report, a map, and an oral presentation. Greater detail about each element above can be found in the course syllabus. The syllabus and other course materials, including sample bi-weekly schedules, comprise Appendix A.

To develop parallel and comparative case profiles, the research design described the intended topic, goals, and methodology of each project and the research experience of each student. It then analyzed the topic development for each project and showed how insight was generated and understanding deepened and what influenced these processes. Using the collective experiences of the students, the design analyzed the effect of direct experience in generating insight into and deepening understanding of topics and self, and the relationship between direct experience and other influences on deepening understanding. Ultimately, these findings were examined in light of applicable learning theories and their implications for teachers, schools, and reform were considered.

Data Sources

Data were collected through interviewing students; interviewing teachers; examining products produced by the students, including field journals, class notes, paper drafts, papers, and presentations; and reading other course documents, such as the course descriptions, the syllabus, and the bi-weekly class schedule. To assure the anonymity of the subjects, their real names are not used in any reporting or analysis of the data. The

teachers were referred to as Teacher A and B, and the students were given fictional names.

Data Collection

The Data

To answer the research questions and meet the research goal, five kinds of data were required from a variety of sources. First, to understand the influences on student thinking, it was necessary to identify each student's activities in the course. Between the course syllabus, other course handouts, and teacher interviews, the classroom activities were readily available. For field activities, student and teacher interviews, field journals, and the student papers were used. Through these sources, a clear outline of each student's activities emerged.

Second, it was necessary to identify what students already knew about their topics. These data were important to establish the role of prior experience in shaping topics and also as baseline data against which changes in understanding could be measured. Most of this data came from the student interviews. Students were asked directly what they previously knew about the topic, and they were asked to anticipate what they expected to learn. From these reports prior understanding could be deduced. Student journals and teacher interviews were used to validate prior knowledge.

Third, it was necessary to gather data about each student's research experience. These data were important to establish a context for insight development. Both successful and unsuccessful insight development were often rooted in the student's research experience, thus the research experience itself was an important influence on

learning. The journals contained much of this data, as did the student interviews. In the interviews, after students were asked to describe their activities in the field, they were asked how things were going, with probes following as needed. The teacher interviews also provided more detail about the students' experiences.

Fourth, it was necessary to gather data on emerging insight into and understanding of the topics studied. These data were the key for the study because they related directly to the research goal. For these data, the field journal, the student interview, and the student products were of equal importance. In the interviews, students were asked to describe what they were learning. When they made statements of insight, they were asked to elaborate with open-ended probes. If a student made such a statement in the field journal, s/he would be asked to elaborate in the following interview. In the journals, students were asked to continuously comment on their emerging understandings of the topics, which proved an invaluable source of data. In the written and oral presentations, students presented not only their conclusions but also a description of how they reached their conclusions. Again, this proved a valuable source of data and validation of data gathered through the journals and the interviews. In addition, teacher interviews validated and deepened the data.

Fifth, data were gathered on students' insights into themselves. These data also related directly to a research question. In addition, student data about the self helped to explain her/his success or lack thereof with projects. The student interviews proved the most valuable source of such data, as students were asked directly to comment about their changing views of themselves with probes following as needed. The field journals, the

student products, and the teacher interviews proved to be excellent sources to validate the data.

Data Collection Activities

The students conducted their research projects in three phases. In phase I (January and February), students were instructed in methodology and developed their topics. In phase II (February, March, April), students collected data. In phase III (April through the first week of May), students analyzed their data and reported their findings. Projects were submitted in the first week of May. The phase III student interviews were conducted in the beginning of June.

Data collection for this study was divided according to the phases of the student projects. A description of the data collection at each phase follows. These descriptions contain the specific data goals, the data gathering activities, and the timing of the data collection. This section is written in the first person to help distinguish between data collection activities of the students and of this researcher.

Phase I: Student Topic Development. During phase I (January into February), students developed their topics. My primary goal in phase I was to gather the data necessary to clarify, for each project, the proposed topic, goals, and research methodologies, as well as to document prior knowledge about the topic, topic development, and early insights into the topic and self. To do this, I gathered copies of three drafts of the research design abstracts, copies of the field journals, and copies of the course materials. I also attended an introductory class and started a field journal.

In addition, I conducted the phase I student interview. The interviews were conducted in the last days of January through the middle of February. In it, I asked the students about their topics, what they already knew about it, what they had done, especially in the field, to gather data, and what they were learning from those activities. I asked probing questions when they expressed insight into the topics or themselves in order to determine the full extent of the insight and to ascertain the influences on their thinking. While the interviews varied, I generally followed the phase I student interview protocol available in Appendix B.

Phase II: Student Data Collection. During phase II (February and March), students gathered data. My primary goal during phase II was to gather the data necessary for me to track the evolution of student thinking about their topics and themselves. To ensure that I also captured data on the influences on the evolution of student thinking, I collected a second installment of student field journals, added to my own journal, gathered additional course materials, and interviewed both teachers.

The purpose of the teacher interviews was mostly to validate my emerging understanding of the students' thinking and experiences. I asked open ended questions to ascertain what stood out in the teachers' minds about the students, and I asked more focused questions to get the teachers' perspective on my own hypotheses. Due to a teacher's request, one of the interviews was not tape-recorded. For data on this interview, I relied on my notes. While the interviews varied, my approach was to remind the teachers of my research goals and then to get them to talk about the experiences of each student, focusing on the evolution of student thinking.

In addition, I conducted the phase II student interviews. As with the previous interviews, their purpose was to gather data on the evolution of student thinking and the influences on it. This interview focused on what students were learning from their data collection activities, especially the activities in the field. The interviews were conducted in the last week of March and the first week of April. One student was interviewed a second time in the second week of April because he had not gathered much field data at the time of the first interview. While the interviews varied, I generally followed the phase I student interview protocol available in Appendix B.

Phase III: Student Analysis of Data and Reporting Findings. During phase III (April into May), students analyzed their data and developed written and oral presentations of their findings. My goal for phase III data collection was twofold. First, I wanted to gather data that would allow me to track the evolution of students' thinking during phase III and to analyze the influence of data analysis and report writing on their thinking. Second, I wanted to gather data about their thoughts on the experience as a whole, now that the project was completed.

To attain these goals, I gathered drafts of papers, the final papers, and additional course materials, and I attended the student presentations and added to my field journal. I also interviewed one of the teachers in late June. My intent with the teacher interview was to get him to talk about the experience of each student, with a focus on the evolution of thinking into the topic and the self.

In addition, I conducted the phase III student interviews in late May and early June. In this interview, I sought to gather data about thinking and influences during phase III, and also to gather data about each student's experience as a whole. It also

afforded me the chance to validate my own thinking and to clarify points on which I had questions. While the interviews varied, I generally followed the protocol available in Appendix B.

Additional Comments on Data Collection

The methodologies employed to collect data, with greater specificity added as appropriate, was substantially the same as the ones outlined in the research proposal with two exceptions. First, I did not gather much data on how the class was being conducted. After the initial class, I did not attend any others. Neither did I observe or tape-record coaching sessions between the teachers and students nor accompany students in the field. Undoubtedly, such activities would have enriched the context of my inquiry, but they fell victim to a shortage of time. Fortunately, my focus was on the thought process of the students, not the course itself, and much of the relevant data I missed by not attending classes and coaching sessions materialized in student generated materials or the interviews.

Second, I reduced the teacher interviews from three to two, and then was not able to interview one teacher a second time. This probably was a loss, given the value of teacher comments in triangulating my data. However, the teachers did work closely together, so that the teacher I did interview twice made frequent references to the opinion of the other teacher. In addition, there was ample teacher commentary recorded in the journals, a source of data I had not originally anticipated.

Data Analysis

Data Coding

The first step of data analysis was to code the data. The data consisted of the statements made by students in the three drafts of the research design abstracts, the field journals, the student interview transcripts, and the papers. Each statement was labeled with a letter, which identified the kind of thinking or experience being stated. For example, a statement labeled with an "I" expressed an insight into the topic. A statement labeled with an "S" expressed an insight into self. Each letter was written in one of four colors to indicate the primary influence or source of the statement. For example, a green "I" would indicate a statement of an insight into the topic stimulated by an experience in the field, while a red "S" would indicate a statement of insight into the self stimulated by the teacher. A full account of the coding nomenclature is found below in Table 1, Data Coding. To ensure validity and reliability of the data, the project advisor reviewed the coding scheme.

Table 1: Data Coding

Letter: Identifies the kind of thinking or experience being stated
I: Description of an insight into the topic.
S: Description of an insight into the self.
M: Description of the level of motivation about the experience: interest or frustration
P: Description of prior experience with or understanding of a topic.
B: Description of background information; related to the topic indirectly.
F: Statement of fact about the topic.
O: Statement of an observation about the topic.
Q: Statement of a question about the topic.
T: Description of learning field research techniques.
W: Description of doing the field work; activities in the field.
Color: Identifies the primary influence or source of the thinking expressed by the statement.
Green: Indicates thinking influenced by field research; yielded from primary sources of data such as interviews and observation; direct experience.
Red: Indicates thinking influenced by teacher statements, written comments, and directed classroom experiences and academic structures including field study methodology, data analysis, paper writing, and data presentation.
Blue: Indicates thinking influenced by non-field research, including traditional secondary sources of information such as periodicals and books.
Black: Indicates thinking having multiple influences.

Topic Development and Research Experience

Understanding how each student developed a topic and experienced the research experience was necessary background information for understanding insight development. To do this, all of the statements made by each student were reviewed. Special attention was paid to statements describing topic development and the research experience. From this review, a profile in two parts was written for each student. The first part described topic development; the second research experience. The analysis of the actual evolution of thinking beyond topic development was saved for Chapter Five, which focuses exclusively on insight development.

Topic development was the foundation for subsequent insights into the topic. Consequently, the influences on topic development were important to understand because they contributed to shaping the insights. Topic development analysis began with reviewing and coding the topic development sections of the project profiles. Each statement indicating an influence on topic development was categorized as one of eight influences. Four were academic: class and methods, teacher input, secondary research, and prior academics. Four were experiential: prior experience, future plans, field research, and social cause. The eight were then divided into two groups of four: academic influences, experiential influences. This data are recorded in Table 3, Influences on Topic Development (111).

Although the balance between the number of times academic and experiential influences were cited (41 and 38 respectively) suggested a rough parity in influence on topic development between them, further analysis was needed to determine the relative weight of such influences. To do so, each influence statement was categorized further

into one of three categories, indicating whether it stimulated interest in the topic, directly influenced topic development, or indirectly influenced topic development.

For example, Eban had a negative impression of churches in general but had had a positive experience in a particular church. He reported contemplating the course requirement to combine historical and current research as he drove by the church where he had had the positive experience. At that moment, he decided to do his project tracing the historical and current impact of the church on its neighborhood. His prior experience at the church stimulated interest in the topic. His field experience of seeing the church in its neighborhood directly influenced topic development. Contemplating the course requirement was an indirect influence on topic development. This data for the class are reported in Table 4: The Effects of Influences on Topic Development (113).

Further analysis was conducted to describe the effect of influences more specifically. Each topic's development was documented using the three drafts of the research design abstract. Influences were identified for each assertion made about the topic and for each topic change through the drafts. The data are recorded in Table E2, Topic Development and the Influences on Development (Appendix E). The full description and analysis of topic development and the description of the research experience is the subject of Chapter Four.

Insight Development

The first step in analyzing insight development was to compile an insight table for each student. For each student, the journal, interviews, and the paper had been coded for insight statements into topic and self. These insight statements were paraphrased and

listed on the insight table, with the source cited. A particular insight was only listed once. For example, an insight gleaned from a subject interview might be recorded in the journal. In the subsequent student interview, the same insight, emanating from the same subject, might have been repeated. In that case, it was not listed again in the insight table. However, if in the student interview the student connected what the subject said to something another subject had said and if that connection had not already been recorded in the journal, then the insight was listed in the insight table.

Phase I data were reported in the insight table on journal entries through the phase I interview and the phase I interview itself. Phase II data were reported on journal entries through the phase II interview and the phase II interview itself. Phase III data were reported on additional journal entries, the paper, and the phase III interview.

After the insights were listed on the insight table and their sources were cited, insights were further coded. Coding indicated whether an insight was into the topic or self; whether it was new or reinforcing of, building on, or contradicting a previous insight; whether it came from the field, an academic source, the teacher, or multiple sources. The insight tables are available in Appendix D. Table 5, Insight Summary (125), summarizes the coded data.

Based on these tables, insight profiles were developed for each project. In the profile narratives, the progression of insights was analyzed, focusing on trends in the data as articulated in the interviews and the reviews of other materials. The insight profiles not only identify and describe the most significant elements of insight development, but they also distinguish important influences on generating insight into and deepening understanding of topic and self. This analysis is the subject of Chapter Five.

Discerning Patterns of Insight Development Among Projects

The next stage of analysis attempted to find among the projects patterns in what influenced generating insight and deepening understanding. Table 5, Insight Summary (125), summarizes for the class data recorded individually in the insight tables. For each student, it records the total number of insights, the number of each insight type, the number of insights recorded from each source, and the number of insights recorded at each phase of the process. In addition, it records class means for each category.

Because of the importance of direct experience to this study, it was important to gauge the depth of field immersion of each student. To do this, Table 2, Field Immersion (71), was formulated. This records the number and kinds of experience students had in the field. Based on this data, the description of the research experience in the Chapter Four project profiles, and the observations of the teachers, the projects were classified as deepest, middle or least immersion. While the placement is somewhat subjective, the distinctions among the experiences were clear.

The two tables, Insight Summary and Field Immersion, clearly reveal a strong relationship between immersion in the field and generating insights. They also show that students cannot deepen their understanding of a topic with low immersion in the field. However, high immersion did not necessarily correlate with deep insights into the topic. Thus, the other influences were considered in conjunction with direct experience in the field to explain how understandings were deepened.

Because adequate immersion in the field had been indicated as being necessary for deepening understandings, the five projects in the middle and high category were selected for further analysis. Their experiences were scrutinized to identify the other

influences on the deepening process. Patterns and discrepancies in their experiences were noted. As appropriate, the low immersion projects were also referenced in this analysis. The influence of collaboration, although relevant only to Alice and Juliet's project, was also analyzed. The full analysis of influences on insight development is the subject of Chapter Six.

To further examine the deepening process, Alicia's project was selected as an example. The way her individual insights clustered illustrated the deepening process. Alicia was a better example than Alice and Juliet because their status as collaborative researchers was atypical for the class. Alicia made a better example of field-based research than Eban because of her superior immersion in the field. However, either Ryan or Rosa could have been selected instead of Alicia. The full development of Alicia's thinking is expressed in Table E1, Alicia Insight Clusters (Appendix E).

The Researcher's Role and Trustworthiness

There were two potential challenges to the trustworthiness of the data. The first is the basic challenge inherent in most qualitative studies of ensuring the validity and reliability of the data. Insight, for example, was the key piece of data for this project. The challenge to trustworthiness of data in this case was to accurately determine what the students were realizing about a topic and that what they were realizing constituted an insight into the topic.

The first step to ensure trustworthiness of this data was to clearly define insight in such a way that was not only based in the literature about insight but also included specific indicators. The indicator of insight was when an assertion about the topic or self

was expressed in writing or orally. Such tangible indicators were key to developing a data coding scheme that could be applied to the raw data. The development and application of the scheme were conducted by the researcher and reviewed by the project advisor, which helped to assure the validity of the data.

Assertions of insight came from a variety of sources including the field journals, student and teacher interviews, and student produced materials. Most data were easily triangulated because they were indicated in more than one source. In the case where an important piece of data existed only in a single source, students were asked about it in the subsequent interview. Thus, important data were triangulated, helping to assure reliability.

The second challenge to trustworthiness arose from the fact that while conducting the research, I was also the Head of the Upper School, an advisor to two of the students, and the English teacher of two others. As the Head of Upper School, I oversaw curriculum and teaching and was responsible for managing problems should they arise. Anticipating the potential conflict in roles between researcher and supervisor, I took several measures. First, I obtained the permission of the teachers to do the research. Then, students were given the opportunity to discuss my proposal to conduct the research in private as a group and reject it anonymously if any of them was uncomfortable with my dual role. I wrote letters describing my research intent to both the students and their parents, which gave them various alternatives should they have become uncomfortable as the semester progressed. A copy of the letter to students comprises Appendix C. Furthermore, for matters pertaining to the course, I assigned my responsibilities as Head of Upper School and advisor to the Dean of Studies.

These measures seem to have been successful in minimizing complications from my dual role, as I am not aware that any concerns about it were raised. Furthermore, my role gave me excellent access to the students. Scheduling interviews was easy, and students seemed very relaxed about talking with me. In addition, because the School had run the class before and I knew the teachers well from working with them for nine years, I believe that I had a clear idea of how the class was run.

Chapter 4

THE FOUNDATION OF INSIGHT DEVELOPMENT

As described in Chapter Three, this study followed the learning of high school seniors taking a field-based course entitled The Ethnic History of Portland. Two teachers in the history department led the class; one was trained in anthropology, the other geography. They had run the course once previously. Nine students took the class: six girls and three boys. Two students teamed up on one project, so the nine students completed a total of eight projects. Only one student had previous experience conducting field research. The grades earned in the class ranged from A to B-, with a median grade of A-. For the students and the teachers, the class counted as two of the five required for the semester.

The study focused on what influenced the students' insight development. Insight development refers to the processes of generating insight into and deepening understanding of the topics studied and the students themselves. While the study sought to understand all of the influences on insight development, it paid special attention to the role of direct experience in the field. Chapter Four describes the intellectual and experiential foundations of insight development. Chapter Five presents the insight development of individual students and evaluates their understandings in relation to the study's definition of deep understanding. Chapter Six examines patterns insight development among the projects in order to determine findings in response to the research questions. Chapter Seven considers the broader implications of the findings.

To describe the foundations of insight development, Chapter Four presents project profiles. Each profile consists of sections on topic development and research experience. Topic development is the intellectual foundation and research experience is the experiential foundation of insight development. As such, they are necessary to understand in order to understand the development of insight.

Topic development refers to each student's process of determining the topic to be studied. The topic development process culminated with the third draft of the research design abstract. Among other components, the research design abstract was to include a research hypothesis. Forming a research hypothesis required students to generate their first insights into their topics and to establish central questions about the topic that were intended to guide the subsequent research. In addition to the descriptions of topic development in each project profile, Chapter Four contains a section analyzing topic development. The purpose of this analysis was to identify the influences on topic development and to determine the relative importance of each influence. This section foreshadows the complexity of the influences on insight development. Because the process generated the first insights, established central questions intended to guide subsequent research, and foreshadowed the complexity of influence on insight development, topic development proved to be the intellectual foundation of insight development.

The research experience sections of the project profiles were intended to describe not only the students' direct experiences in the field but also their reactions to those experiences. The research experience was closely linked to insight development in that the quality of field experience affected not only the number of insights students had into

their topics but also the depth of understanding they reached. In other words, students who enthusiastically embraced the field experience generated more insights into their topics than those who did not. As such, the research experience proved to be the experiential foundation of insight development.

Project Profiles

This section contains a profile for each of the eight projects. The project profiles were intended to present the intellectual and experiential foundations of insight development: topic development and research experience. The profiles were categorized according to the depth of immersion in the field. Given this study's interest in the effect of direct experience in the field on insight development, presenting the profiles according to depth of immersion seemed the best way to highlight the relationship between immersion and insight development. This order was also used for the Chapter Five insight profiles.

The frequency and quality of a student's direct experience outside of the classroom defined the depth of immersion in the field. The quality of the experience in the field is presented in the research experience sections of the project profiles. The depth of immersion varied among the students. Table 2, Field Immersion, displays the kind and frequency of field experience. Based on the frequency and quality of field experience, students were organized for the table and the chapter into three groups: Alicia, Rosa, and Ryan greatest depth of immersion in the field; Alice and Juliet and Eban the middle level of immersion; Ana, Lou, and Sam the least.

Table 2: Field Immersion

Immersion Level	Student Project	# Formal Interviews	Other Contacts	Other Activities	Comments
Deepest	Alicia: Spanish Mass	10	*Background phone calls	*Attended Latin Community Council meeting *Visited Latino grocery store *Visited USM radio station *Visited Center for Cultural Exchange *Attended Mass and coffee afterwards 8 times *Took photographs at Mass	*5 interviews followed a protocol; 5 interviews of parishioners were less formal and conducted in Spanish
	Rosa: Portland's Gay Community	8	*4 informal contacts	*Attended panel discussion *Visited gay owned businesses *Visited gay social spots *Attended gay art opening *Viewed S.A.L.T. display	*Interviews rich and informative
	Ryan: Asian Business	9		*Visited markets and restaurants owned by subjects	*Interviews rich and informative
Middle	Alice & Juliet: Women in Fishing Industry	6	*Background phone calls	*Hung out on the docks, in a subject's place of business *Took photographs *Interviewed subjects at places of work *Attended fisheries Council meeting	*4 interviews were long, rich, and informative *Multiple contacts of several subjects
	Eban: St. Luke's Cathedral	5	*Listening in the waiting room; reading bulletins	*Analyzed church database *G.I.S. *Attended church service and coffee	*Interview included key interview with the church minister
Least	Ana: Cambodian Acculturation	5	*4 Contacts setting up project	*Volunteered at study center twice *GIS mapping	*Interviews brief
	Lou: Exchange Street	5	*Informal conversations	*Hung out on Exchange St. *G.I.S. Mapping *Took photographs	*One interview included a second person *Most field research took place in from late March to mid-April
	Sam: Little Italy	3	•12 phone interviews *Spoke with Priests	*Attended Mass at St. Peter's *Attended Mass in Italy *Attended social hour at church *Surveys *Reviewed church bulletin	

Alicia's Project Profile: The Spanish Mass

Alicia's Topic Development. Alicia was scheduled to end her semester three weeks early, so she began considering a research topic before the semester began. Through traveling extensively in Central and South America with her family, Alicia had developed an interest in Latino culture. She had spent two months of the previous summer in a small town in Bolivia, and she was scheduled to go to the Dominican Republic in the spring. Thus, Alicia wondered "if there are any Latinos here or Hispanics because I know my mother is friends with several who are not refugees but have emigrated here – so I was wondering what the population is like." She asked the teachers who told her "there is a grocery store called La Bodega Latino on Congress Street and I was like wow, I should go check that out." She then researched past newspaper articles and discovered that "the Spanish population is basically the largest in Maine which really amazes me" (Alicia Phase I Interview, 2).

While in Bolivia, she lived next door to a church and attended a mass which she found to be "really amazing" (Alicia Phase I Interview, 3). When she learned that there was a Latino population in Portland, she looked in the phone book and noticed that "the Roman Catholic Church had a Spanish Mass" (Alicia Paper, 1). In doing her initial background research in Portland, she "heard a lot about the Sacred Heart Church … and a lot about its Spanish mass which is about the only mass in the State of Maine that's in Spanish and I was really interested in that" (Alicia Phase I Interview, 1). "I attended a Spanish Mass at the Sacred Heart Church and talked to a woman at the store, which led me to focus my project on finding out the role that the church played in the Latino Community of Portland" (Alicia Paper, 1).

Through three drafts of the research design abstract, the goal of the research remained essentially the same: "To look at the religious experience that the people of Latino origin have when they come to the United States and Portland, Maine as well as the role of the Sacred Heart Church in the community" (Alicia Research Design Abstract Draft 3, 1). In pursuing this goal, "I will be able to gain insight into the role and influence of the church and religion in the community" (2).

Alicia's Research Experience. The introductory elements of the class inspired Alicia. After the panel presentations, Alicia wrote, "This session was very good for me because it got me more motivated to go out and start my project" (Alicia Journal, 1/5). After the neighborhood field walk, she wrote, "I am so excited to do this project and I can't wait to get to it. This makes me want to do only this in my lifetime" (Alicia Journal, 1/5). After a presentation on urban geography and cultural geography, she wrote that "I have always been interested in maps and other parts of geography but have been wary of it because it always seemed dry. I think though that this is not the case and in the next weeks I will learn more" (Alicia Journal, 1/10).

Once in the field, her feelings for the project alternated among high motivation, frustration, and anxiety.

> Whenever we meet as a class I get so motivated and I just want to go out and continue with my project. The only problem is that over the weekends and the week I feel like I lose momentum until it is pushed up again when we meet. This class was great... I really feel weird writing and doing interviews with people. I am much more comfortable just coming up and asking questions than trying to do

a set up a formal interview. I still don't know what to do and how to go about it mostly because I have no confidence in myself. (Alicia Journal, 1/14)

Over the next many weeks, "she really immersed herself as an anthropologist" (Teacher A Interview II, 9) by attending church services and the tea service that followed eight times. She conducted seven formal interviews with members of the Sacred Heart Church and several other informal interviews with parishioners. In addition, she gathered additional data from numerous other primary and secondary sources about the church specifically and the Latino community in general. Most of the interviews were conducted in Spanish, as were virtually all of the tea time conversations. One teacher said about conducting the research in Spanish, "What a challenge and let's talk about being brave – I don't think I would have done that, but it was key to her interviews and I think I probably built a certain amount of trust for her [with the subjects]" (Teacher A Interview I, 7). Her note taking on her experiences in the field and on the class activities was extensive and thorough. One teacher noted that once she became engaged in the site, her journal became increasingly reflective. According to one teacher, initially she did not see what she had. Then it got to the point where she could not stop writing in her journal. The fieldwork made it real to her (Teacher B Interview, 1, 2).

The project was difficult at times for Alicia. Some of the work was frustrating and hard, and she was sick for a week in the middle and found it difficult to regain her momentum. "There are times when I really felt like I was just lost … Just following a project through to its completion is difficult for me … I would be much happier if I didn't have to write a paper… I would just quit now" (Alicia Phase II Interview, 9, 10). But when asked what she thought about the actual learning part of the project, she responded:

> It has been extraordinary. I have loved it. I have learned so much about the process and about the community and how to do a project like this, how to conduct it. It amazes me how quickly you can get involved with the community if you really try it. You start by calling one person and make calls to people and then you call those people and they call two more people for you and it just spreads and that really amazed me because I learned a lot more about Portland and I like Portland a lot more than I did when I started, because I didn't know that much about it. So learning has been really fun. And that is what I like more than writing the actual paper. (Phase II Interview, 9)

In summary, Alicia's experience in the field engaged and excited her, and it frustrated and challenged her. She was present in the field on a regular basis and made close connections with several of her subjects, although her data collection was somewhat limited by the fact that she conducted her primary interviews in Spanish. Once she entered the field, the most difficult part of the project was completing it, especially analyzing her data and presenting her findings in a paper.

Rosa's Project Profile: Portland's Adult Gay Community

Rosa's Topic Development. Rosa's first journal entry reflected her anxiety about the project:

> I feel hopeful that when I am able to select and narrow down a topic that the pattern/process of research will become more clear. It seems that there are ample resources available and with patience, persistence and making conscious effort to be respectful they can yield successful results. I am afraid my topic will be too

> broad or relate only to the present. I am wondering how I can go about formulating interview questions that are respectful but also in depth. I am nervous about making initial contact with people. I am worried about the pace I am going to have to keep and that because I don't have a clear idea about what I want to do right now, but once I have one, I know how to go about finding out about it, that I am going to get behind. (Rosa Journal, 1/5)

The words "afraid, wondering, nervous, worried, get behind" suggest the anxiety she felt about having a project of unknown dimensions and complexity in front of her. Her hope was that by figuring out her topic the shape of the project would become clear, which in turn would make it feasible. Each tangible step to shape her topic helped to ease her anxiety. The day after the class field walk, she wrote that she had "started to figure out more what to look for and how, and now how to react and combine my reaction with observation. I am feeling less lost about fieldwork, because it seems like a process of exploration" (Journal, 1/6). After reading a study completed by students in a previous class on immigrant girls, she wrote, "I feel as though I have a much better idea of how each element can tie together... I feel as though reading this project has given me a possible jumping off point and brought up some questions which I am excited about pursuing" (Rosa Journal, 1/11).

After reacting to her reading the study of immigrant girls, Rosa listed eight possible questions for a study on that subject. Then she wrote a question about the gay community, which was her first mention of the subject that would become the topic. While she was interested in learning about their "experiences and the character of their experiences" (Rosa Research Design Abstract, 1/28) of the immigrant girls, accessibility

ultimately played a crucial role in her selection of a topic. In describing her choice between the two topics, Rosa wrote, "I do feel very interested by both topics, however, but I feel I have more of an idea and a starting point with the Portland gay community... I also think the reason I feel 'safer' doing this is because it is in the context of 'my' own culture - am looking at it in the spectrum of American culture which I am familiar with" (Rosa Journal, 1/13).

Once the topic was selected, relevance replaced familiarity as a driving force shaping the topic. After a meeting with a community person who had conducted a study on lesbian women as part of her work, Rosa wrote that the meeting "solidified my idea that focusing on an aspect of the Portland gay community is a viable idea and would work out." She went on to say that "I felt really excited and at ease talking to her. She confirmed that the ideas I've been having are good ones" (Rosa Journal, 1/14). After meeting with the Director of the Maine Speak Out Library, Rosa brainstormed a series of research questions and then wrote a first draft of her hypothesis. It read:

> The sense of community is limited. One's orientation is an important factor, but may not be the ruling factor in discovering community. I think that despite small pockets that form around a particular place the community is quite fragmented. The community also may be limited from the prevailing notion that constitutes pride (i.e. the pride dance, etc.) and people who don't fit into that feel excluded. (Rosa Journal, 1/21)

Her final research question is fundamentally the same as the draft:

> The sense of the out, adult, gay community in Portland is close but limited. Small pockets of community form around particular places and around certain political

causes. However, the community is not highly visible, active as a community or outwardly united. (Rosa Research Design Abstract, 3/1)

After visiting the Speak Out library, Rosa wrote, "I feel very positive about my progress... because I feel I have more of a jumping off place now... The environment of the library... made me feel excited about my project and the range of issues that might be available. Also, I feel that this project could actually serve the library/greater Portland community and I have a much more clear picture as to how" (Rosa Journal, 1/21). Once her question was established, her focus shifted to the specifics of her methodology and the task of data collection. She no longer questioned her subject or noted the importance of validation for her research.

Rosa's Research Experience. Rosa employed the same energy and intensity completing her project as she did for formulating her topic. Over the next two weeks, Rosa conducted extensive background research. She reviewed the Frances Peabody/William Barry Papers, the Jean Stickney Posters, an AIDS Project history, the Act Up archives, and a S.A.L.T. display on a lesbian couple. This research led to a refocusing of her interview questions. Working with the teachers, she shaped an interview format, and shortly thereafter she conducted her first interviews with a lesbian couple. She wrote, "I am surprised and really happy to start talking with people. I did half expect to get answers that match my reading/background research and I am really glad that I didn't. It is really refreshing and already I can better conceptualize how the background research/interviews will relate" (Journal, 2/16).

Rosa found the fieldwork to be exhilarating and fulfilling. Looking back on the fieldwork as she began data analysis and paper writing, Rosa wrote, "I think the

motivation compounds itself because you are interested in something and you are working on it and you get more and more ... and that motivates me to write the paper and to write it well and really get into it as opposed to having to write a stupid paper that I don't care about" (Phase II Interview, 5). "If you are doing some research paper and you are not using a lot of primary sources or even if you are using primary sources, you are not interacting with people. The human element can get lost a little bit. This is about the human element. That really challenges me to always be thinking about what I am doing and what I am saying and all that stuff" (Phase II Interview, 6). In summarizing her experience, Rosa said:

> It was stressful and it was challenging, but it was certainly fun and rewarding and I think that once you get that personal interest invested in it – it's not just some assignment that you have to do – it's something you want to do for yourself and something you can actually be proud of and something that's really valid and has original thought in it and when that happens – I don't see why someone would want to create something any other way.... (Phase III Interview, 6)

Rosa also suggested that the course had affected her way of thinking in a lasting way: "I was looking back at things I've written and [the class] has trained me to just look for themes... The same themes are coming up in the stuff I wrote this year is like last year and the years before that. I would sort have known that and been like how curious, but now I'm like oohh, oohh, what does this mean? I think that it's definitely something I want to continue doing whether my school is going to allow me to do that or not" (Phase III Interview, 6). Through this project, "finally I have been given enough time... well almost enough time, to do something and do it well and to do something that I am

sincerely interested in and to be able to set my own schedule within the context of school" (Phase II Interview, 5).

In summary, Rosa began the project with some anxiety. Her response to the anxiety was thoughtful research and self-reflection. She worked carefully to select a topic that interested her but also seemed feasible to her. Once she had selected her topic, she conducted extensive background research that would help her to shape her field experience. When she entered the field, she was well prepared and responded to the experience enthusiastically.

Ryan's Project Profile: Asian Restaurants and Markets

Ryan's Topic Development. Ryan was already contemplating aspects of his topic in the first week of class. He first mentioned the idea of studying restaurants in the evening of the second day of class after completing a reading about conducting ethnographic studies. Restaurant culture was one of four main topics he listed in a brainstorming exercise. The subtopics of the restaurant culture he listed were "restaurant employees, restaurant owners and entrepreneuring in Portland, History/growth of culture and its causes/effects, and Ethic side of restaurant culture" (Ryan Journal, 1/4). The next day Ryan stated a more refined goal of pursuing "a restaurant idea, looking at the historical differences between early in the century and now, especially in relationship of restaurants and ethnicity" (Ryan Journal, 1/5). A few days later he wrote, "I have been thinking more about a focus on ethnicity and restaurants, as a business for some and employment for others. This terminology about anthropology reaffirms my idea that I was possibly interested in learning about this stuff in college" (Ryan Journal, 1/9).

Although he did note a few other ideas for research in his journal, the first draft of his research design abstract, turned in on January 14th, was fully devoted to "looking at the importance of Southeast Asian restaurants in Portland for the ethnic communities they represent" (1).

Ryan had fairly extensive experience with Portland restaurants as an employee and with civic groups that had exposed him to the experiences of ethnic populations in Maine. However, when asked what made him interested in his subject, he replied, "I don't know." He went on to describe his interest in the Asian American community as stemming from three sources. He described his exposure to Asian Americans when he attended a Portland public elementary school, which had an E.S.L. program, so "there were a lot of Cambodian and Vietnamese kids that I met...." He also mentioned a class that he had just completed, The World Since '45, in which he had gained "a little bit more understanding of what of the circumstances that caused all the people to be here" (Ryan Phase I Interview, 2). He then mentioned two other observations that he had come across in his background reading.

> Another thing that I'm interested about Asian Americans in this sort of national issue than a local issue is the idea that of their being a miracle generation of Asian Americans or Asians being the model minority and using the fact that second or third generation Asian Americans who grew up speaking English and end up going to Ivy League Schools...that has been used to say well affirmative action is not needed because look at what all these Asian Americans have done.
>
> In Brunswick last August there was a big thing that happened where these two Vietnamese guys were beaten by these other two guys but also the fact that a

> crowd of like 40 or so people gathered around and sort of cheered them on and nobody tired to come to their defense and people who had nothing to do with it when it started in the first place just going up and kicking their car and things like that – so I think that the whole model minority thing first of all puts a lot of pressure on a lot of Asian Americans who have succeeded. (Phase II Interview, 2)

On the day that he turned in the first draft of the research design abstract, he reflected in his journal, "I'm still worried that 'Asian Restaurants' is too unfocused a topic, even if it does taste good. I really still feel, in some senses, that I don't know where to begin, even on background research" (Journal, 1/14). With the encouragement of the teachers, he worked to sharpen his focus in subsequent drafts. The first draft of the research design abstract would seem to be most influenced by Ryan's experiences as a restaurant employee. It approached the topic primarily from the perspective of restaurants. It opens, for example, with an observation about the national media coverage received by the city's restaurants, including the supposed fact that Portland has more restaurants per capita than any city in the U.S. except San Francisco. Asian immigration to Portland was not mentioned until the second paragraph, and then only to explain the recent proliferation of Asian restaurants in the city. The second draft opened by noting the growing Asian-American population in Portland, and then introduced the concept of Asian Americans being the model minority. Only secondarily did this draft mention the subject of Asian owned businesses. The third draft kept this emphasis, and refocused the subtopic of Asian businesses to Asian markets and restaurants. Other changes between the second and third drafts were stylistic.

In short, Ryan began the topic development process with a primary focus on the restaurant scene, with the ethnic experiences of secondary importance. Influenced by background research, class activities, and the abstract drafting process, the project became more focused on viewing ethnic experience through the lens of business ownership. Ryan observed that "starting a business is certainly part of the American dream mentality and the small business and having family involved in it and a lot of these cultures value family" (Ryan Phase I Interview, 2). Because Asian Americans are said to be the model minority who has succeeded in the American dream, Ryan wanted to study them as small business owners.

Ryan did note that he found it difficult to formulate a hypothesis. After a paragraph in his journal attempting to form questions about his topic, he noted, "That is one part of this process that is counterintuitive to me. Making a hypothesis, before you really know enough to even do that, is what I'm struggling with" (1/6). In fact, Ryan "never really formulated a clear hypothesis," (Teacher A Interview I, 1). Instead:

> I started my research with only a general goal as to what I was looking to find, as opposed to a specific hypothesis… I waited until after my data collection process was complete to make a hypothesis that I would try to prove with the data… The hypothesis I decided on is as follows: The experience of owning an d running an East Asian restaurant or market in Portland is one that carries for the owners and their families many challenges and yet provides many rewards. (Paper, 21, 22)

This approach to hypothesis formation "made him report out his findings – here's the challenges, here's the rewards – but there was this link between the background work

that he had had on Asian Americans and his work that was never forged, and I think a good hypothesis would have done it" (Teacher A Interview I, 2).

Ryan's Research Experience. In spite of that problem, Ryan was a class exemplar of data collection. He was patient with data entry, recording not only the results of his research but his own responses to the experiences meticulously. In addition to doing extensive background reading, he gathered primary data on nine restaurants or markets from a variety of sources, making his data sources among the most comprehensive in the class. He also redefined what constitutes data collection one day, when a potential respondent expressed at length why he was too busy for an interview. Ryan was highly disappointed, until he realized 20 minutes into the explanation that he was gathering data (Teacher B Interview, 1). One teacher observed that the more data he gathered, the more confident and in control he felt (Teacher B Interview, 1). Ryan also reported "I really connected with a lot of people and learned about their lives and that ... was more important to me than the actual product" (Ryan Phase II Interview, 6). The paper helped him to see patterns and make connections, "but I don't think the writing process was the time when I actually learned things except like seeing what was already sort of there inside my mind. I think writing the paper in general was the part of the process that I felt sort of the least connected to. By that time I feel like I had learned what I wanted to learn" (Phase II Interview, 5).

One teacher reported that Ryan "was working along really well independently and we kind of let him go" (Teacher A Interview II, 2). The independence did contribute to the limitation of the hypothesis. The teachers agreed "we needed to have talked and say, okay, what is your hypothesis and I think it would have made his analysis" (Teacher A

Interview II, 2), but the teacher also noted that working independently "he had a wonderful study all put together... he did some wonderful analysis and great background work, and was well organized" (Teacher A Interview II, 1). Ryan recognized the teachers "wanting people to find their own process" so that "a lot of this is about doing things on your own" (Phase III Interview, 8). Although he praised the independence, he also valued the group experience. "It is sort of a combination of a class experience with a bunch of people and an individual experience, and I think by combining both of those things I think is what made this class really great" (Phase III Interview, 8).

From the beginning, Ryan expressed a keen interest in the project, a feeling that was intensified once he began interviewing people. "Now that I have been doing interviews and talking to people, I feel like I really have invested myself more in it... I have been putting a lot of positive energy and wanting to be working on this project. It makes me more and more convinced that this is something that I am going to be willing to pursue in college and later on" (Phase II Interview, 4). When asked about the work's attraction, Ryan answered,

> I think it really ... reaffirms for me some of the feeling of political views that I have and makes me feel more confident in expressing those and makes me feel like I have a better understanding of some small part of the world... I'm worrying a lot about people and about what life is like for these people and it seems ... sometimes you can see the importance of it so much more than something that you learn from books...It seems a lot more urgent to me in that the struggles that people are going through right now... This is things that are really happening to

people right now and I think it is a lot more difficult to not have a strong reaction to it. (Phase II Interview, 4)

In summary, Ryan did express some anxiety about the process during the topic development and early in the data collection phases. His response to this challenge was to work thoughtfully and thoroughly conducting background information, shaping his interviews, conducting the fieldwork, and reflecting on his field experiences in his journal. While he expressed the least connection to paper writing, his analysis and paper were comprehensive as well. While he enjoyed contact with his classmates, his work was marked by its independence. Partly as a result of this independence, Ryan never formed a strong hypothesis, which in turn limited his data analysis.

Alice and Juliet's Project Profile: Women in the Fishing Industry

Alice and Juliet's Topic Development. As close friends and soon to be second semester seniors, Alice and Juliet "talked about taking a class together and doing our project together and sort of bounce ideas off of each other... Its something new and such an independent project... That may seem to portray us as weaker people because we are not fully plunging into it as individuals, but I mean we are both bringing our own things to it" (Juliet Phase I Interview, 1). The idea of studying women in the lobster industry emerged in the middle of a class. They had been talking about continuing a project from the previous class on children at Kennedy Park or Somalian women when one of the teachers noted in class that "there's no American or Caucasian ethnicity that anybody's doing it on like Mainers." Juliet immediately recalled knowing "a woman from Monhegan who owns her own boat and is a woman lobsterman and so I turned to [Alice]

in class and it sort of popped in my head and said, 'Hey, we could do it on women lobstermen issues' and she said that was really cool and so we decided to do that" (Juliet Phase I Interview, 1).

The topic and design continued to evolve. The first draft of the research design abstract identified the intent to "gain better insight into women's influence on Maine fisheries,... [because] we believe the impact of women on the fishing industry has gone unnoticed, and those that work as lobsterwoman find themselves in a sexist, male dominated, and closed society, despite their equally strong, ambitious, and patient efforts" (1). The second draft described the intent "to complete an ethnography portrait on wives of men in the fishing industry...who have varying professions directly correlated to the fishing industry...Hypothesizing that this is a gender biased culture, and that sexual divisions of labor exist, we are interested as to how this impacts women in the fishing industry" (1). The third draft described the intent "to complete an ethnographic portrait of five women involved in different facets of the fishing industry...[to] uncover common threads ... in terms of personality and impact on the fishing industry...[to study] motives for their involvement in this business...[to see] how [sexual divisions of labor] impacts the five women we study" (1).

This evolution was in part driven by difficulties in gathering information on the subject:

> We have to do some historical component to it so sources are pretty limited in terms of women in the fishing industry for the past 20 years and for that matter any time at all because from what we know like in the census data and stuff when most women didn't put down being a stern women or like sort of the same

occupation because they only did it seasonally and it wasn't considered a real job or if they were in the packing part of the industry like since it was seasonal they wouldn't put it down so its not information we can look up. Like we went to the Portland Room and when we told the guy what we were doing and what were interested in studying - do you have any information on this or this - there is no information at all - he didn't bother looking and then he sort of got into it and we looked through the Salt magazines and found it was done in the late 80s - this study of 5 wives of fisherman - and even just reading through those and they printed the interviews that they had with these women you could pull out common threads between these women and I think you could tell they play a major part in supporting their husbands and so I think doing concrete research is going to be difficult. (Alice Phase I Interview, 3)

In describing this evolution, Alice said:

Well, when it looks like there's a dead-end it's really easy to go off on a different tangent in that sense using a dead-end to go somewhere else...Different things will spark it - like how we got to doing a case study - it had gone from children in Kennedy Park, with women with domestic violence, to women in the fishing industry and women lobsterman knowing no women in the fishing industry and we had to really draw assumptions whatever you want to call it and okay - we'll start this aspect of it - well no let's do a portrait so its just been through talking it through and thinking through and seeing what seems the most feasible to do. (Alice Phase I Interview, 4)

A key part of this evolution was settling on the idea of doing ethnographic portraits. After a meeting with the teachers and Alice in which this decision was made, Juliet wrote,

> I like the fact that we don't have to make judgements about these women's lives or overanalyze their work. I think that if we tried to do this it would be a lame attempt and the data that we could have collected would be invalid... [We] don't have enough background in anthropology or common wisdom about women's roles in the fishing industry to make such definitive decisions about their culture. (Juliet Journal, 1/27)

In summary, topic selection was sparked by inspiration, guided by the availability of data, and encouraged by the teachers' advice and many reminders that "a lack of information... is just as important as an abundance of information" (Juliet Phase I Interview, 4).

Alice and Juliet's Research Experience. Both Alice and Juliet enthusiastically described the work as a kind of awaking. In reacting to the neighborhood walk field exercise, Juliet wrote, "I am embarrassed to admit that, but I cannot image living in a home like the ones we observed today... I feel that this innocence at what 'low income life' is like leaves me vulnerable and open to learn about it. This makes up for my unintended snobbery... [The neighborhood walk exercise] gave me a completely new perspective on how I view Portland... The whole city makes more sense to me. I am more observant now" (Juliet Journal, 1/6). After a class introducing the field of anthropology, Juliet wrote, "This interaction between humans feeds me and nurtures me... Thus I feel as though this work is something I could be passionate about" (Juliet

Journal, 1/7). After introductory classes on both anthropology and geography, Alice wrote:

> What continues to mind boggle… are the many things, all of which are confusing and contradictory… I feel like I know these things and someone is just making them apparent. But to contradict this entirely, it's startling how these things are right in front of our faces, and yet I seem oblivious to everything that surrounds me, and making connections… I am under the impression that everything is linked, connected, and related to everything else. The overlapping is crazy. What kills me, what is fun, mystifying, but enthralling is the fact that there is no right definitive answer. Despite sufficient, factual, data in entire validity, from which you can make general conclusions or statements, there is always more to find out… I find myself itching to go and connect, talk and relate with/to. How exciting and rewarding and challenging… It is very intriguing to step outside as an observer, and ponder about your own make-up in terms of influence of culture and society, not just thinking in terms of genetics. I feel like I almost have a new set of eyes, as they are in search for something completely, and utterly different." (Alice Journal, 1/10)

As noted previously, the project got off to a difficult start in large part because of a lack information available. In spite of the progress made in the first month conducting background research, developing a long list of potential contacts, and focusing the project, the actual field work began somewhat chaotically as well. As one teacher noted, the first time on the wharf they didn't know what to look for (Teacher B Interview, 1). Juliet described the intended strategy for this first foray into the field as follows: "I think

we are going down to the wharf this afternoon. If it happens that we run into somebody down there it might be more of an informal sort of encounter situation and we hope to learn stuff about it that way also" (Juliet Phase I Interview, 3). Alice described the event this way: "Today we went out – very disorganized, as we weren't sure where to start." After describing an undirected walk along the waterfront looking for evidence of women in the industry and finding little, Alice concluded, "I realize how important it is for [Juliet] and I to contact our contacts, and start interviewing these women. Today I also learned that I need to be more directed and focused before going out into the field so I can be as productive as possible" (Alice Journal, 2/7).

After this trip to the wharf, they began to clarify the goal and methodology (Teacher B Interview, 1). Within the week they had arranged for and conducted their first interview with "the bait lady." They learned about the bait lady from a classmate, and when they called her, they found that "she was more than willing to talk to us. She was ready to talk to us right on the phone. She is really enthusiastic and really interested" (Alice Phase I Interview, 2). Juliet described the interview as follows: "What an amazing experience. This interview was so cool." After describing her impressions of the interview in detail, Juliet noted, "It's so interesting because her open passion for her life and her unconditional confidence was empowering." She later concluded that the interview "was a very successful learning experience and <u>so</u> rewarding… I was both inspired and informed by my …surroundings. I wasn't stuck in a classroom listening to a teacher blabber on, rather this was self-induced…" (Juliet Journal, 2/11). A teacher said:

> When they went to visit the bait lady they just kept saying … how dynamic they think she was as a person and that she has so much going on and that she had such

a sense of investment in what she was doing and all she is doing is selling bait and she's the best and I think that when they started out if somebody said 'Oh you are going to bait lady and she is going to impress you' they would have laughed and now they walk away and think she is a remarkable woman and that's what a great lesson is. (Teacher A Interview I, 7)

After this interview, they immersed themselves in the subject:

"We have interviewed six women. We have eaten a lot at Becky's. We've made so many phone calls. Trying to get in touch with these people is so hard because none of them got back in touch with us. It was our calling and calling and finally getting a hold of them on the phone... We have gone to the library in Portland room and looked up things for this. It is difficult because there is not a pile of information just sitting there about the fishing industry" (Alice Phase II Interview, 2).

One experience illustrates particularly well the evolving reverence they felt for their subjects. "I remember Monday, a couple of weeks ago. It was a really long day... We had gone to the library and forgotten our library cards, so we couldn't take the books out... That night we were going to meet [a subject for an] interview... and we were not really in the mood to do it. Then we sat down with her and I came out of there in such a good mood. She was so inspiring... It is not like a teacher telling you what you need to think" (Juliet Phase II Interview, 4). Alice and Juliet consistently reported feeling inspired by direct contact with subjects. "Without a question [they] have this connection that they made with these women and the admiration they have it just comes through in their journal numerous times" (Teacher A Interview I, 7).

Their trip to Gloucester, Massachusetts, to attend a New England Fisheries Council Meeting at the invitation of one of their subjects, was in many was a culmination of their work. "[Juliet] and I definitely have tons of highlights from this semester's course, but today will definitely stick out when I think back on this project ten years from now" (Alice Journal, 3/22). After describing in detail their comical journey to find the meeting and the activities of the meeting itself, Alice noted that two of only three women on the approximately 17 person Council were their subjects. She felt pride at that fact and with how both subjects handled themselves. One, she observed, "appeared to be taking on the whole council, but holding her own very well. Two members made a point of saying – jokingly – that [she] always keeps them (the Council) on their feet." The other, "out of all the people who spoke, … sounded the most composed, eloquent, and direct in her speech. She came exactly to the point and I was proud to know her and follow her around the meeting like puppy dogs" (Alice Journal, 3/22). Juliet described the trip as "well worth it… an amazing opportunity." They even discussed "how it would be cool to be involved in the fishing industry somehow. Maybe not on a boat, but in some other arena. Who knows?" (Juliet Journal, 3/23).

At the start of the paper writing process, Alice wrote, "For the first time I am starting to feel stressed in this project. I feel like between hearing from colleges and filling in crucial gaps of background research (not extra work to be perfectionists) and visiting colleges… we have a very limited time period to really put forth some great effort to produce a top quality paper. I feel like we owe these women a great service, our paper must give them the justice they deserve" (Alice Journal, 4/1).

In thinking back on the learning entailed in the project, Juliet said, "I will remember all of it for such a long time and I think that is really cool like we did this big study and I will never forget about these five women...We could have kept going easily" (Juliet Phase III Interview, 6). Alice said:

> I think it's different. I think it does produce a different understanding then just being in a traditional classroom and because I think I have better appreciation for it because like I did that work and I was interested in what I was doing. I am really proud of what we did, I just think it was so cool and I never once was like ohhh - I had so much fun doing it and it was my project - well our project - and it's just so different to actually be immersed in what you are studying and there are just so many more things that you can pick up. Then of course by reading books is valuable, but I just think that there is something different to be gained by actually going out and I think that you learn a little bit about yourself to.... I found some qualities in these women that I would hope to have for myself and I just learned that I really like going out and talking with people and seeing how different like their lives are compared to mine. It was just a lot of fun. (Alice Phase III Interview, 5)

Alice and Juliet also gained confidence in themselves. One teacher said "[Alice] kind of came as this tentative kid and she and [Juliet] together have just blossomed" (Teacher A Interview I, 7). The other teacher noted that the greatest by-product of being in the field for Alice and Juliet was the realization that they can do the work with a sense of joy, and in the process gain respect and power. At the N.E.F.C. meeting, the teacher

observed, Alice and Juliet were no longer students but researchers (Teacher B Interview, 1).

In summary, Alice and Juliet expressed anxiety about conducting fieldwork early in the semester. They responded to this anxiety by throwing themselves energetically into the project. They remained enthusiastically engaged with their project from the beginning to the end. The quality of that engagement, however, shifted as the semester progressed. At first they were excited about doing a novel project together and the independence that they were being granted. Once they entered the field, they became enthusiastic about learning more about the lives of their subjects. They developed a strong sense of admiration for these women whose lives they found so different than their own. Their research process was somewhat chaotic throughout the semester, but they gained confidence with themselves as researchers as they gained experience in the field.

Eban Project Profile: St. Luke's Cathedral

Eban's Topic Development. Eban did not have a preconceived notion of what he would study, and his early thinking focused on learning the methodology much more than reflecting on his experiences or delving into the fieldwork itself. Of the first 42 pages in his journal, covering all of January, half were devoted to notes on class presentations and exercises, and only five pages are were devoted to field research or reflections on his topic. The teachers commented on this imbalance, frequently encouraging him to reflect more on his experiences. It is not until a February 8th entry entitled "Thoughts" that a teacher commented, "I was so pleased to read this entry. Glad you're beginning to question/process your research" (Eban Journal, 2/8).

This focus on methodology shaped the evolution of his topic. After doing some background research, he switched topics because the first one did not seem to fit with what he was learning about anthropology and geography. "I realized after we went to the Osher Map Library all the interesting stuff they were pulling out that I wouldn't be able to use for mine [the old topic].... Then we were talking about interview methods – I can't really use those either – so I thought this [the new topic] would bring in a good element of interviews, maps, background research census data making maps – I sort of get the whole shebang" (Eban Phase I Interview, 1). In fact, it was on the van ride home from the Map Library that he first thought of studying a church. "I don't know how I got the idea – I looked down State Street as we were driving from the Osher Map Library back to school on a field trip and I saw State Street Congregational Church Cathedral – that huge thing- so that was interesting..." (Eban Phase I Interview, 1). While the idea came to him in a moment of inspiration, the seeds for the idea, studying the influence of churches on their neighborhoods, had already been planted. In class notes, Eban wrote, "Churches represent the core value of community" (Eban Journal, 1/7). A few days later he wrote, "Neighborhoods – sense of community" (Eban Journal, 1/10).

While methodology and class activities influenced his topic selection significantly, prior personal experience sparked an interest and further refined the topic. Eban described himself as "pessimistic about religion and sort of disillusioned. All religion tells you what you can't do and not what you can do. And you're always a sinner" (Eban Phase II Interview, 2). He saw churches in every neighborhood but knew none of his friends nor his family attended regularly. He wondered, "What are these churches being used for?" (Eban Phase II Interview, 7).

When he saw the churches on State Street on his way home from the field trip, he remembered a visit to one of them. After the Phase II interview concluded, Eban related a story about an event that took place a year and a half prior to conducting his study. A boy, a family friend, had died, and Eban and his father attended the funeral at St. Luke's. Eban and his father, whom Eban describes as an atheist, braced themselves for the minister to describe the tragedy as God's will. Instead, the minister spoke words that Eban and his father found comforting, surprising, and inspiring. Afterwards, his father said that if he were ever to attend church, it would be at St. Luke's because his experiences at the funeral (Eban Phase II Interview, 8). Thus, when he settled on St. Luke's, Eban selected a topic that was connected to his personal experience, and his study focus broadened to consider the cultural influences of the church.

Eban's Research Experience. Once the topic was established, Eban shifted his focus from methodology to research, although the journal pages devoted to secondary and historical research outnumbered the fieldwork pages by a ratio of three to one. Eban acknowledged a discomfort with field data.

> That was hard because everyone had different projects and I had a hard time because I think because I am a little stronger in the science and math background reaching conclusions from - like [the teachers were] always in all my journals they would say you got to have more reflections, take better notes on you know like how the person smelled and where they were and I had a hard time doing it because I had a hard time drawing conclusions from the person's shoes were untied or something obviously not something that trivial but I needed the hard data and if I had the data like the maps I could draw conclusions from that. I was

> fine with that but I had a hard time drawing conclusions from the interviews because you they would be like - well what if that person is just in a bad mood that day because they just got up on the wrong side of the bed - I don't want that to throw off my entire research so I had a really hard time relying just on what people said to me. (Eban Phase III Interview, 5)

Even focusing on the harder data took him longer than expected, "because you would go to the Osher Map Library all day long and come out literally with nothing, not a thing – I just spent five hours over maps and I got absolutely no data, like nothing" (Eban Phase III Interview, 5). By March 1st, Eban reported good progress on the mapping aspect of the project but having trouble lining up interviews (Eban Research Design Abstract, 3/1). Under pressure from the teachers to finish data collection by the end of March, he wrote, "I am starting to feel very pinched for time; although I'm relieved I know what needs to be done, I am worried about how much more there is to do, especially the interviews" (Eban Journal, 3/14). Two weeks later, he ended his research without conducting as many interviews as he had intended.

Nonetheless, it was from the fieldwork that Eban learned the most. After attending a service at St. Luke's, he reported being "a little shocked … [that] laughter was ok and welcomed while he [the minister] was speaking" (Eban Journal, 3/5). Eban felt a surprising affinity for the beliefs he saw acted out in the service. "Half the people are kneeling and half the people are sitting there. Some people are standing. Everyone is sort of doing their own thing, which is… I think that is great. Because religion is what you want it to be for yourself" (Eban Phase II Interview, 4). After interviewing the minister, Eban reported that the exchange was "amazing. Totally changed how I look at

a church and religion in general. I never thought I'd be able to be in complete agreement on every issue we spoke about with a member of the clergy" (Eban Journal, 3/7). He also said, "I'm lucky that I randomly picked St. Luke's. I am glad that it has been really interesting and a little controversial. That it has actually influenced me somewhat and changed me. Yes, I am definitely thankful for that" (Eban Phase II Interview, 3).

In response to being asked how studying St. Luke's is different from studying Joshua Chamberlain, Eban responded, "It reminds me much more of a science lab... because your methodology is huge" (Phase II Interview, 6,7). Later, when asked to compare field-based learning to classroom learning, Eban elaborated:

> It's definitely better. It's definitely more fulfilling and more - because when you are reading a book you are reading a book that's been read by 10 million other people and everyone is learning this and a year before you learned it and the teacher has been teaching it for 10 years and it's just sort of like a factory and your just one thing going through and just getting filled with information but this is definitely because you are learning it - you are the only one doing that... You feel like your work has more importance because it's entirely your own process and you care about it more because you are the one that set up the interviews and you are the one that contacted them and it was your idea to do this project at all so you want to make it - it's your own creation. So you want to do it as well as you can. (Eban Phase III Interview, 4)

When asked if we be involved in another project like this one, Eban said, "I think if it was presented to me, I would accept it... While I was doing it, I would say, Why did I do this? Then when I was done, I would be glad I did it" (Phase III Interview, 6). In

summary, Eban settled on a topic that interested him intellectually and personally, he found himself more comfortable gathering data from the census, maps, and secondary sources than he did gathering data in the field, and he was often frustrated by inefficiencies of the data collection process. However, he felt deep satisfaction with all he learned and pride with completing original research.

Ana's Project Profile: Cambodian Acculturation

Ana's Topic Development. Ana's interest in taking the course because she had already taken a course in anthropology. In that class, not only had she been introduced to the study of anthropology and to basic field study methodology, but she had also conducted a study based primarily on survey results. She was the only student in the class to have had this previous experience in fieldwork.

Ana chose to study relationships among Cambodian siblings. More specifically, she sought "to determine what dictates the level of responsibility in a selected sample of teenage Cambodian sibling relationships in Portland, Maine" (Ana paper, 1).

Her interest in this subject stemmed primarily from an experience she had had visiting Thailand. During that six week visit, she "performed community service at … a home for girls, ages thirteen to twenty-two, who were considered to be "at risk" in their former residencies." The main risk faced by these girls was sexual exploitation, often by parents who were seeking money for drugs. The girls, who attended school at night and worked during the day, would send their money home to support their families voluntarily. Ana was "amazed … that these girls would send their hard earned money back home without knowing if it would be used for their families' food or more drugs."

Through this experience, she "became intrigued by the intensity of the responsibility involved in South-East Asian sibling relationships" (Ana paper, 1). Given her background in anthropology, her trip to Thailand, and the number of South-East Asians who had immigrated to the United States in the past 20 years, Ana became interested in the effects of acculturation on traditional sibling relationships. She focused on the Cambodian population because of the number of Cambodians who had resettled in Portland in that time.

Ana's Research Experience. Ana's data collection was limited by three interrelated factors: an aversion to conducting interviews; a difficulty with the openness of the schedule and the project; and a lack of motivation. Ana noted a "discomfort with the interviews and... the lack of linear structure to this kind of procedure" (Ana Phase III Interview, 6). In early March Ana wrote, "I am so glad to be almost done with the research" (Ana journal, 3/8) because "I don't really like doing" the interviews (Ana journal, 3/21). The difficulty with the openness of the project was also evident early in the process when in January she "wound up completely losing it" because she had "no idea what [she is] even focusing on, or even if there are Cambodians left to study" (Ana journal, 1/24). Later she noted that she found it "kind of hard when there's just a lot of free periods" so that she often used her senior seminar time to attend an additional section of a class she was enrolled in (Ana Phase I Interview, 2). In explaining her difficulties, she said:

> I think that it may be the structure. I am someone who does well with when I have more structured layouts of things and when I can view documents and say or look at a list of events and say that this correlates to that. It happened as a result

> of this. I think that is easier than when I have to find the things that I am trying to analyze maybe or when the thing that I am trying to analyze is more spread out. I feel like this class is too circular for me. (Ana Phase II Interview, 4)

Ana also speculated that she might have been more motivated to overcome the obstacles she faced if the course "weren't offered in the second semester of senior year" (Ana Phase II Interview, 3). One teacher referenced a perceived lack of commitment to the project, saying, "To become involved in the work, you must commit to it" (Ana Journal Teacher Response, 3/21).

These challenges caused Ana to try to minimize data collection, despite her teachers' urgings to deepen her analysis with more fieldwork. About midway through the project, in describing why she would not conduct a particular interview, Ana wrote "I just don't want to keep doing more active field work. I'm sure [the interview] would make my research more valid, but I feel like if I get too far off track I won't have enough time…" (Ana journal, 3/14). Both teachers urged her to gather more data, one writing "I don't see this as getting off track. I see it as deepening the research you are doing - more comparative information - more voices to hear from" (Ana Journal Teacher Response, 3/14). In reviewing her decision to stop data collection, Ana noted that in this project "you could stop at any point and that's the term of the outcome and it wasn't so much that you had to do it just that it would make it better and you really didn't like doing it that was enough to make you stop" (Ana Phase III Interview, 7). Although she did gather some more information and later reported that "I did learn a lot" from the project, she also said that fieldwork "was really not something that I could quite put my heart and soul into" (Ana interview 3, 6).

In summary, Ana was the only student with prior experience conducting an anthropological study and she had a significant personal experience that motivated her topic selection. In spite of these factors, she never fully entered the field. She was held back by a discomfort with interviews and a general lack of motivation. As a result, her data collection was minimized.

Lou's Project Profile: Exchange Street

Lou's Topic Development. At first Lou was interested in the Old Port section of Portland because of the well-publicized tension between business owners and the youth that hang out in the area. He identified his idea as studying "what kind of kids hang out there, what they do, and the relationship between the teens and the shopkeepers." In responding to this idea, the teachers cited several areas of concern and asked, "Will shopkeepers talk to you, a kid in their eyes?" and "How will historic research be conducted?" In subsequent conversation with Lou, the teachers expressed "some realistic reservations in that the shopkeepers probably wouldn't want to necessarily seeing me as somebody my age which I am but probably they would see me as being prejudiced so they might not give me the information" (Lou Phase I Interview, 1).

These concerns caused Lou to shift topic to an historical focus. In conducting background research, Lou found that Exchange Street had had "a very good beginning. It was wealthy and prosperous...only question is how did it become the slum it was in the 60's? How did it go from a wealthy district to the slum and then back to a slightly different but still profitable commerce area? Who affected the change?" (Lou Journal, 16). Stimulated by a class discussion of how the city had constructed a major

thoroughfare right through another neighborhood it deemed undesirable, Lou hypothesized that "the city...initiated a process of urban renewal to change Exchange into a polished, commercial district for downtown Portland, continuing the gentrification overtaking the city" (Lou Research Design Abstract, 3). However, further background research and a conversation with one of the entrepreneurs responsible for the Old Port revival, caused him to realize that "my original focus was ... was wrong" (3). He then focused on finding out:

> whether or not the city itself sort of affected the change - if they tried to push Exchange Street in a certain direction - especially in the late 60s - whether or not what it is today is a result of the city molding and shaping it or rather its just sort of a chance occurrence of investors taking chances and getting lucky. That's one thing that I hope to find out." (Lou Phase I Interview, 2)

In addition, Lou was interested in finding out how the evolution of Exchange Street "may even correspond to the city itself" (Lou Phase I Interview, 3). As he started gathering data, Lou's intent was to describe the economic evolution of the Old Port area, to determine the major influences of that evolution, and to identify the relationship between that area and the city's evolution.

Lou's Research Experience. Lou reported that a high level of interest and motivation and a pattern of procrastination characterized the data collection phase of his project. After the neighborhood field walk exercise analyzing buildings for their uses, Lou said, "It was a kick to try and figure out what a building was used for... It was truly fascinating discovering the little intricacies of the area" (Lou Journal, 8). After a class presentation introducing the field of anthropology, he labeled it "really interesting stuff"

that I see "pursuing professionally" because "it pushes a button somewhere in me" (Lou Journal, 10). After a presentation on geography, Lou wrote that "I am not sure that I would be as exited about it as a career choice but it is definitely intriguing stuff to study, and it ties into anthro." He also previewed his project when he said, "I think that it would be interesting to discover what changes part of the city went through and why" (Lou Journal, 12). Later he reported that his fieldwork was "exciting" and "fun," especially what he described as the "humanitarian" part, because "really going out there and looking at it … provides the depth of the project … You can take it at your own pace and learn from it via your own observations/interests" (Lou Phase IIA Interview, 4). Later he said:

> For me – personally – I value hands on stuff a lot more just because you're doing it yourself, it's not somebody showing you what to do and someone telling you the answer. You are figuring it all out for yourself and there's guidance along the way and stuff like that but it's really your own thing. There is some accomplishment at the end in terms of just discovering all this stuff – putting it all pieces of the puzzle together and then putting it down on paper. I mean I was surprised that I wrote almost 30 pages on all of this stuff. It's definitely a more solid memorable experience than being told what to do. (Phase III Interview, 4)

Despite his high levels of interest in both the subject and the process, Lou procrastinated during the data collection phase. By April 7th, one week after the data collection was to be finished and one month before the paper was to be completed, Lou had not conducted any interviews. While he did complete five interviews in the next week, that number fell short of his goal for interviews, and he never interviewed a representative of the city, which his teachers had urged him to do. The level of his

procrastination was underscored by how much he had been looking forward to the interviews, and how much he eventually enjoyed conducting them. He reported that "the interviews were my favorite part. It was just to me the greatest way to get information is from like relating to people, talking to them about their experience and stuff" (Phase III Interview, 7). When asked, "In what ways didn't this process work out for you?", Lou responded:

> I think overall it was great. It was a great project, great teachers, and a great process. The fall back personally I encountered had more to do with my shortcomings – the shortcomings perhaps of the class itself. Sort of procrastination as a problem and sort of my own. The need to jumpstart at times was probably the most problematic part of this for me. (Phase III Interview, 5)

In summary, Lou began the semester reporting a high level of interest in both the topic and the discipline of anthropology. While he reported sustaining these interests, he also procrastinated getting substantially in the field. This procrastination limited the amount of data collected and the time available for analyzing it systematically. He seemed highly aware of the problem. In the credits section of his paper, Lou offered "special thanks" to the teachers "for giving me a kick in the rear when I needed it" (Lou Paper).

Sam's Project Profile: Little Italy

Sam's Topic Development. Despite her Italian heritage, Sam had no intention to study Portland's Italian community because she had no idea that one existed in Portland. At first she wanted to study "Somalian women and the treatment that they get as an

immigrant both by the community and by the state or city" (Sam Phase I Interview, 1). During the first week of class she participated in the neighborhood field walk exercise with her class. As preparation for the exercise, her teachers informed the class that the neighborhood they were to study had once been a thriving Italian neighborhood, Little Italy. However, the city considered it to be a slum so a major road artery was put through the neighborhood, causing most of it to be demolished and the rest to be divided. Sam's father is a native Italian, and for Sam, exploring her heritage had been a matter of visiting her father's family in Italy. When she participated in the field walk, Sam was interested because she "didn't know about an Italian community [in Portland] until we did the field work" (Sam Phase I Interview, 1). Then, when she "learned about the urban renewal … I was appalled at the fact that this city considered the town community to be a slum" (Sam Phase I Interview, 1).

A student in a previous class had studied Italian immigration and urban renewal in Little Italy, so she needed a different focus. Sam learned that many Italians travel from all around the area to attend mass as St. Peter's Church. She "figured that if these people had been kicked out of their neighborhood and they were still coming back that's got to mean something" (Sam Phase III Interview, 4). St. Peter's, which she had seen during the neighborhood field walk, seemed a expedient choice for study because "I already have an inside [at St. Peter's] being half Italian … [and] I found out that my Italian teacher – I asked her on a whim – do you know anyone who attends St. Peter's and she said 'I do' – so I said this is a good idea" (Sam Phase I Interview, 1).

Her first intention was to use the history of St. Peter's as a filter through which to view the history of the Italian community in Portland, including isolating "the main

reasons for the disintegration of the major Italian community" (Sam Research Design Abstract I, 1). Under the guidance of the teachers and with her initial data collection, Sam's topic became more focused. In the second draft of her research design abstract, she said, "My hypothesis is that St. Peters plays a crucial role in tying the Italian community together, especially after the urban development which occurred in the 1950's" (1). By the third draft, her intent was to focus on the "authenticity St. Peters has as an ethnic Italian church, and the strength that authenticity has in attracting the Italian community... My guess for why the attendants continue to come back to St. Peters is because of the authenticity it has as an Italian church" (1).

Sam's Research Experience. Early on, Sam identified challenges that turned out to be a significant limitation of her data collection. In the second draft of her research design abstract, Sam noted, "The problems which I feel I may face result from my own timidness. I feel as though I will have to be very outgoing in order to get the most out of this project, and that may prove to be a problem for me" (1). In that same draft, she noted feeling "the usual panic over organization" (1). These two challenges – conducting interviews and getting organized – meant that "I got off to a slow start" (Sam Phase II Interview, 1), and caused her to be "completely lost" (Sam Phase III Interview, 5). As a result, for six weeks she did not make the phone calls she needed to make to collect data. Her journal entries during that period were sparse and non-reflective. Of the data she did collect, she did not realize what she was getting. (Teacher B Interview, 2).

It was not until the teachers intervened near the end of the data collection period to help get Sam organized that the necessary phone calls were made and the bulk of her data were gathered. Once she made one call, she made eight and really enjoyed the

experience and realized that she could do that kind of work (Teacher B Interview, 2). Sam reported, "I was really nervous about calling like restaurants and insurance companies… It was really good, because it boosted up my confidence a bit" (Sam Phase II Interview, 4). One of the teachers describe her growth in this way: "When I look at her I think of her study as here is a kid who can barely go out and do interviews or go out and find the research and by the end she was going out and doing interviews, finding information and pulling it together on some level, doing some database work, living with flaws in her research…. Like doing a survey but not asking the ethnicity of the person who did it – which was key to her study" (Teacher A Interview II, 8).

Once the data were gathered, the teachers worked closely with her on the analysis as described below:

> She has probably had some of the weakest analysis of all. I think it was probably the most challenging for her in that regard. I pushed her down the road of okay so you've got this record again of where everybody lives from your survey - so where do they all live and this use to be a neighborhood church - what's the story and she only began - well everybody lived off the peninsula - well whereabouts off the peninsula - there are some people in South Portland. Well when you look at Portland you can begin to sort of section off by boundary areas - so what are the boundaries we are looking at - because it's a major thoroughfare and so there were people north of it and south of it and so she just started to do that but it was a week before her paper was due. (Teacher A Interview II, 8)

Despite her difficulties collecting and analyzing data, the experience gave her a new appreciation for fieldwork.

> I like this sort of work a lot. Because I feel it is more real. You are not reading a book. There is such a variety of how you get information and talking to people who… something I noticed about St Peter's is that everyone who goes there loves the church and wants to give back to it. And just to have the emotion that comes with the contact with people. It is so much more real. It has made me want to do this again. I find that learning from people is more powerful, but it has more of an impact on me and makes me want to learn more because I can see these people care about this church. Whereas if I was researching from a book I would get no reaction from what I was researching. (Sam Phase II Interview, 3)

Sam went on to say "This project actually made me more – I don't know if eager is the word – I was thinking of becoming a human rights journalist and this helped me to be pushed in that direction" (Sam Phase III Interview, 4).

In summary, Sam had real enthusiasm for her project, which because of her family heritage, held personal meaning for her. However, she had difficulty entering the field because of her shyness, which caused her to postpone her data collection until she was pushed by her teachers to get into the field. Once she started collecting data, her enthusiasm for the project was renewed. Data analysis was also difficult for her, in part because of her haste in data collection; she completed her analysis with substantial help from her teachers. In the end, she said that she had learned a great deal in her project and expressed hope that she might have the opportunity to do fieldwork again.

Analysis of Topic Development

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, topic development was the intellectual foundation of insight development. The analysis of topic development that follows identifies the influences and describes in detail the effects of each influence on topic development. In doing so, this analysis is intended to provide the basis for understanding how the subsequent insights developed.

Influences on topic development were identified by reviewing student journals, research design abstracts, and interviews. The researcher categorized the sources of influence into one of eight types: class and methods, teacher input, secondary sources, prior academics, prior experience, future plans, field research, and social cause. The researcher categorized the first four types as academic influences; the second four experiential influences. Table 3 below, Influences on Topic Development, summarizes the citation frequency for each category.

Table 3: Influences on Topic Development

Number of Times an Influence Was Cited in the Student Profiles								
	Academic Influences				Experiential Influences			
Student *(Citations)	Class & Methods	Teacher Input	Secondary Research	Prior Academics	Prior Experience	Future Plans	Field Research	Social Cause
Alicia (6,12)	1	1	2		3	1	4	
Rosa (5,11)	2		3		1		2	3
Ryan (6,16)	5	1	3	1	5			1
Alice and Juliet (4,7)		3	2		1			1
Eban (3,9)	5				2		2	
Ana (3,4)				1	1		2	
Lou (6,10)	1	3	3		1		1	1
Sam (7,10)	1	2	1		1	1	3	1
Total citations	15	10	14	2	15	2	14	7
Projects citing	6	5	6	2	8	2	6	5

* The first number in parenthesis is the number of different influences cited. The second number is the total number of influences cited.

Influences on Topic Development

The balance in frequency between academic and experiential citations (41 and 38 respectively) suggested a rough parity in influence on topic development between them. To differentiate between the two kinds of influence, further analysis determined more precisely how each influence shaped topic development. To do so, the researcher placed the statements of influence into three categories specifying whether the influence stimulated interest in the topic, directly shaped topic development, or indirectly shaped topic development.

For example, Eban, in developing his topic, experienced a moment that contained examples of all three categories. Prior to taking the class, Eban had a negative impression of churches in general but had had a positive experience in a particular church. He reported contemplating the course requirement to combine historical and current research as he drove by the church where he had had the positive experience. At that moment, he decided to do his project tracing the historical and current impact of the church on its neighborhood. His prior experience at the church stimulated interest in the topic. His field experience of seeing the church in its neighborhood directly influenced topic selection. Contemplating the course requirement was an indirect influence on topic development in that the need for selecting a topic, an academic influence, caused him to be looking at his environment in search of a topic in the first place. The data on stimulating interest and on direct and indirect influences on topic development are reported in Table 4 below, The Effects of Influences on Topic Development.

Table 4: The Effects of Influences on Topic Development

Influences		Interest	Direct	Indirect
Academic	Class and Methods	1	3	12
	Teacher Input	0	7	13
	Secondary Research	3	6	3
	Prior Academics	0	0	2
Total Academic		4	16	25
Experiential	Prior Experience	8	14	1
	Future Plans	0	2	0
	Field Research	2	12	1
	Social Cause	2	5	0
Total Experiential		12	33	2

While the initial data suggested a rough parity between academic and experiential influences, the subsequent analysis of data cited above indicated an important differentiation. It strongly indicated that the experiential influences were primary in stimulating interest and directly shaping topic development. Academic influences were primary in indirectly influencing topic development. In other words, interest in and data for the topic came primarily from experiential sources; the structure for shaping the topic development process came primarily from academic sources. All nine of the students fit this pattern, except that Ryan and Rosa derived much of their initial data from academic sources.

Further analysis was conducted to describe the effect of each influence more specifically. Each topic's development was documented using the three drafts of the research design abstract. Influences were identified for each topic tenet and for each topic change through the drafts. The data are recorded in Table E2, Topic Development and the Influences on Development (Appendix E). Below is an analysis of each influence on topic development in order of importance to topic development as determined by citation frequency, the number of projects impacted, and its effect on shaping the topic. For

determining the latter, direct influence was considered more important than indirect influence.

Prior Experience. Prior experience refers to experiences outside of academic work that students had had prior to taking the course. It was the only influence cited by all eight projects, and it was cited more times (15) than any other influence except class & methodology, which also was also cited 15 times (Table 3). In addition, it was cited more than any other as directly shaping the topic (14) and as stimulating interest (8) (Table 4). Thus, it appears to be the most important influence shaping topic development.

Its influence on topic development is evident by looking at each case. For Alicia, Ana, Eban, Rosa, and Sam, the central point of research inquiry was drawn from prior experience. Alicia's two months living next to a church in Bolivia, for example, led her to examine the Spanish mass in Portland. For Juliet, Lou, Ryan, the central question was not drawn directly from prior experience, but initial interest in the general topic stemmed from prior experience. For example, Ryan's many hours working as a restaurant employee prepared an interest in studying restaurants. In Alice's case, the topic was more peripheral to her prior experience. She did not have a prior exposure to women in the fishing industry, but she did have an indirect link to the subject because of an interest in feminist issues and an exposure to the ocean as a diver.

In summary, prior experience was a significant influence on topic development for all nine students, showing that students were drawn to topics that were somehow linked to their own experiences. This stimulated and sustained interest in the topic. For example, Sam, given her Italian heritage, was appalled to learn that Little Italy had been

destroyed by urban development, and then she was curious to learn what sustained the current community in the absence of neighborhood. Beyond interesting her, prior experience also shaped the inquiry. Having traveled to Italy and attended her grandmother's church many times, Sam hypothesized that it was the authenticity of the mass at St. Peter's that drew the current Italians together each Sunday.

Field Research. Field research refers to activities outside of the classroom that students engaged in to gather information to shape their subjects using sources other than books, periodicals, or their teachers. The sources were human, such as potential subjects and other community resources, non-human such as the phone book, and experiential such as attending a church service or seeing something of interest in a neighborhood. Field research was cited on six of the eight projects 14 times (Table 3). It was cited twice as stimulating interest, 12 times as directly influencing the topic content, and once as an indirect influence (Table 4).

For Alicia, Ana, Eban, and Sam, field research was a direct influence in selecting a specific topic. For example, Alicia found a reference to the Spanish mass in the phone book and then heard about it and the church in preliminary interviews. For Lou and Rosa, field research shaped the study either by confirming or refuting an important choice at a critical time. For example, when Rosa was deciding between two topics and leaning towards one, she conducted a preliminary interview that encouraged her choice because it affirmed the importance of her study.

Class and Methodology. Class and methodology refers to course requirements, class activities, and research methodologies. It was cited by six projects as an influence. Although it was cited (15) as often as prior experience and more than field research

(Table 3), most of its influence on topic development was indirect, unlike the other two, diminishing its relative influence (Table 4).'

The importance of class and methodology's influence was illustrated by the experiences of several students. Eban, for example, consciously rejected a topic because it would not let him employ the research methods that he was learning about in class; Ryan generated some of his important ideas after reading about methodology in the text. Its influence was also embedded in the experience in that all of the students were clearly pushed ahead in the topic development process by class deadlines. They were required by course expectations to include anthropological, geographic, and historical pieces, and they all shaped their projects accordingly. In addition, all of the students were influenced by what they learned about anthropology and geography in the classroom.

Secondary Research. Secondary research refers to traditional academic sources of information including books, periodicals, and studies conducted by students in previous classes. This influence was cited on six projects a total of 14 times (Table 3). It was cited three times for stimulating interest, six times for shaping the topic content directly, and three times as an indirect influence (Table 4).

It appeared to have been especially significant for Lou and Ryan as secondary information proved key in shaping their hypotheses. Alicia found key information for confirming her topic. For Alice and Juliet, the lack of relevant information, coupled with their teachers' guidance, confirmed their subject of study. Students also cited the studies conducted in a previous class five times on three projects.

Teacher Input. While not cited as often as the influences above, teacher input was another significant influence on topic development. It was cited on five projects ten

times (Table 3). Surprisingly, teacher input was not cited as stimulating interest in the topic. However, teachers were cited seven times for directly shaping the topic and 13 times as an indirect influence (Table 4).

Teacher comments suggested the topics to Alice and Juliet and Sam. When one of the teachers noted that no student had ever studied Mainers as a group, Juliet thought of studying women lobstermen. For Lou, the direction of the project was fundamentally shifted when the teachers relayed to him the difficulties of being a teenager interviewing shopkeepers about their problems with teenagers. The teachers gave Alice and Juliet and Ryan important direction to shape their projects. For Alice and Juliet, the teacher direction pertained to selecting a methodology and for Ryan it pertained to sharpening his focus by limiting the kinds of businesses he would study. The teachers gave Alicia an important contact and assurance that what she was looking for (a Latino population in Portland) did indeed exist. They gave Alice and Juliet reassurance that finding no information on a subject is as important to a researcher as finding abundance. This encouraged them to pursue rather than abandon a subject for which there was little existing information.

A review of student journals shows that the influence of teacher input in stimulating interest in topics was understated by this data. Several students enthusiastically noted the passion of their teachers as a key inspiration for them. For example, after one teacher's introduction to anthropology, Alicia exclaimed in her journal, "I love [the teacher's] class and I love Anthropology. I never knew that there were so many different types and ways to think about it.... I would love to just go in and

listen and discuss the topic for a lot more time. It would be great to take a class in it" (Alicia Journal, 1/7).

This kind of an expression was not included in the data because it pertained to the discipline, not to the specific topic. In addition, teachers made numerous comments in the journals and in face-to-face meetings that encouraged students in their work. While these comments were not cited by students directly, they all expressed appreciation in the final interviews of how supportive and encouraging they found the teachers to be throughout the semester. In describing the teachers' role in their project, Alice said, "They were really motivated and really motivating and always, always, always were there to like inspire us and keep us going" (Alice Phase III Interview, 4). Undoubtedly, teacher comments helped to cultivate and sustain student interest in their topics.

Other Influences. In comparison to the major influences above, social cause, prior academics, and future plans played minor roles in topic development. Social cause refers to the influence of societal issues that students found important. It was cited seven times on five projects (Table 3). It was cited twice as stimulating interest and five times directly shaping the topic content (Table 4). It was another important influence in drawing students to a subject and shaping the content because some students selected the topic for study in part because of its relationship to some form of social injustice they perceived. In none of the cases was the actual study designed directly around the injustice, which limited the influence on the topic.

Prior academic experience was cited as an influence by two students (Table 3) and was cited twice as being an indirect influence on topic development (Table 4). In Ryan's case, a previous history class covering the Vietnam War and its aftermath was a

minor influence in stimulating interest in his topic. In Ana's case, her previous anthropology class played a significant role in helping her to set up and modify her study.

Summary of Influences on Topic Development

Overall, there were multiple influences on topic development. The experiential influences seemed significantly more important than the academic influences in interesting students in a subject. They are cited 12 times in comparison with only four times for academic influences. Despite some variation from project to project, the experiential influences also seemed more important in directly shaping topics. They were cited 33 times in comparison to 16 academic influences. In indirectly shaping the topics, however, the academic influences seemed significantly more important as they were cited 25 times in comparison to twice for experiential influences.

Alicia, Lou, and Sam most fully typified the patterns indicated above. They cited 10 to 12 influences of six or seven different types. Experiential influences interested them in their topics and directly shaped their topic development. Academic influences indirectly shaped their topic development.

The other students varied from the class pattern in one or more aspects. Rosa and Ryan's projects were shaped more directly by academic influences than was typical for the class, and Ryan cited significantly more influences than the next highest member of the class (16 to 12). Alice and Juliet and Ana cited fewer influences than the others in the class (7 and 4 respectively). Ana and Eban cited only three different sources of influence, and Eban cited class & methods for more than half of his influences. In the other aspects, these students also fit the class patterns.

From examining the class patterns, the primacy of experiential influences for topic development is evident. Prior experience and field research had the greatest influence on topic development. Class and methods, secondary research, and teacher input had the next highest level of influence. The other influences seemed to have only a minor effect on shaping topic development. In the analysis of influences on insight development conveyed in Chapter Five, the balance between experiential and academic influences is shown to have tipped even further in favor of the former as students left the confines of the classroom to head into the field.

Chapter Five is divided into two parts. The first presents insight profiles in which the insight development for each project is described. The second evaluates the extent to which students developed deep understandings of their topics according to the definition of deep understanding used in this study. Chapter Six presents the study findings by examining patterns of insight development among the projects to answer the research questions about the effect of direct experience in generating insight and deepening understanding. It also contains a section that examines the relationship between experiential and academic influences on insight development, which builds from the key finding about that relationship described in Chapter Four.

Chapter 5

INSIGHT DEVELOPMENT AND DEEP UNDERSTANDING

Chapter Five contains two sections. The first section describes how insights developed, including the influences on development, by presenting insight profiles for each project. Insight development refers to how insight was generated and understanding deepened, a process that then yielded further insight. The second section of Chapter Five builds from the insight profiles by assessing student understandings of topics through evaluating those understandings according to the study's definition of deep understanding: *the comprehension of a topic that is constructed by the student, is transferable to new settings, involves performances and the creation of products that are central to a discipline, is learned in multiple contexts, and contrasts with rote, ritualistic, superficial, or fleeting learning.*.

Building from the topic development and research experience sections of Chapter Four, Chapter Five presents the data for Chapter Six. Chapter Six answers the three research questions regarding the role of direct experience in generating insight and deepening understanding by identifying and analyzing patterns and contrasts in development and influence among the profiles.

Insight Development

The full methodology used to develop insight profiles is described in Chapter Three. In short, insight tables (Appendix D), which present the evolving thinking of students throughout the semester, were developed for each student. These tables

illustrate how insights deepened by cataloging and coding insight statements made by students in writing and orally. The insight profiles, which are narrative descriptions of the central insight development theme for each project, were then formed from the insight tables.

Insight was indicated when an understanding emerged into conscious awareness. It may be into the topic or the self, it may come from primary or secondary sources, and it may pertain to a new topic or be a reconstruction of a previous insight. An insight statement was a written or oral expression of an insight. The statement may express something that the student had been told or an understanding that s/he had figured out.

An example of a new insight into a topic was when a subject told Alicia that socializing with other Latinos is a primary reason why she attends the Spanish mass, which Alicia recorded in her journal after conducting an interview. Her research questions pertained to the role of the Spanish mass in the Latino community, but her primary focus was "to gain insight into the role and influence of the church and religion in the community" (Research Abstract Draft III, 2). Thus, when she learned about socializing as a motivation to attend the church, she generated a new insight into her topic. Another example of a new insight was when Alicia observed that the Latino Community Council meeting and the church service were scheduled at the same time. That statement, also recorded in her journal, would have been coded as an observation of fact rather than an insight, except that she made the observation because it ran counter to her assumption that the Latino community was unified. In the first example, the insight was derived from information conveyed directly by a subject. In the second example, Alicia deduced the insight from her observations.

Students also made insight statements about themselves. These fell into two types. The first type were statements about themselves as people. For example, after participating in the neighborhood field-walk exercise at the beginning of the class, Alice wrote in her journal about realizing how little she actually knew about Portland, in spite of living nearby and going to school in the city. Ana realized that she tended to procrastinate on tasks that she anticipates will be tedious. The second type were statements about themselves as researchers. For example, after one interview, Ryan wrote in his journal that he had led his subject during an interview to a particular response. Sam, looking back on the entire project, realized the importance of interview data to doing certain kinds of research.

Understandings deepened when insights were reconceptualized. Reconceptualization was indicated in two ways. The first was when a previous insight was modified or reinforced. For example, when Alicia was told by a subject that she attends the Spanish mass to socialize with other Latinos, her understanding of what motivates church attendance was modified to include secular motivations. When another subject gave the same reason, her understanding of this motivation was reinforced.

The second way that insights were reconceptualized was when insights were related together in clusters that in turn formed insight into a broader topic. As part of her research question, Alicia hypothesized that finding an authentic Latin service would be a prime motivator for people to attend the Spanish mass. Her understanding was expanded when a subject told her that socializing with other Latinos was an important motivation for attending church, and then expanded again when another subject told her that the chance to hear and speak Spanish was a primary motivator. The expanded insight was in

turn reinforced by her observation of the socializing in Spanish at the coffee that followed the services. Using Alicia as the example, a table illustrating how insights cluster is found in Appendix E.

Understandings deepened both into the topic being studied, as illustrated above, and into realms that were not anticipated by the research hypotheses. For example, the hint of a divided Latino community that Alicia realized when she could not attend both the Latino Council meeting and the church service because they were scheduled simultaneously developed into the most substantial finding in Alicia's study. Instead of the unified Latino community she expected, she found a community divided into an elite leadership, a working middle class, and illegal immigrants. In this case, her deductions and inferences about the topic preceded anyone affirming these insights directly. Only after she had realized the divided nature of the community did a subject validate her insight. The depth and complexity of this insight cluster in comparison with the others is also indicated in Table E1.

Table 5 following numerically summarizes the coded data contained in the insight tables. It presents the number, type, source, and timing of the insight statements for each project and means for each category. A detailed explanation of the coding process appears in Chapter Three. For Table 5, projects are grouped according to the depth of immersion categories, with the left-hand group being the deepest. In addition to providing a numerical backdrop to the insight profiles by summarizing the insight tables on which the profiles were based, the data presented in Table 5 was used to analyze patterns of insight development in Chapter Six.

Table 5: Insight Summary

		Heaviest Immersion			Moderate Immersion			Lightest Immersion			
		Alicia	Rosa	Ryan	Alice	Juliet	Eban	Ana	Lou	Sam	Mean
Total	Insights	96	175	149	91	82	82	34	71	51	92
Type of Insight	New	32	94	86	44	41	36	15	39	26	46
	Reconception	64	81	63	47	41	46	19	32	25	46
	Topic	94	150	112	71	54	69	17	58	39	74
	Self	2	25	37	20	28	13	17	13	12	19
Source of Insight	Field	90	89	105	45	40	46	18	44	30	56
	Academic	4	29	18	10	13	14	3	11	6	12
	Multiple	2	54	23	22	25	21	11	12	10	20
	Teacher	0	3	3	14	4	1	2	4	5	4
Phase of Student Project	I: Design	13	14	6	12	14	5	19	8	11	11
	II: Fieldwork	71	95	47	46	34	43	9	27	24	44
	III: Analysis	12	66	96	33	34	34	6	36	16	37

Insight Profiles

As described above, insight profiles, based on the insight tables, are narrative descriptions of the central insight development themes for each project. These themes were often a continuation of the topic development phase and always related to the student's research experience. They were ordered according to three levels of immersion in the field, starting with the deepest. Alice and Juliet were grouped together in one profile, although important differences in their insight development were noted when appropriate.

Alicia's Insight Profile. As described in Chapter Four, Alicia's interest in this project was stimulated by her travel to Latin American Countries. She was delighted to learn from her teachers that there is a Latino population in Portland. When she discovered that one church offered a Spanish mass to service the Latino population, she decided that the mass would prove to be an excellent vantage point from which to study that population. The fundamental goal for her research was "to gain insight into the role and influence of the church and religion in the community" (Alicia's Research Design Abstract III, 2).

The key for Alicia in developing insight was her immersion in the culture of the church. She attended the Spanish mass eight times, and after each attended the coffee hour where she talked informally with parishioners and interviewed some informally. She conducted nine formal interviews, including the current and the founding Spanish mass Priests. Most of the formal and informal interviews were conducted in Spanish. She attended a Latino Community Council meeting and visited a Latino grocery. She also conducted a wide range of background research from secondary sources, and she met with the archivist at the Chancellery Office and the office of the Sacred Heart Church in attempts to gather more information about the Spanish mass. She followed many other leads in the field as well in her quest for information about the Spanish mass and the Latino community. She even conducted an interview designed to teach her about Catholicism.

Although she conducted secondary research, almost 90% of her insight statements stemmed from her experiences in the field. The insights were rich as well. Her nearly 100 insights can be clustered into six sub-topics, suggesting substantial depth in each. Approximately a third of the insights were new, meaning that two thirds of the insights were reconceptions – modifications or reinforcements of previous insights. This suggests a rich interconnection among the insights. Approximately 30 of the 98 insights came from direct statements by subjects or in secondary sources. The others she deduced or inferred, mostly from direct experience in the field. These insights often drew from multiple subjects and tended to be more complex than directly stated insights.

A central research goal was to learn what role the church plays in the lives of its participants. To address this goal, Alicia asked her subjects why they attended the mass.

Although 13 of 17 insights into motivation came from direct statements made by the subjects, the data on motivation was more complex than her hypothesis anticipated. The religious motivation, which Alicia anticipated would be primary, was affirmed, but other motivations emerged as equally or more important. She learned not only that socializing with other Latinos is an important motivation for church attendance, and she also learned why socializing with other Latinos is so difficult in Portland. She learned not only that speaking Spanish is important motivation for church attendance, and she learned about the importance of praying in Spanish for at least one family. Alicia had considered the motivations of socializing and speaking Spanish in early drafts of the research design abstract. From her interviews she also learned of motivations that were entirely unanticipated, such as recent immigrants trying to find news of home, parents trying to pass along their culture to their children, and teenagers who were seeking to know their own cultural roots by attending the Spanish mass. In short, while she did identify motivation for attending church as an important research topic for determining the role of the church in the community, the data she gathered were much richer than her hypothesis implied.

Insight about the role of the church in the lives of its participants came primarily from direct statements. Insight about the role of church in the larger Latino community, another key research goal, was largely inferred and deduced from observations, subject statements, and missing data. In fact, she found little direct evidence of any significant impact other than on those who attend the mass. Given what she had read about the Spanish mass in past media accounts, she was surprised to find how little effort the church put into promoting the Spanish mass or reaching out to the Latino population. In

an interview, the Priest noted the disinterest of the church hierarchy in the Spanish mass. Everything she saw reinforced this statement, including the Priest's own admonitions to his parish that recruiting parishioners was their job, not his. Through the lack of evidence, a series of observations, and an article describing the difficulties faced by the Spanish mass when the founder was transferred, Alicia concluded that the influence of Sacred Heart in the Latino community was in decline, limited to those who found their way to the service.

Alicia's immersion in the field tended to pull her away from her specific research goals pertaining to the relationship between the church and the Latino population. In fact, her deepest and most substantial insight did not pertain directly to the role of the church in the community at all. In attempting to gather background information on the Latino community led her to an important insight into the community. Assured of the existence of a Latino community and excited by the prospects of studying it, she was at first puzzled and then frustrated by her difficulties in finding out more about it. She was excited to learn of the Latin Community Council, although she found the fact that its meeting was scheduled at the same time as the Spanish mass somewhat puzzling in light of her assumption of a unified Latino community. Then she noted that nobody on the Latin Community Council knew the community's size or where one might find a Latino neighborhood. The preoccupation of the Council to get accurate census data was revealing as well, showing her that even the Council did not know who or how many Latinos comprised the community. When she attended the Spanish mass, many fewer people attended than Alicia expected, and attendees came from far away. From these and other observations, she concluded that the Latino population in Portland was

geographically divided and hidden from view. This fragmentation, she then realized, underlies several of the reasons why people attend the Spanish mass: to stay connected with Latino culture, to socialize with other Latinos, and to speak and hear Spanish.

Attending the mass and the coffee deepened this understanding of the Latino community. At one early mass, the Priest introduced Alicia to the congregation. Afterwards, he followed with an announcement about the census, which Alicia had heard discussed at the Council meeting. Shortly after, a man came up to her, apparently somewhat agitated, asking if she were a census taker. Initially, she thought little of the mistaken identity. Later, in order to develop her contacts, she asked the Priest for a list of parishioners. She was told that none is kept because the illegal immigrants who attend the mass do not want to be identified. This caused Alicia to reexamine the man's concern and then to notice the attendees at the back of the church who arrived just as the service began, left right when it was over, and never attended the coffee. It was later suggested to her that these were illegal immigrants.

These insights merged, and Alicia began to see the Latino community not only as geographically scattered but also as socially divided. She began to consider her contacts as members of community subgroups, not as members of a large, unified Latino community. The group she learned the most about was the one that attended not only the mass but also the coffee afterwards. They had been in Portland at least a few years and sometimes in the United States even longer; they were hard working, educated, and welcoming to Alicia. What she learned about them they told her or she deduced from close observation. She knew nothing directly of the other church participants, the illegal immigrants, including why they attended the Spanish mass. The church did not want her

to interview them for fear they would be scared off. From what she heard and observed about them, she concluded that they aspired to live like the middle class parishioners but were forced to stay separate by their illegal status.

Alicia's understanding of social division deepened further when she reconsidered her experience with the Latin Community Council. She had been surprised to learn that the Council meeting was scheduled to take place at the same time as the Spanish mass. She was also surprised at the end of the meeting when she tried to get the perspective of Council members on the Spanish mass that she could not generate any significant response to her questions. Later, several subjects described the Council members as an elite group of activists. Alicia deduced from what she saw and heard that activists were not much interested in the established middle class church parishioners and had trouble identifying with the survival needs of the population they were trying to help – the recent immigrants.

Given the divided nature of the community, Alicia found surprising that the multiple countries of origin within the parish did not seem to cause any divisions. In fact, several interviewees cited the primacy of their Latino roots and the pleasure they gained from learning about their Latin neighbors as positive aspects to the make-up of the parish. The only report of division within the parish, other than about the illegal immigrants, came from a member of the one Hispanic family that attended the Spanish mass, who cited numerous divisions between the two cultures and their expectations for worship. This suggested to Alicia the possibility of a division within Portland's Spanish speaking population between Hispanics and Latinos.

While the richness of the experience in the field in effect broadened the goals of the research, the class expectations, the research methodology, and especially the suggestions of the teachers consistently guided the research process. Her journal revealed how important these factors were to Alicia. Teacher input especially affirmed her progress and gave her concrete suggestions in the face of many frustrations. Alicia, like all of the students, lacked the time and experience to assimilate the research techniques fully, so her energies were divided between learning the methodology and conducting the research. In addition, Alicia ended her semester early, and so wrote her paper in about two weeks while her classmates had a month. These factors, coupled the fact that she conducted most of the primary research in Spanish, undermined the validity of her conclusions and limited the depth of some of her understandings. She expressed her deepest understandings in the student interviews; some are absent from the paper altogether.

Alicia made by far the fewest insight statements about herself, which suggests that she was much more reflective about the topic than about herself. She did generate some insight into herself, however, affirming a dislike for writing papers and a difficulty finishing projects. She also found that she could become a part of a community and study it competently.

In summary, Alicia immersed herself in her community and generated nearly all of her insight from that experience. That experience in the field took her away from some of her research goals identified in her research design abstract. While her hypothesis did identify the role that attending church plays in the lives of many that attend the Spanish mass, her insights exceeded her research goals. She was far more

reflective about her topic than she was about herself. As noted in Chapter Four, Alicia found learning about Portland, a community within the city, and herself to be an extraordinary experience that she truly loved. In the process, she earned the affection of her subjects and the respect of her teachers for the way she immersed herself in the project and saw it through.

Rosa's Insight Profile. After much work settling on a topic and then refinement of her question, Rosa settled on the following hypothesis to focus her research:

> The sense of the out, adult, gay community in Portland is close but limited. Small pockets of community form around particular places and around certain political causes. However, the community is not highly visible, active as a community or outwardly united. (Rosa Research Design Abstract III, 1)

This statement was based on some prior knowledge of the community, extensive background research, and a few preliminary interviews. Her subsequent research, which was extensive and yielded by far the most insights of any in the class, essentially validated her hypothesis. In the process, she deepened her understanding of each aspect of what the statement implied.

The first distinguishing characteristic of her research is its depth. She made 175 insight statements, 150 into the topic. Another distinguishing characteristic of her research is the balance of insight sources. Eighty-nine insights stemmed from the field, but 29 came from academic sources and 54 from multiple sources. A third distinguishing characteristic is the depth of her background research conducted before she entered the field. Of the first 30 insights statements made in the first six weeks of the course, only

three were from the field, with the great majority coming exclusively from academic sources.

A fourth characteristic of Rosa's research is its consistent focus. Rosa "hypothesized that small pockets of community formed around particular meeting places in Portland and around certain political causes, but that the community was not outwardly united or active as a large community" (Rosa Paper, 2). She maintained a sharp focus on this hypothesis; a vast majority of her insights pertained directly to factors that "served to both fragment and unify the community" (Rosa's Paper, 2).

In addition, nearly all of the remaining insights into topic were related at least indirectly to the hypothesis. For example, one of the ideas that she pursued pertained to the history of political action. From background research, she learned of the extensive activism in the 1980s and early 90s. From interviews and her own experience, she learned that the intensity and frequency of political action had diminished notably in recent years. The reasons for this decline, while not pertaining directly to the hypothesis, became an important part of her study. Another significant element of her study turned out to be describing the relationship of the gay community to the larger Portland community. Again, while this topic does not pertain directly to the hypothesis, it did grow out of studying the gay community. In short, virtually all of her insights into topic pertained directly to her hypothesis or grew out of it.

This consistent focus allowed her to deepen her understanding of her topic. An example of deepening occurred with the idea of fragmentation. In preparing a second draft of her research design abstract, Rosa wrote in her journal, "I think that despite small pockets that form around a particular place the community is quite fragmented. The

community also may be limited from the prevailing notion that constitutes pride (i.e. the pride dance, etc.) and people who don't fit into that feel excluded" (Rosa's Journal, 1/21). This is the first clear statement of an idea that would not only guide her topic development but also her research. Typically for Rosa, the idea arose from mixed sources: her observations about the adult gay community and some preliminary interview and background data.

Her understanding of fragmentation deepened with subsequent archival research in which she learned about past political activism for equal rights and the impact of the AIDS epidemic. The fact that she had not even considered AIDS as an important factor shaping the gay community and the fact that she had not been aware of any political activism equal to what she read about made her conclude that the gay community was sliding into disunity and that this slide had negative connotations for the community. This sense of negativity was further reinforced by early interviews in which people related feeling excluded by the leadership of the gay community.

Some background research, however, caused her to question the notion of fragmentation and to see the gay community as more of a whole. From these sources, she got a sense of "a gay community that was willing to come together around issues and causes... There was a strong sense of support.... At this point, I don't feel that the community is so much fragmented as it is limited" (Rosa's Journal, 1/25). Once she started interviewing, however, she found that she did not "get answers that match my reading/background research.... So I my thinking the community is not united as much as I thought." (Rosa's Journal, 2/16). She also began to realize "that Portland may not be the haven of tolerance it is sometimes portrayed to be" (Rosa's Journal, 2/16). These

notions, especially of the fragmentation within the gay community, were reinforced by subsequent interview data.

Then after her interviews were concluded and she began to organize her data for analysis, her understanding of the community deepened again. She noticed that while most of her subjects claimed not to be politically active, they all were in personal, sometimes subtle ways. "Everyone I talked to sort of discounted their political involvement, and yet... they are very involved in their community and they definitely are informed of political issues" (Rosa Interview II, 2). While the current activism was not as dramatic or focused on gay issues as past activism had been, it was more integrated into the larger community. Rosa came to realize that the fact that people lacked the time for active participation in the gay community was actually a sign of progress, not complacency. It meant that enough progress had been made for gay people to feel safe living out identities other than being primarily gay. In addition, Rosa found support groups available for almost everyone. She noted although having these specialty groups "weakens [the community as a whole] by not pulling it together, ... I think it is a real strength that they are able to live their lives and live out their interest and not have to fit into the mold of what it means to be a gay or lesbian person" (Rosa Interview II, 2).

In summary, at first Rosa believed that Portland's gay community was fragmented. Her background research made her see the community more as a whole because her sources focused on significant political events that rallied the gay community. Interviewing people made her feel not only that the community was fragmented, but that the fragmentation was detrimental to the health of the community. Analyzing the data, however, made her realize that the community was more politically

active than her subjects reported it to be, but the type of activism was more integrated into the community and less focused on exclusively gay issues. She concluded, "The gay community in Portland is not one, cohesive group." This statement is similar to what she stated in the hypothesis. She goes on to say, "This is not negative; in fact, it may strengthen some groups and actions" (Rosa's Paper, 26). She realized that this integration, coupled with the implications of other data, signaled progress for the gay community.

Much of Rosa's insight into herself was linked to her understanding of the research process. For example, Rosa realized the evolution of her thinking. She stated that "the picture I got [from background research] wasn't wrong but it wasn't the whole picture at all" (Rosa Interview III, 2). "Doing the actual fieldwork helped me answer the question where did the people who did Act-Up go and why are they not doing radical protests in Monument Square weekly anymore. I think that if I had just done the research I would have been left hanging with that question" (Rosa Interview III, 3). While she did still editorialize in her paper about the need for greater activism, she also realized that the invisibility is in some respects a sign of progress. She also:

> really learned ... just how complex people's lives are and like how many little pieces there are and then more broadly about Portland and the community here like how many little pieces there are and how many groups there are and but of course these groups aren't visible or accessible immediately. (Rosa Interview III, 3)

In summary, Rosa's research was well focused on her central question and her thinking about the topic was informed by data from multiple sources, including her deep

immersion in the field. Her research essentially confirmed her hypothesis of fragmentation in the gay community. However, her understanding of what that fragmentation meant about the gay community was substantially deepened by the research process. Rosa was also highly reflective about her research experience, especially about herself as a researcher.

Ryan's Insight Profile. "It was with a goal, and not a hypothesis, that [Ryan began his] study on East Asian restaurant and market owners" (Ryan's Paper, 3). He chose this approach because of his "lack of prior knowledge about the East Asian market owner's experience.... Evan after doing some initial background research, I still did not feel comfortable making a hypothesis.... I did not want my own initial perceptions to skew my data, or the way I collected it" (Ryan's Paper, 21). Even after the data were collected, he realized "that the spectrum of experience even among my nine informants was very wide, and that with any hypothesis I made I would have to be careful not to limit or exclude certain experiences." With that in mind, Ryan decided, after his data were collected, on the following hypothesis, "The experience of owning and running an East Asian restaurant or market in Portland is one that carries for the owners and their families many challenges and yet provides many rewards" (Ryan Paper, 22).

Only Rosa surpassed Ryan in generating insights. Ryan's journal was long, reflective, and extremely detailed, indicating not only much data collection but also substantial reflective thought about the data. Ryan's 149 insights surpassed the class mean by more than 50%, and it is likely that his insight total was underreported for two reasons.

First, much of his journal was illegible because of his handwriting and the fact that he wrote many pages in pencil, which became smeared. Fortunately, his paper was written in meticulous detail, recapturing much of the data that had originally been recorded in the journal. Thus, not only was the total number recorded of insight statements somewhat limited, but the insight pacing was skewed to make phase III (96 insights) appear disproportionately productive in comparison to phase I (6). In actuality, many insights credited to phase III probably were actually realized in phase I.

Second, much of his background research and even some of his field research was into the East-Asian immigrant experience in general, not his topic in particular. For example, he interviewed two political activists who gave him information that "had nothing to do with restaurants or anything" (Ryan Interview III, 6). While insights into such experiences as living through the killing fields of Cambodia were extremely important to Ryan, they were not recorded on the insight table because they were disconnected from the research topic.

Ryan's background research was problematic because nothing was really available on his topic of choice. Rather than abandoning the effort, he researched a broad number of topics, ranging from the one noted above to the restaurant scene in Portland. He also completed research on national trends in issues for Asian-Americans. This latter research inspired the notion of using his topic to evaluate the "model minority" concept.

As suggested by the number of insights generated in the field (105) by far the most in the class and almost double the class mean, Ryan did a superior job gathering field data. His 18 interview questions were the same for each subject and their open-ended structure elicited detailed information, especially about the rewards and challenges

of business ownership. His visits to the business provided additional data gathering opportunities. He kept meticulous track of what his subjects said and of what he observed. As a result, he identified seven challenges and six rewards, and was able to substantiate them with specific statements and observations.

The full depth of this data, however, was not realized. Early in the topic development phase, Ryan wrote that "making a hypothesis, before you really know enough to even do that, is what I'm struggling with" (Ryan's Journal, 1/6). In fact, Ryan "never really formulated a clear hypothesis," (Teacher A Interview I, 1). Instead:

> I started my research with only a general goal as to what I was looking to find, as opposed to a specific hypothesis... I waited until after my data collection process was complete to make a hypothesis that I would try to prove with the data... The hypothesis I decided on is as follows: The experience of owning an d running an East Asian restaurant or market in Portland is one that carries for the owners and their families many challenges and yet provides many rewards. (Ryan's Paper, 21, 22)

This approach to hypothesis formation "made him report out his findings – here's the challenges, here's the rewards – but there was this link between the background work that he had on Asian Americans and his {field} work that was never forged, and I think a good hypothesis would have done it" (Teacher A Interview I, 2). In short, he failed to use his data to evaluate the concept of the model minority, which was the focus that emerged from the topic development process.

Instead in his analysis and paper, Ryan tried to weigh the challenges and benefits to see whether small business ownership was worthwhile. He first noted that it had taken

him nearly twice as many pages to report the challenges than the benefits, but to conclude that the former carried greater weight than the latter would be misleading. He substantiated this statement with an analysis of his interview questions that showed the questions themselves might favor the challenges. Then he made an argument that the quality of the benefits outweighed the quantity of the challenges. To support this assertion, he left his data altogether, quoting the MasterCard credo, "There are some things money can't buy" and he cited his own example of quitting his restaurant job to drive an ice-cream truck as he sought the autonomy of a small business owner. Without a hypothesis, he lacked a question to focus his analysis, leaving him somewhat adrift.

While he did not analyze his data in the light of the model minority concept, his response to interview questions indicates that he saw a link:

> Eight out of the nine people I interviewed were first generation – either immigrants or refugees – and what that made me realize as far as the model minority thing is that those are the people who really are put at this major disadvantage by the language barrier and the shock value of whatever they've had to deal with.... These are not the people who are even making for the stereotype of the suburban Asian person driving a nice car or something." (Ryan Interview III, 4)

This observation pushed Ryan to evaluate the cultural definition of success:

> They were in some cases successful but it wasn't the kind of success of like going to an Ivy League college.... And even if these people are successful it doesn't mean that they have a lot of money.... I think for the most part these people were living amongst other people of their community or living in low-income areas as

> opposed to the model minority who… {as} part of the idea of success is seeing if they're able to live amongst the wealthy people who also mostly happen to be white. (Ryan Interview III, 5)

Thus, Ryan gained insight into his topic, but the depth of his reported understanding was limited because, lacking a hypothesis, he did not fully analyze his data. The shortcoming was particularly interesting because he was originally drawn to the topic in part by what he perceived to be a cultural injustice. In fact, one of his conclusions he stated in the phase III interview but not in the paper was realizing the importance of support services for refugee businessmen, who are hampered by the belief that they can succeed without assistance. In addition, he was more interested in the research experience and interacting with his subjects than in formulating and communicating the findings. Without a hypothesis, the engaging field experience somewhat overwhelmed the academic process.

The engagement in the field, while derailing him from reaching the full potential of his data, did yield him the most important insights into himself.

> I think something that I have learned about myself is that doing this type of work is something that I am really interested in and this project has become really important to me.… In the first month or month and a half, I didn't really feel that because a lot of it was some background stuff that was interesting but was sort of doing some research.… Now that I have been doing interviews and talking to people, I feel like I really have invested myself more in it.… I have been putting in a lot of positive energy and wanting to be working on this project. It makes me

more and more convinced that this is something that I am going to be willing to pursue in college and later on. (Ryan Interview II, 4)

In summary, Ryan immersed himself in the field systematically and enthusiastically. Every aspect of the research process, ranging from conducting interviews to organizing his data to writing his paper, was completed thoughtfully and thoroughly. A lack of hypothesis limited the depth of his understanding, although suggestions of a deeper understanding than was reported in the paper were evident in the phase III interview. The actual research experience proved to be the most interesting and self-revealing part of the project for Ryan.

Alice and Juliet's Insight Profile. After an involved topic development process, Alice and Juliet decided to do an ethnographic portrait of five women in the fishing industry designed to "uncover common threads ... in terms of personality and impact on the fishing industry...[to study] motives for their involvement in this business...[to see] how [sexual divisions of labor] impacts the five women we study" (Alice/Juliet's Research Design Abstract III, 1). While finding background information was a frustration throughout, they were engaged enthusiastically with the project from the moment the idea occurred to them through the presentation at semester's end.

The experience meeting their subjects proved particularly rewarding. During the neighborhood field walk exercise during the first week of the semester, Alice and Juliet commented that the experience had given them a new perspective on a familiar city about which she really knew very little. The "eye opening" nature of the research experience continued as they made inroads into the community of women involved with the fishing industry.

Alice and Juliet's insight development overlapped almost entirely and typified the course mean. In every category of insight, included total, type, source, and phase, Alice was within four or fewer of the class means with two exceptions. She had eleven fewer field insights, a gap that is exaggerated by Ryan's total, which was nearly twice the class mean. She also reported teachers as an insight source more than three times the mean for the class. Given that Juliet reported an equal number to the class mean, this discrepancy may result from a greater awareness of teacher assistance than was the case for other students. Juliet was about the same as Alice, except that she reported more insights into herself (28 to 20) and fewer into the topic (54 to 71) than Alice did.

As residents of greater Portland and young women interested in feminist issues, they had clear enough impressions of the fishing industry and feminism to hypothesize about the role of women in the fishing industry. The part of the project hypotheses that women must deal with sexism in their working lives proved to be accurate. However, having that belief, losing it in the research experience, and finding it again during data analysis proved to be the central drama of their research journey.

A gender-based division of labor was quickly evident when Alice and Juliet were unable to find any women who fish to study. The lack of stature of women in the industry was evident by the complete lack of background information available about them. The subjects themselves all expressed awareness in one way or another of being women working in a man's world. Despite this reality, the subjects tempered the notion of sexism having negative effects. Some knew that it existed but were not troubled by it, and another recognized it but liked her role in a sexist environment. Alice and Juliet found their subjects so inspiring that they began to alter their own thinking. Since sexism

is bad, they began to think, and these women whom we admire are not bothered by it in the workplace, then perhaps it does not really exist or its effects are minimal.

At times Alice and Juliet recognized that the data gleaned from subjects was contradictory. Their stories illustrated sexism, but their explanations of the circumstances diminished its importance to their lives. One subject described having to bring her kids to the wharf while she did her bookkeeping, and then acknowledged using her "feminine side" to advantage with men. Another subject acknowledged that a man will let her cook for him, but would not let her fish with him. Rather than expressing discontent with this discrimination, the subject seemed happy with her role of caring for the fishermen, and their role protecting her. Another women acknowledged the lack of women on the boats, but explained it by noting that the reason why women are not doing such dangerous, hard work is not due to discrimination but to the superior intelligence of women. They do not fish because they can make their living in the industry while staying safely on land.

A prime example of how they handled their contradictory data occurred at the end of phase II at the meeting of the New England Fisheries Council. Alice and Juliet felt great pride in seeing two of their subjects play central roles in the proceedings. They also noted with interest the affectionate but patronizing attitude of the men toward the women as exemplified by how men were addressed by first and last names, but women were addressed by first name only. While they sensed these were important clues regarding their topic, they did not push their interpretation any further than simply making the observation.

Until the near the end of the analysis phase, Alice and Juliet tended to stick with the idea that sexism was not an important factor in the lives of their subjects.

Minimization of the impact of sexism was consistent among the subjects. In addition, the women were strong, happy, successful, and full of pride in their work. Moreover, they seemed to have mutually respectful relationships with the men they encountered in their work lives. It was tempting for Alice and Juliet to agree with the women they had come to admire deeply and conclude that while sexist attitudes did exist in the industry, these women were not oppressed by male domination as their earliest draft of the research design abstract assumed. In addition, the portraiture nature of their research might have allowed them to conclude their research simply by conveying the attitudes of the subject. Juliet noted that she felt ill-prepared to judge the lives of these women in any way, so reporting what their subjects had to say about themselves had far more appeal. In fact, even in the analysis section of the paper, Alice and Juliet wrote of their subjects' success in "breaking down sexual divisions of labor. These four women have stepped beyond the barriers constructed by the enduring traditions in the fishing industry" (Alice and Juliet's Paper, 19).

The activities of phase III – data analysis and paper writing – stimulated a breakthrough. Alice and Juliet could see that gender issues permeated their data, and their teachers kept pointing out the importance of gender in shaping the lives of their subjects. One teacher even asked if there were anything in the data that the subjects themselves might not be able to see. Working together also pushed analysis deeper. Late in the data analysis phase, they had a realization about gender. Alice describes the moment of epiphany this way:

> We had originally assumed that or hypothesized that there would be a gender biased culture and it was interesting at first ...that they kept saying, no it's not

> gender bias – it's just women who just don't want to be out there and you know the men do have respect for women and if you want to do something you need to just go and do it and so we were like huh, that's really interesting. We really thought there would be sexual divisions of labor.... So we sort of made that point but then when we were analyzing our data we realized – no no that perhaps because these women were so proud of what they were doing that they were sort of blind to the fact that it really is gender bias and that there are sexual divisions of labor and that they can't see that or they don't want to think that because of the roles that they are in. (Alice Phase III Interview, 6)

Through this process, Alice and Juliet came to see how sexism in the industry contributed to shaping the characteristics that they had come to recognize in these women, such as independence, confidence, and the need to prove themselves worthy of men's respect. They came to believe that the women had to suppress their femininity and become more masculine to be successful and that the choice that most women make to stay on shore reinforced the stereotype of women being unable to handle the work on a fishing boat. They saw how women were considered to have only supportive roles in the fishing industry, even though the jobs that most of them had would not be considered traditional roles outside of the fishing industry. In short, they saw that the pride that women felt in having established themselves in a man's world and the respect they felt from men actually blinded them to the impact on their lives of the sexism they were forced to overcome. By the end of phase III, Juliet was able to see a "vicious cycle" (Juliet Phase III Interview, 2), where happy women in domestic roles reinforce traditional gender roles when they do not break them.

Alice and Juliet each had a variety of insights about herself as well. Eight of Alice's 20 insights into self were about herself as a student and as a person. As a student, Alice learned about how she deals with independence, multifaceted tasks, and new situations. As a person, she learned that there is a bigger and more interconnected world out beyond her own experience than she had thought, as illustrated by the fact that so much was going on right under her nose about which she knew so little. Foremost, however, she felt inspired by the experiences of women who lived lives that were very different than her own, and yet they acted as role models for her. This feeling might have the most enduring impact of this experience for Alice overall.

Juliet was even more self-reflective. Twenty-eight of her 82 insight statements were about herself. Some of these statements pertained to her experience doing the research. For example, she expressed early on a desire for more direction from the teachers. Later in the semester, she realized the importance of independence to her work. It forced her to take responsibility for the project and to construct her own understanding of the material. Many other statements related the importance of the connections forged doing primary research. These connections were important both to stimulating passion for the project and insight into the subjects. Without first-hand experience, Juliet believed this project would have been much less interesting to her and much less insightful. Immersion in the field was key to her understanding it. It also allowed her to bridge the differences between her own experiences and those of the subjects, so that she could identify with them and be inspired by their examples. As with Alice, Juliet believed that this inspiration the most important part of her experience.

It is the enduring inspiration that both Alice and Juliet felt for their subjects despite their changing views of sexism in the workplace that is the most telling result of their experience. They began the process not only with the assumption of sexism in the workplace but also that the sexism victimized the women who endured it. Their research experience, culminating with their last minute epiphany, confirmed that sexism existed in the workplace of these women. However, they did not see their subjects as victims. Rather, they continued to view them as inspiring role models. Thus, their research experience gave them a new perspective on what women working in a man's world can be.

Eban's Insight Profile. Eban's research goal was to find out how "the relationship between church and culture has evolved over time" (Eban's Research Design Abstract III, 1). As described in Chapter Four, this topic was shaped by the expectations of the class and methodology, by happening to pass by the church when deep in thought about what he could study, and by prior experience at this particular church that ran contrary to his negative expectations of churches. Although primarily interested in the contemporary church, he did honor the expectations of the course better than his classmates did by designing a study that included a better balance between the contemporary and the historical. Overall, Eban had somewhat fewer insights than average in the class (82 against a mean of 92), tied for fifth in the class. Given his relatively late arrival at a topic and lack of reflectiveness in his journal, he recorded relatively few insights during phase I. His phase II and III insight recordings were average. His sources of insight were among the more balanced in the class. Forty-six insights came from the field, while 36 came from the other sources.

Eban expected to find both that the impact of Cathedral Church of St. Luke's on its neighborhood had declined during the 20th century and that the church had become "more interwoven with culture than it is with religion..." (Eban's Research Design Abstract III, 1). Essentially, his research confirmed these expectations. Through census data, he discovered that the church no longer drew as heavily on the neighborhood for it congregation. Through interviews, he learned of the church's rising consciousness of itself of a social institution. In the process of confirming these expectations, however, much more about what these expectations imply than he anticipated, especially regarding how a church can become interwoven with its culture. The experience also afforded him an opportunity to evolve his personal views about religion.

In the phase III interview, Eban identified a personal bias that he felt might have influenced his findings. He was turned off to what he saw as traditional religion, which was intended, he believed, to condemn everyone as a sinner and to dictate the beliefs of the parishioners. The historical church that Eban found from analyzing church records and historical accounts seemed to be the traditional church he disliked. He found the congregation to be economically, geographically, and ethnically homogenous, and he found evidence that the church was "run like a business... [allocating] one sixth of the time for prayer" (Eban's Journal, 1/28). Even its altruistic endeavors seemed condescending, with an elite group of housewives seeking to help those of a lower and separate social status.

In spite of his previous positive experience at St. Luke's and data arising through both secondary and primary sources that St. Luke's had become a progressive and socially conscious institution, Eban carried this negative view of religion into his research

of the contemporary church. It took attending a service and interviewing the minister to make Eban realize that the church had changed dramatically from its ancestry. In response to this interview, he wrote, "Amazing. Totally changed how I look at a church and religion in general. I never though I'd be in complete agreement on every issue we spoke about with a member of the clergy" (Eban's Journal, 3/7).

Having had his long-standing bias contradicted, Eban's eyes were opened to how the church had become integrated with its culture. Like its ancestor, this church sought to help the less fortunate in society. Unlike its ancestor, it did so by inviting everyone in, not just providing services for the less fortunate. While the congregation he witnessed did not strike him as ethnically or economically diverse, he learned of a highly diverse Thursday service. He learned of all the church's affiliations with various social service agencies around the state and the number of community programs run by the church or through the church facilities. What particularly impressed Eban was that, unlike its ancestor, this church provided help to the community without proselytizing. The church had a program for refugees but did not recruit them, and it allowed its facilities to be used for a Catholic service for gays. Even the rituals and the theology practiced by the church had been altered to accommodate a more universal message.

In his paper, Eban noted the potential for his bias against traditional religion to have transformed into a bias in favor of St. Luke's practice of religion when he wrote, "St. Luke's ... should be commended for its theology.... Although I have tried to analyze and take my data as an unbiased observer, my own inherent biases should be noted" (Eban's Paper, 27). Instead, Eban considered data suggesting that while he embraced progressive policies loosening traditional rituals and creating a more inclusive

atmosphere with a socially conscious, universal message, others, including perhaps the Episcopal Bishop, were disturbed that the church's theology had become unrecognizable. One politically liberal subject particularly impressed Eban because she attended two churches, one for the politics and one for the theology. "It is interesting that she was so liberal in her views on such things as homosexuals, yet she yearned for a more structured and traditional style of service which she gets from St. Peter's" (Eban Journal, 3/22).

This particular interview helped deepen Eban's understanding of what it means for a church to become "more interwoven with culture." He wondered if the minister might be "sacrificing some traditional theology in order to keep people coming" (Eban's Journal, 3/22). Early in the semester, Eban had visited the church next door to St. Luke's and noticed a new stage. He wondered if it might be "indicative of church trying to evolve to remain interesting... Piano and organ on stage. Indicative of changing times?" (Eban Journal, 1/18). Now that he had documented change, the question of what motivated it came back to him. Even after his transforming interview with the minister, he noted, "In a way he was trying to sell the church to me a little" (Eban's Journal, 3/7). Noting the competition for members that churches face, he looked beyond purely altruistic motivations and saw that St. Luke's efforts at outreach were "almost like recruiting" (Eban's Phase III Interview, 6).

Thus, Eban evolved from despising formal religion to embracing the politics of St. Luke's to questioning it motives. He realized that, despite the church's desire to be a leader and not a follower, the church was in part simply reacting to an increasingly demanding public. He saw that many progressive, middle aged people were in search of a spiritual identity and so sought institutions that would nourish existing beliefs, not change

them. They went "church shopping" (Eban Phase III Interview, 6) and were attracted to St. Luke's open and flexible rituals. The people he interviewed "were all very connected to [the church], but they also had very high expectations.... They would have no problem leaving as much as they liked it they were confident in themselves to just pack up and leave if they didn't like what it was doing." (Eban Phase III Interview, 6).

This observation caused Eban to generalize from his research to see a public that was increasingly demanding not only of its churches but also of all of its leadership institutions. He gave himself as an example of someone who would speak up at school if something were not satisfactory. Faced with demanding parishioners who would either be satisfied or choose another church, St. Luke's, Eban realized, had little choice but to change accordingly. Thus, while he personally agreed with the politics of St. Luke's, he was able to get beyond this favorable bias to see the motives behind the church's actions more fully. At the same time, he was able to understand these motives without developing a new skepticism about the church.

The richness of his insights was due in large part to the testimony of his subjects and his experiences in the world. It was also due to the demands and structure of the methodology and the course. As described in Chapter Four, these factors played a significant role in his topic development. They continued to guide him in the data collection and data analysis phases of the project. Despite his prevailing interest in the contemporary affairs of the church, he steadfastly gathered data for a solid historical component to his study, as prescribed by course expectations. He acknowledged that for his major ideas he "didn't have proof I don't think until I really started writing it and getting these ideas down that you sort of had things floating around beforehand... As

you write you sort of start connecting them yourself" (Phase III Interview, 1). In addition, although he reported doing most of the analysis and writing himself, he cited an important meeting with a teacher about a third of the way through writing the paper that got him back on track. In short, Eban reported that the phase III activities of data analysis, paper writing, and teacher feedback, were critical in substantiating and deepening his insights.

Eban also gained insight into himself during the final phase of the process. Of the thirteen insight statements he expressed about himself, nine were recorded in the paper or the phase III Interview. Eight of these insights were new. He described the independence and openness of the project as both a source of deep satisfaction and a significant frustration. Analysis of qualitative data eluded him to some degree, although he felt that the qualitative nature of the project yielded insights that were unavailable in any printed material. In fact, it was the interactions with the people that made his project "really interesting" and led him "to believe that maybe everything has more than meets the eye to it" (Eban's Phase III Interview, 7).

In summary, Eban's research essentially confirmed his hypothesis. However, this simple confirmation belies a significant deepening of his understanding of his topic, especially of the nature of a modern church's relationship with its community. While personal biases remained a factor throughout his research, Eban's understanding of that relationship became increasingly sophisticated, and so was less influenced by his bias. His research findings were also personally meaningful to him, because they helped change his perspective on organized religion.

Ana's Insight Profile. As discussed in Chapter Four, Ana's research goal was "to determine what dictates the level of responsibility in a selected sample of teenage Cambodian sibling relationships in Portland, Maine" (Ana's Paper, 1). As the only member of the class to have taken an anthropology course previously, she had more exposure than others did in the class to anthropological methodology, which helped her to design the project. Her research experience, however, was characterized by a lack of immersion in fieldwork for which she had little enthusiasm or energy. Ana's methodology consisted of three parts: background research gathering census data and studying maps; talking with four contact people to gather more background information and arrange interviews; conducting eight interviews. The interviews were short, factual, and often conducted in difficult circumstances such as a school hallway.

Through her journal, paper, and interviews, Ana made 34 insight statements, the least in the class. In addition, only half pertained to the topic, with the other half pertaining to herself. Less than half of all her insight statements were made during the first two phases of the research process. Thus, a majority of insights (19) came during phase III. Ten of her 17 topic insights, including her two deepest insights, came during this phase of the project. In fact, one of her insights into self noted that it was in the phase III analysis that her major conclusions "really sort of started to come together" (Ana's Phase III Interview, 2). She depended on her teachers during this phase of the project not only for encouragement and guidance in the process but also to point out what she could conclude from her data.

Throughout the semester, Ana maintained consistently that once the data were gathered, the analysis and paper writing would not be a problem for her. In fact, her

insights did sharpen dramatically during the data analysis and writing stages. The phase II student interview took place at the end of March, after Ana's data were collected but before she had begun the analysis and writing processes. In that interview, which was intended to track emerging insights, she stated, "I can't really think of anything that is like earth shattering or even all that interesting that I have accomplished" (Ana Phase II Interview, 3). In fact, Ana made only one topic-insight statement in that interview.

In the phase II interview, she did make eleven self-insight statements. These statements ranged from relating her difficulties getting motivated to do the work (especially in comparison to classmates), to the hassles of mid-day traffic, to how her previous anthropology project had gone much better because it was based on survey rather than interview data. While all of the students related insights both about the topic and themselves in the phase II student interview, Ana's uniquely favored the latter.

Working closely with the teachers in the analysis and writing processes, however, Ana synthesized her information and formulated two deeper understandings. The first was that she identified an important factor fragmenting Cambodian families in America. In Cambodia, the family structure was reinforced by agrarian life. In an urban setting in American, this reinforcement to family structure was eliminated, thus tending to fragment the family structure. In responding to a phrase III student interview question about how the teachers had influenced her thinking, Ana described the conversation with the teacher during which this insight was generated in the following way:

> I was talking about and how - if the siblings don't live with their families even if they live five doors down but they are not working in the family store - does not have an impact and she's adjusted - she's [the teacher] like that's good but then

> you need to talk about how - I guess I had to mention how that would apply to Cambodian cultures or something. She said well you need to say...It would be good if you talked how this applied to Cambodian cultures because you have to remember the parents are from traditional culture and they're going to be having the same sort of cultural instincts that physically can't apply here because they aren't on a farm." (Ana Phase III Interview, 4)

The second insight, that when traditions are assaulted the result is family unity, not fragmentation, is the major conclusion of the paper. Ana described her understanding this way:

> I believe the one statement I can make for certain based on my interviews and research is that children in fragmented families will become more parentified because that is what traditional Cambodian culture dictates. Such children who take this responsibility are almost inevitably the oldest in the house. There is a definite sense of elasticity when acculturation takes place, slowly tradition thins as the elastic is stretched, but if the core values are assaulted too quickly the elastic will snap back perhaps even more tightly to it former, traditional position." (Ana's Paper, 14)

These insights are noteworthy because they are important conclusions about the topic. The latter, in fact, is contradictory to what Ana had expected to find in her study. They are also important because she did not realize them until the analysis and writing phase of the process. She cited the teachers being willing to read drafts of the paper in sections as being an important help in her process, and "when she [the teacher] was concerned about [me] not going deep enough into it and she sort of helped me break it

down more and make little arrows and say we'll talk about this and this and this under this subtitle..." (Ana Phase III Interview, 3). She further described the way her teacher helped deepen her understandings while helping her to organize her paper.

> She was able to say - this page - you seem to be holding back or you seem to be doing this and then she would show me and say this page is perfect - this is exactly what I wanted and I was able to look at it and compare it so - well some parts are being good and some parts is she's showing me exactly what she liked about it and exactly which part is the opposite of what she's liking. So I was able to sort of look a that as a reference...and think about what exactly am I doing here that is a good thing so I think that helps me to go deeper because I suppose to be able to apply that to the best of my interest and knowledge." (Phase III Interview, 4)

In summary, Ana began with a topic arising out of her prior personal experience and began her research with prior academic experience conducting an anthropological study. She had difficulty entering the field and never felt comfortable conducting interviews. As a result, her interview data were limited. Prior to phase III Ana expressed little confidence that her data would hold anything important. With significant help from her teachers, she did generate some understandings of her topic from her data. Her most significant insights were into herself, realizing that fieldwork is not work with which she is comfortable. While other students did struggle with the fieldwork at times, she is the only student who said she would not want to repeat the experience.

Lou's Insight Profile. Lou's interest in the Old Port stemmed from the well-publicized tension between business owners and youth in which he saw an injustice to

youth. When the teachers discouraged this topic because a youth interviewing shopkeepers about their tensions with youth might be unfeasible, he narrowed his project to Exchange Street and shifted to a primarily historical focus, but retained his interest in this tension and injustice. Noting the economic swings of the street and the city's efforts at urban renewal in another neighborhood, Lou hypothesized that "the city...initiated a process of urban renewal to change Exchange into a polished, commercial district for downtown Portland, continuing the gentrification overtaking the city." Focusing on injustice, he went on to write:

> This project will show that the city officials will not allow a natural evolution in the city. Instead they will undertake projects, possibly to the detriment of individuals, to gloss over parts of the city they disapprove of. The report will focus specifically on Exchange Street and the evolution of that street which should show that as a part of the city becomes run-down and 'ugly' the city officials will enact projects to remake the street over to their ideas of a good idea. (Lou's Research Design Abstract II, 3)

As described in Chapter Four, Lou's entry into the field was late. The evidence of his late entry is contained in Table 5, Insight Summary, (125), which shows that he generated slightly fewer than average insights during phase I, 40% fewer insights than average during phase II, and an average number during phase III. In fact, he was the only student interviewed twice during phase II, because in the first interview he had been in the field so little that he recorded only two additional insights into the topic during that interview. It also appeared that he did not write in his journal at all between the phase I and phase II interviews. Over weeks subsequent to the first phase II interview, when

other students were analyzing data and writing their papers, Lou conducted a flurry of field activities, recorded half his field journal, and generated 20 insights into his topic.

As indicated by Table 5, Insight Summary (125), the number of insight statements he made, though rushed, was generally on a par with other students. He generated more insight statements in almost every category than either Sam or Ana. He had more or approximately the same number of field insights as Alice, Eban, and Juliet. He had more insights into the topic than Juliet did. He had more or approximately the same number of new insights as Alice, Alicia, Eban, and Juliet. Looking at these numbers, one would assume that Lou's insight development would be similar in quality to several of the other projects.

In fact, a substantial part of his historical research was well developed. From the end of January to the end of March, the time designated for data collection in the field, Lou spent most of his time doing background research in periodicals, creating a sophisticated series of digitized maps that showed building usage over time, being sick for three weeks, and procrastinating. Although he did not conduct any interviews in this time, he did document through articles and mapping the economic boom of the 1920s and 40s, and its collapse after World War II.

> After World War II ended many of the jobs dried up and buildings such as the Seaman's Club and the Mariner's Church, which had truly been created for sailors, had no more customers. Portland became a poor city and the people headed to the suburbs.... In the 1960s, heavy industry came to Maine because of all of the workers available, who had been left jobless from the end of World War II. This allowed a small surge of economic growth but in the end, when unions

> followed, heavy industry left Maine and Portland was left less prosperous than ever. (Lou's Paper, 16)

From his flurry of interviewing in April and earlier background research, Lou gathered data describing the economic revival of Exchange Street in the 1970s and suggesting that it was the "young entrepreneurs ...[who] made Exchange Street what it is today" (Lou's Paper, 13), not the city planners. With a few exceptions, Lou's data suggested that the city officials were either neutral or actually harmful to the economy of the Old Port, attempting to profit from its success by taxing it heavily. When the Maine Mall opened in South Portland, the city of Portland concentrated on revitalizing the businesses on Congress Street. They actively resisted development in the Old Port because they did not want any more competition with Congress Street.

> In the early 1970's there were several hundred new shops in the Old Port. During this time the city bureaucrats were trying to protect Congress Street so they fought the growth of the Old Port but, in the end, they couldn't stop it. What had been dangerous waterfront slums in the late 1960's, where they'd had to string lights in the upper floors to bring pedestrians in, was, by 1975, beginning to become the 'place to be' in Portland. (Lou's Paper, 16)

In the three weeks between the two phase II, during which he conducted interviews gathering the entrepreneur's perspective, Lou changed from speculating "it will turn out to be a cooperation between the city and investors" (Lou Phase IIA Interview, 3) that was responsible for the revitalization of Exchange Street to asserting "that private investors have been the driving force behind it [the economic recovery of the Old Port] and the city didn't do anything for them" (Phase IIB Interview, 2).

It was at this point where Lou's insights were not well developed. The teachers urged Lou to investigate this assertion about the relationship between the city and the entrepreneurs by interviewing a city official, but Lou never did that. Instead, he accepted the entrepreneur's perspective and broadened his research to consider current threats and controversies in the Old Port. Mixing his own views with those of his subjects, Lou stated that the success of the Old Port as a shopping district is "the old fashioned atmosphere and the unique, one-of-a-kind shops" (Lou's Paper, 21). Major chains stores, he asserted, had noticed the economic success of the Old Port and were attempting to move in. If they succeed, several of Lou's informants were concerned that the chains will "drive out every small, singularly owned business in the area" (Lou's Paper, 24) and the Old Port would become indistinguishable from the Mall, with both suffering as a result.

> The idea behind it was to have sort of an old world, old city brick and cobblestone sort of motif and sort of a small little like almost reminds me of a little back alleyway and stuff in London sort of an older historical draw to it and I thought that was interesting considering what's happening now without and sort of its uniqueness that the fact that it didn't have nay major retail chains and it was sort of a really singular place its an interesting relationship with what's happening now where Gap is trying to buy in there – Starbucks has bought into there – they may be putting a World Class Aquarium. I think its dangerous what they are doing – it's not deadly at least dangerous to the area because the draw of the people to the Old Port has been for the last 10 to 20 years… I am afraid …that it will either plunge it back into being a slum because there are so many other places

> people can go to go to those kinds of stores or it will just turn into another generic retail district without any sort of atmosphere without any sort of character. (Lou's Phase III Interview, 1, 2)

In considering this challenge, Lou's thinking returned to the tensions between adults and youth in the Old Port, which he then saw as wasting an important resource at a time when the Old Port was facing a great challenge. Lou quoted his grandfather in saying that "if you want to keep excited and sort of really involved in your work stay around young people because they are always coming up with new and unique ideas and they have the energy to pull it off" (Lou Phase III Interview, 4). In pondering his grandfather's wisdom, he realized a dark irony in the current treatment of youth in the Old Port.

> The revitalization of Exchange Street and what's kept it going is sort of the energy – not the youth but young people, like young investors, young business people. In the very beginning of the sort of revamping of Exchange Street, the young artists and craftsmen – they would come in because they could find lower rent and the energy of the young is so meshed with the success of the area that its interesting that today's view is sort of an outcast group in that area – sort of being ostracized and frowned upon group of people down there." (Lou's Phase III Interview, 4)

In one respect, Lou's intellectual journey is an excellent example of the process of deepening understanding. He began with an interest in the tensions between adults and youth. He left that topic in search of understanding what caused the economic revitalization of the area. In the process of exploring that topic, he learned both that

youthful energy was responsible for the revitalization of the area and that its current prosperity is threatened. In light of these realizations, he found it ironic that the contemporary youthful energy was being wasted. In fact, he cited this insight as being his most original. He was asked, "Can you think of anything that you came up with that you really didn't see directly anywhere else…it wasn't in the articles and it wasn't directly in the interviews?" He responded, "The youth thing… Like the interviews and research gave me the knowledge that the youthful energy was involved in recreating Exchange Street. The interviews and articles gave me the knowledge that the youth today is being ostracized and pushed away, but sort of the conclusions that I drew there I didn't see anywhere else" (Lou's Phase III Interview, 6).

In the end, however, Lou's haste in data collection and analysis limited the depth of his insight development. His process was not disciplined enough to gather enough data to substantiate his ideas. As illustrated by the preceding narrative, rather than digging into his topic during the research process, Lou broadened it continually. It also shows his tendency to amplify controversies, rather than investigate them, as was illustrated by his decision not to interview the city official. As a result, his paper became a series of editorial comments about the problems facing the Old Port and suggestions about what should be done rather than an analysis of his hypothesis.

Lou enjoyed the learning process, especially the experiences in the field and the independence afforded him. "For me – personally – I value hands on stuff a lot more just because you're doing it yourself, it's not somebody showing you what to do and someone telling you the answer…. It's definitely a more solid, memorable experience than being told what to do. (Lou Phase III Interview, 4).

Lou did realize at least some of his shortcomings and the degree to which he relied on the teachers:

> It was a great project, great teachers, and great process. The fall back personally I encountered had more to do with my shortcomings than the shortcomings perhaps of the class itself. Sort of procrastination as a problem and sort of my own need of a jumpstart at time was probably the most problematic part of this for me. (Lou Phase III Interview, 5)

There was no definitive data, however, indicating whether or not Lou understood the full extent to which his work habits limited his insight into his topic. His final comments about his self-learning make no mention of such limitation, instead focusing on what he learned about mapping and how "interviews were my favorite part; to me the greatest way to get information is from like relating to people, talking to them about their experience and stuff" (Lou Phase III Interview, 7).

In summary, Lou was enthusiastic about his project from the beginning to the end, and the historical part of his research was generally well developed. His late entry into the field limited his time for data collection and analysis, so his insight development tended to be broad rather than deep and the tone of his presentation tended to be editorial rather than analytical. To some extent he seemed to realize how his work habits, especially his tendency to procrastinate, limited the depth of this understanding. His energetic entry into the field after the deadline for concluding research, however, seemed more to typify his work habits than to result from a resolve to change them.

Sam's Insight Profile. Sam, whose father is Italian, knew virtually nothing about the Italian community in Portland when the class began. Upon learning of an urban

renewal project that displaced a core Italian neighborhood, Sam became incensed at the city's action. Because a student in an earlier class had already investigated immigration patterns and the displacement of the neighborhood, Sam decided to investigate what had become of the community. Noting that a church in the old neighborhood still drew an Italian congregation, she hypothesized that St. Peters church "plays a crucial role in tying the Italian community together, especially after the urban development which occurred in the 1950's" (Sam's Research Design Abstract I, 1). In subsequent drafts, she further hypothesized that the authenticity of the mass played a crucial part in drawing the Italian community together. She planned to take advantage of a family trip to Italy to gather comparative data.

In comparison to many of the other students, Sam's insight development was limited. Only Ana had fewer total, topic, new, and field insights. In addition, there was little richness in the interplay of ideas, suggested by how few reconceptualized insights she realized. More tellingly, most of her primary insights were limited to repeating what was readily apparent to her from the beginning, which is that the church plays an important role in holding the now displaced Italian community together. Her secondary hypothesis, focusing on comparing the church in Italy with the church in Portland, was substantially dropped, although she did make several comparisons that might have been developed further. In addition, her teachers suggested several areas to explore, on which she did not follow up. In short, she did little more than directly affirm her original hypothesis. Even in doing this, she was highly dependent on her teachers for direction in gathering and analyzing data, and in boosting her confidence at critical times.

Sam's initial challenge was getting into the field. After an inspired beginning to her research, Sam generated few insights into her topic (9) before the end of the scheduled conclusion to phase II. It appeared that she made few journal entries between the first and second interviews, although the fact that she did not date her entries made determining the exact timing of activities somewhat difficult. From interviews, observations, and background research she did reinforce the idea that people attend the church in order to see other Italians, but she generated little insight into the importance of the mass in holding the Italian community together. She examined the church bulletin and concluded that the advertisements on the back placed by Italian owned businesses indicated support for the church from the Italian community. She knew little about what motivated this support.

Phoning those business owners who had advertised on the back of the bulletin clearly deepened her research. After conducting the phone calls she developed 30 of her 39 topic insights. Many of the insights stemmed directly from the calls, and the calls caused a significant boost of confidence that stimulated additional insights. She became unblocked as a thinker and developed "increasing authority over the research" (Teacher Comment in Sam's Journal, 28). She learned more about what motivated people to attend the church, underscoring the notion of an effort to build an Italian community in the absence of geographic proximity.

This confidence was tested at a crucial point in the data collection process when her evolving sense of the church's importance to the Italian community was challenged directly. Sam interviewed a woman who had been a key contact for her to the Italian community. This subject challenged the significance of the church to the Italian

community, which caused Sam to write in her journal, "In a way, it sort of felt like it belittled my mission. I feel like I'm losing direction" (Sam's Journal,11). The teachers were able to help Sam to see that the subject's comments were more revealing about the difficulty in building community in the absence of a neighborhood than about the success of the church's efforts to help do so. Thus, Sam's thinking deepened to consider the topic as being more complex than simply establishing that the church either is or is not significant to the community. She also learned to think more deeply by seeing beyond two pieces of apparently contradictory data to consider how they both might be true.

Despite these late insights, Sam was unable to fully develop most of them. For example, a teacher pointed out that Sam's data suggested a possible link between the cultural value of family held by Italians and the desire to build community. Despite the teacher's effort to get Sam to investigate this point, it remained undeveloped. The provocative but unrealized potential of Sam's research was further illustrated in her paper. In the conclusion, Sam stated that "the division of the Italian community of Portland by urban renewal has somehow brought the parishioners of St. Peter's closer together than they were before urban renewal" (Sam's Paper, 33). She cited the commitment by people willing to drive up to 40 minutes to attend church as her evidence. While this evidence is inadequate to substantiate such a conclusion, it would be enough to prompt further investigation. In the final comment in the journal, a teacher noted that it would have been good had Sam been able to further "probe some of these sources" (Teacher comment in Sam's Journal, 28).

The reasons for limited insight development are evident in the Chapter Four account of her research experience. Sam reported that she had difficulty with the

interactive nature research collection because she is shy. Unlike Alicia who immersed herself in the culture of the Spanish mass, Sam spent relatively little time in the church, attending only one service. Based on the distinctively short length of her journal and the fact that much of it was written after the data collection period was scheduled to conclude, procrastination might also be considered a culprit. In addition, according to one of the teachers, Sam "has probably some of the weakest analysis of all" (Teacher A Interview II, 8). Because of her difficulty gathering data, she found herself conducting her analysis late with spotty data. By the time her analysis began to deepen, "it was a week before the paper was due" (Teacher A Interview II, 8). This contributed not only to the lack of depth of insight but also the multiple suggestions of insights that were not full developed.

Nonetheless, in some ways, Sam's personal growth was among the greatest. In describing Sam's growth after she started making the phone calls, one teacher said, "here is a kid who can barely go out and do interviews or go out and find the research and by the end she was going out and doing interviews, finding information and pulling it together on some level, doing some database work, living with flaws in her research..." (Teacher A Interview II, 8). As the other teacher observed, in the end, with much prodding by the teachers, Sam did the work and gained confidence in herself as being able to do this kind of work (Teacher B Interview I, 2). Sam herself expressed a similar understanding when she praised field research in comparison to classroom learning and expressed a desire to pursue related work in the future. Unlike Ana, who struggled and concluded that fieldwork was not for her, Sam struggled and ultimately overcame the difficulties. Although she was left with flawed data and not enough time to complete her

analysis thoroughly, she did manage to have enough success to see at least how she could have been more successful.

In summary, Sam was enthusiastic about her project at the beginning, but her enthusiasm was dampened by the difficulty she had entering the field. Her limited fieldwork limited her data collection, and her difficulty conceptually with data analysis further limited her insight development. She had a personal breakthrough, however, when she finally entered the field. While her insight development remained limited, she did regain enthusiasm for her project and she developed confidence in herself as a researcher.

Insight Profile Summary. Several patterns can be noted among the projects pertaining to insight development. First, all of the students completed the requirements of the course, which consisted of expectations for students to gather and analyze data and draw conclusions. Thus, they each developed insight into their subjects. Second, with some variability in timing, they all followed the schedule prescribed by the course. Thus, insight development followed the three-phase structure of topic development, data collection, and data analysis and reporting. Third, all of the projects relied heavily on the field for sources of data, especially once the topic development phase was concluded. Thus, their insight development is relevant to a study of the effect of direct experience on generating insight and deepening understanding.

There was also variability among the projects related to insight development. The first pertained to depth of immersion in the field. The frequency and quality of experiences in the field determined depth of immersion. Alicia, Rosa, and Ryan attained the deepest immersion in the field, while Ana, Lou, and Sam had the least. Given the

primacy of the field as a source of insight, depth of immersion proved particularly important for insight development.

Second, there was a significant variability in the number and sources of insights generated. Rosa and Ryan had many more insights than the class mean, while Ana and Sam had many fewer. Alicia, Rosa, and Ryan had many more insights from the field than the class mean. In fact, 90 of Alicia's 96 insights stemmed from the field. Ana had Sam had significantly fewer insights from the field than the class mean.

Third, the timing of generating insights also varied somewhat. The class pattern was that more insights were generated during phase II than either of the other two phases. All of the students adhered to this pattern except Ryan, Juliet, and Lou. Ryan and Lou generated the most insights in the third phase, while Juliet had an equal number in phases II and III. Lou's phase III number was high because he gathered so much of his data late in the semester. Juliet's was relatively high because of the number of self-insights she generated during phase III. Ryan's phase III insights were inflated by the illegibility of his field journal. It is likely that some of the insights he might have recorded early in his field journal were not noted as insights until his typewritten paper unless he also mentioned them in an interview.

Fourth, there was some variability in the ratio between topic and self-insights. This ratio ranged from six to three to one for six students. Juliet and Ana's ratios were lower: Juliet two to one, Ana one to one. On the other end of the spectrum, Alicia had only two self-insights out of a total of 96.

Deep Understanding

As the goal of learning, deep understanding is a central concept to this study. As part of the arrangement between the researcher and the subjects in this study, however, it was agreed that the quality of the learning and teaching would not be evaluated. Instead of measuring the quality and quantity of understandings, the agreement stipulated that the analysis of the data would pertain to whatever understandings the students did develop. Accordingly, no specific performance standards of deep understanding were developed and no performance assessment was conducted.

However, the understandings that the students did reach were analyzed to determine the extent to which they matched the study's definition of deep understanding. This analysis is presented below in sections devoted to each component part of deep understanding as defined in Chapter Three for this study: *the comprehension of a topic that is constructed by the student, is transferable to new settings, involves performances and the creation of products that are central to a discipline, is learned in multiple contexts, and contrasts with rote, ritualistic, superficial, or fleeting learning.*

Student Constructed Comprehension

Given that the projects consisted of primary research in the field, all of the students constructed all conclusions in some measure. In addition, most of what they did constituted original research. For example, the Latino population Alicia chose to study was so little understood that even the Latin Community Council could not estimate its size. Beyond that, she chose to focus on an element of the Latino population that had few connections to the Council and so was little understood by it or any other organization.

Because of the legal issues facing illegal immigrants, she may have gotten as close to this population as is possible without endangering the subjects. By focusing on the experiences of subjects in a small city, she gained insights into their lives that are not available from existing studies that tend to focus on ethnic populations in larger metropolitan areas. For example, she learned from subjects who had lived previously in such areas that in Portland they were forced by the small and fragmented Latino population to speak English and assimilate into the larger culture. In the enclaves of Latinos in the larger metropolitan areas, they spoke Spanish and socialized and even worked within their community. Because she immersed herself in the field, Alicia was able to learn from primary experience, which revealed many insights that were not reported in secondary sources. In short, most of her research nor is likely to be replicated elsewhere; all of her thinking was new to her. She learned almost all of it from listening to and observing the subjects, not from secondary sources.

In fact, none of the students found their data replicated elsewhere. In each case, students gathered data from primary sources about experiences in a particular locality. This meant that each researcher had to construct meaning from the data. For example, Rosa, Sam, and Ryan made similar observations about their subjects being forced to assimilate with the larger culture due to the small size of Portland as Alicia did about the Latinos. Rosa learned about the current political involvement of the gay community directly from the subjects themselves. Sam learned where the displaced Italians had gone to live and why they gathered as Italians for church, and Ryan learned the challenges of catering ethnic food services to a multi-ethnic population.

Eban learned about the efforts of one particular church to balance the demands of tradition with social activism. Lou learned the history of the development of business in a particular location. Ana's comprehension was the least self-constructed. The teachers played a big role in helping her to draw conclusions from her limited data through a series of pointed questions. Even in this case, however, she did draw conclusions because the teachers did not present the information to her. For Alicia, Ana, Eban, Lou, Rosa, Ryan, and Sam, similar studies might well exist about other localities, but not about Portland. In addition, if studies did exist about other localities, they were not aware of them.

Alice and Juliet conducted research that probably was not available elsewhere. One teacher said:

> Theirs, I think, is groundbreaking work. There are not even historical accounts of women working in sardine factories – I'm sure there are some but there is no diaries or articles written about it. I just think it is uncharted territory they were working in. All the more significant and the kind of work that they can come back to down the line and really do the analysis: Is anything changing, are they evolving? I think that in the end kind of came to the conclusion that there wasn't a lot changing for women – that women were no going out on the boats and working out on the boats for a variety of reasons. I think the other thing they came up with which was great was that women … have to have some… connection to the industry in order to get into it. Like a father or brother or uncle… Again, there isn't any information about it… It's also a very important

question: What are women doing in industries that have been predominantly male? I don't think you can find that information. (Teacher A Interview II, 4)

In summary, all of the projects met the student constructed criterion of deep understanding. Fieldwork put students in contact with primary sources, enabling them to draw the conclusions from their data. The local nature of the projects meant that their data were not available elsewhere, even if similar studies did exist about other places. The interactive nature of the studies meant that they generated insight into individual experience. At least one study was, in the view of a teacher, an original contribution to the field.

Transferable Learning

The need to transfer learning from one setting to another was built into the structure of the class. In the classroom, the teachers taught the students the methodologies of anthropology and geography through direct instruction. Through simulations in and out of the classroom, students were given the chance to practice what they learned.

Then, with teachers available as coaches, students transferred this learning about methodologies to actually employing them by conducting their studies. Student success in this endeavor was mixed, but all of the students succeeded at least to some extent. This success and its limits are reviewed in detail in the next two sections on creating products and performances central to a discipline. Evaluating whether the learning in this class will transfer to settings outside of it was beyond the scope of the study's data.

Sets of Performances Central to a Discipline

For all of the students, the course was an exercise in enacting performances central to the disciplines of anthropology and geography. In the first few weeks of class, they had presentations in class on the methodologies of anthropology and geography. Methodologies pertained to shaping a study, gathering data, analyzing data, and presenting findings. Throughout the semester, students were given further instruction and opportunities to practice what they had learned. From early on through the paper and presentation at the end, they were asked to use these methodologies to conduct their own research. The insight profiles reveal that performances such as analysis, judging, and synthesis were central to most of the projects. In this respect, their performances did embody the principles and concepts central to the disciplines of anthropology and geography.

It should be noted, however, that none of the students applied these methodologies consistently according to the standards of the discipline. This shortcoming derived, teachers and students agreed, from the fact that the students were novices in using the methodologies. The students were presented the methodologies in class, and then practiced them by gathering and analyzing data for their projects. By the time they finished their projects, they had gained much greater proficiency with the methodologies, but the learning process had impacted their findings. Students were also inefficient in gathering data, and some compounded these challenges at times with undisciplined work habits.

Of the entire group, Ryan developed the greatest expertise in gathering data. His interviews were thoughtfully planned and executed, and his notes and methods of

analysis were detailed and reflective. The teachers also noted Rosa and Eban's employment of methodologies as particularly strong. Rosa was especially strong in interpreting her data and Eban in gathering the data. Alice and Juliet and Alicia performances were solid but they faced particular challenges. Alice and Juliet needed to coordinate their efforts and suffered somewhat from having to rush their analysis. Alicia conducted her research in Spanish, which made data gathering particularly challenging. Ana, Lou, and Sam's methodologies were the weakest. In this group, Lou employed the most skill, but his work suffered from needing to rush data gathering and analysis. Ana and Sam's data gathering suffered from a discomfort with field work and difficulty, unless coached directly by the teachers, with analysis.

In summary, students met this criterion of deep understanding in the sense that they all learned and practiced performances central to the disciplines of anthropology and geography. To varying degrees, they developed expertise in these performances, although the level of expertise attained varied widely. Even at their best, all of the students were clearly still in the process of learning throughout the semester.

Products Central to a Discipline

The products created by students all embodied principles and concepts central to the relevant disciplines. As defined by course expectations, being consistent with the principles and concepts of a discipline was largely a matter of presenting coherent, valid findings orally and in writing. All of the students and both of the teachers realized that the findings presented in the oral presentations and the papers were not fully and

completely valid. This resulted from the incomplete mastery of performances cited above.

Having acknowledged these shortcomings, however, both teachers thought that much of the work conducted in the class "was the closest to college level work we've ever seen" (Teacher A Interview II, 8). Many particular assertions made by the students were valid. Alicia exemplified how students achieved relative validity. She had only 32 new insights and 58 reconceptualizing insights. The ratio of reconceptualizing insights to new insights, which was well above the class mean, showed substantial confirmation for most of her ideas. This substantiation was also evident in the insight clusters (Appendix E), where cluster sub-topics were supported by an array of insights. Her conclusions were further substantiated by the richness of her field experiences. Because she spent so much time in the field, she was able to go beyond what her subjects told her to include her own experience and direct observations.

Alice and Juliet and Eban also had balanced ratios between new and reconceptualized insights. In addition, their areas of interest were narrow and well defined, so most of his insights clustered around relatively few sub-topics. For example, of Alice's 71 insight statements into the topic, 57 pertained directly to gender issues in the fishing industry. Rosa and Ryan had more new than reconceptualized insights. However, they gathered their data systematically, being careful to ask the same questions of each subject and to record the responses accurately. In the analysis process, they each clustered their own insights, so that most statements were well substantiated. When the statements were not well substantiated, they usually indicated that themselves, so the

statements became more tentative. As Ryan stated, "My reporting and process have been fair and honest, although admittedly not perfect" (Ryan's Paper, 48).

Lou illustrates an example of the other end of the validity spectrum. Lou drew provocative conclusions in his paper, but most were not well substantiated or valid. This happened because of the limitations of his data and because he did not focus his thinking on the central question. He began the class with an interest in the tensions between youth and shopkeepers in the Old Port. On advice from the teachers, he altered his focus to an historical study of the Exchange Street. Key to his study was understanding the role that the city played in developing the region. He learned from the entrepreneurs that the city did little to help them, and if anything, deterred the development of the region. He never interviewed a city official to get another perspective, despite the teachers' repeated advice to do so. Instead, he accepted this assessment as fact, and broadened his study to describe, from the perspective of the Old Port entrepreneurs, how the city had taxed Old Port businesses to pay for support of the development of Congress Street. Rather than digging into this topic, he returned to his original topic and sought the youth perspective on the tensions in the Old Port.

As he hung out in the Old Port, Lou noticed the arrival of some chain stores. Proceeding a little bit with interview data and a lot from his own opinion, Lou broadened his topic again to editorialize against the Old Port businesses becoming less distinctive and too homogenized. Lou then took on the proposal to build an aquarium in Portland. It took Ryan two and a half pages to report his data on restaurant parking; it took Lou two sentences and no data to dismiss the idea of building the aquarium. In short, Lou's

thinking was rich but unfocused, so that his conclusions were provocative but unsubstantiated.

In summary, creating products that embody principles and concepts central to anthropology and geography means presenting valid findings coherently. Most of the students met this criterion at least to some extent, although none had enough time or expertise to fulfill this standard completely.

Contrast to Rote, Ritualistic, Superficial, or Fleeting Learning Set in a Single Context

The learning in this class was obviously not rote, ritualistic, or set in a single context. Even the students who had the most difficulty in the field still had to construct meaning from the data they did gather. The class involved both classroom and field experiences, and the experiences in the field were multiple. There were no right answers to regurgitate, and the teachers acted consistently as coaches and not disseminators of information about the topics students studied. In fact, in all cases, the teachers did not know the answers to the questions that the projects were seeking to answer.

Much of the learning was clearly not superficial. When she saw her subject's lack of activism in gay issues from a new perspective, Rosa was digging beyond the more superficial observation that the community has become apathetic. Alice and Juliet ultimately pushed past their simplistic idea that strong women in a sexist environment feel their oppression bitterly and overtly fight it. Eban pushed past his stereotypical vision of church and was able to see it as a modern institution uniquely charged with preserving tradition while at the same time serving a socially conscious clientele. While

Ryan's learning was not as profound as these, the detail of his data supporting each of his conclusions deepened them.

Some of the learning in the class, however, was superficial. Lou made many complex and profound assertions. However, these were more based on his hunches than on data, so they were superficial in the sense that they were unsubstantiated. Ana and Sam, due to difficulties gathering and analyzing data, produced the most superficial understandings. Ana's conclusions were insightful but extremely limited and largely unsubstantiated. Sam's conclusions were little changed from the assertions put forth in her proposal, which were relatively generic.

Although it was impossible to tell in the time period of the study whether or not their understandings would be fleeting, all except one of the students reported feeling more connected to their learning in this experience than they were to their usual classroom learning. These students expressed the belief that because the projects had become personally meaningful, their learning would stay with them a long time. Even the one who did not feel connected to her project expressed recognition of the learning power evident in the engagement of her classmates.

In short, it appears that all of the students met this criterion of deep understanding to some extent. None of the learning was rote, ritualistic, or taught in a single context. Much of the learning was not superficial, illustrating the potential of fieldwork, although some was quite limited and therefore superficial. The students, with one exception, expressed the belief that their learning would prove much more lasting than their usual classroom learning, although that assertion could only be tested with the passage of time.

Summary of Deep Understanding

In summary, it is impossible to fully assess when and how often students reached deep understanding because the study did not set performance standards for deep understanding and assess student thinking systematically in accordance with those standards. However, when the data about student understanding were held up to the elements of the operational definition of deep understanding, it was clear that all of the students, if only sporadically or fleetingly in some cases, at least worked toward deep understanding. It is in the area of consistency with the standards central to the disciplines that students were least well accomplished. Even there, however, despite the inexperience of the students as researchers and the complexity of what they were trying to do, their projects did yield some valid findings.

While the learning of the students was consistent with the study's definition of deep understanding, the definition did not fully describe their learning. Thus, their learning suggests modifications of the definition of deep understanding by demonstrating ways in which that definition appears incomplete. These modifications are reviewed in the Chapter Seven section on emerging propositions about deep understanding.

Chapter Five Summary

The insight profiles of each project comprise the core of Chapter Five. They reveal that learning academic topics in the field proved to be an intellectually and personally rich and complex process that varied from student to student. Direct experience was clearly a dominant influence in generating insight and deepening understanding. It was not the only factor, however, influencing those processes. For

students engaged in field study to develop deep understanding of their topics and themselves, immersion in the field appears to be a necessary but not sufficient condition. Chapter Six will analyze patterns among the insight profiles to determine what influences student thinking and how those influences work together to generate insight and deepen understanding.

Chapter 6

THE FINDINGS

The purpose of Chapter Six is to present the study's findings by responding to its three research questions:

What is the effect of direct experience in generating insight into academic topics studied in the field?

What is the effect of direct experience in generating self-insight?

What is the effect of direct experience in deepening understanding of academic topics studied in the field?

Chapters Four and Five presented the background information necessary to understand the findings. Chapter Four presented the topic development and research experience of each project and an analysis of the influences on topic development across the projects. The topic development section allows the reader to see the beginnings of insight development, including how the development was shaped by multiple influences. The research experience section allows the reader to see how immersion in the field affects data collection and influences the development of insights. Chapter Five described the insight development of each project and presented an analysis of student understandings of topics in light of the study's definition of deep understanding.

Chapter Six builds from the information in the previous chapters to respond to the research questions. Patterns of insight development among the projects were identified and analyzed. The focus of this analysis was on the influence of direct experience, or what students did outside of the classroom and in the field, especially how they gathered

data through engagement with subjects and other community resources. Other interrelated influences were also considered that generated, deepened, and limited student thinking.

In general, the data determined the fundamental importance of immersion in the field to generating insight into topics. While immersion in the field remained important in relation to deepening understanding, the data also suggest that without strong academic practices to accompany adequate experience in the field, student thinking was limited. The data do not suggest a definite pattern regarding the primary influences on self-insight. Following is the detailed analysis of the data in response to the three research questions.

What was the Effect of Direct Experience in Generating Insight into Topics?

Data Patterns

Direct experience in the field appeared to be a key influence in generating insight into the topic. In this study, generating insight refers to the quantity of insights generated in each project. Thus, this finding is suggested first by the close relationship between immersion in the field and the number of insights generated. As described in Chapter Four, projects were grouped into immersion categories - deepest, middle, and least – based on the quantity and quality of time spent in the field (Table 2, Field Immersion, 71). The projects with the deepest immersion – Alicia, Rosa, and Ryan's – generated the most insights (Table 5, Insight Summary, 125) in the class (94, 150, and 112 respectively). Two of the three projects in the least immersion category – Ana and Sam – generated the fewest insights (17 and 39 respectively). Thus, there appears to be a strong

relationship between depth of immersion in the field and the number of insights generated.

This relationship is further indicated by an examination of the sources of the insights. While the number of experiential or field and academic influences was roughly the same during the topic development phase (Chapter Four), a qualitative difference between them was indicated. Experiential influences were more important in stimulating interest in topics and directly shaping topic development, while academic influences were more important in indirectly shaping topics. Not surprisingly, once students entered the field to conduct research, a quantitative difference between experiential and academic influences on generating insight emerged. On average, students generated 56 insights solely from the field as compared to 16 from academic sources and the teachers. Twenty additional insights stemmed from a combination of these sources (Table 5, Insight Summary, 125).

The timing of when students entered the field in relation to when they generated the most insights further reinforced the importance of experience in the field to generating insight. For all of the students, insights followed quickly once they committed themselves to the field. For the six students in the deepest and middle immersion categories, this happened early in the semester. The relationship between entering the field and generating insight was most evident for the three students who delayed entry to the field. Effectively, Lou did not enter the field until April, after which he made 57 of his 71 insight statements. Sam, too, entered the field late, after which she made 40 of her 51 insight statements. Ana, whose field experience remained tentative throughout the semester, made by far the fewest insight statements.

Data Variations

This finding might initially appear to be limited by variations in the data. For example, although Alicia, Rosa, and Ryan were in the deepest immersion category and their projects generated the most insights, there was a significant discrepancy in the number of insights generated among their projects. This discrepancy was likely exaggerated, however, by factors unrelated to depth of immersion. The difference in the number of insights generated by Rosa and Ryan was likely exaggerated by the fact that the illegibility of Ryan's journal probably resulted in an under-reporting of his insights. The difference in the number of insights between Rosa and Alicia is probably explained by the fact that Alicia conducted her interviews in Spanish. While she may have spent more time than any of the students in the field, the process of interviewing in a foreign language undoubtedly slowed her rate of generating insights, and some of the data were likely lost in translation. In short, Ryan and Rosa probably generated a similar number of insights. While Alicia did generate significantly fewer insights than either Rosa or Ryan, the reason was not linked to her depth of immersion.

Another variation that might seem to limit the finding linking depth of immersion to the number of insights generated is the fact that Lou, who was in the least immersion category, generated more insights into topic (58) than did Juliet, who was in the middle category. This discrepancy, however, does not contradict the link. Once he entered the field, Lou did end up with nearly as many contacts in the field as Juliet. He was placed in the least immersion category due to the haste of his field research resulting from his late entry. Only Lou and Ryan reported more insights during phase III than phases I and II combined. In Ryan's case, that occurred because his illegible handwriting made noting

early journal insights sporadic. In Lou's case, that occurred because most of his field experience happened at the last minute. In addition, it should be noted that with 28 insights about herself, Juliet actually generated more insights than Lou, and Juliet had access to Alice's data as well. Thus, the preponderance of data and even apparent discrepancies in the data make evident that immersion in the field was the key to the number of insights generated into the topic.

Differing Depth of Field Immersion

Given the fundamental role of immersion in the field in stimulating insights, it seemed important to examine the data to determine what factors tended to deepen immersion in the field. It is important to remember that all of the students chose to take the course and all choose their own topics for study. In fact, they all chose topics that were related to their prior experiences and interests. These opportunities to choose maximized the potential that students would be motivated to do the research. In fact, eight of the students expressed ongoing interest in their topics and the research process at the end of the semester. What, then, accounted for the degree of variability of immersion in the field?

The data suggest that reaching a motivating level of excitement about being in the field was a key to determining the level of immersion. Too much excitement proved to be debilitating to the researcher. Too little excitement left the student too inattentive to enter the field in a disciplined manner. All six students in the deepest and middle levels of immersion achieved motivating excitement about being in the field. All except Eban expressed significant anxiety about field research that might have impaired their capacity

to enter the field reflectively. In each case, however, they found ways to transform the anxiety into excitement in a way that stimulated focused activity.

Rosa, for example, did a lot of library research initially, but expressed great anxiety about fieldwork until she tried out her ideas in an informal interview with a person she knew. Juliet and Alice were very uncomfortable being put in the position of judging others. They then talked at length with the teachers about their anxiety, a conversation that yielded a new structure for their study, about which they both expressed great relief. Alicia expressed a cycle of coming to class and getting excited about her topic, and then gradually losing her motivation through a series of frustrations in the field. She would then go back to class and regain her enthusiasm. Her regular attendance at the weekly church service also seemed to establish a routine for her that sustained her effort. In each case, the students managed to attain and generally sustain a condition of motivating excitement.

The two of the three with the least immersion did not establish this condition for a prolonged period or in a timely manner; the third, Ana, never attained it. After selecting it, she never expressed much interest in her topic and consistently expressed an acute discomfort with conducting interviews throughout the semester. It is impossible to say for certain which came first, discomfort in the field or apathy toward the subject. Given that she elected to take the class and that she chose the topic based on past experiences and given her acute discomfort with interviewing, it does seem likely that her discomfort in the field made developing a passion for the topic impossible. At least, it seems highly unlikely that she would ever generate much interest in any fieldwork as long as she remained so uncomfortable with it. She expressed much greater comfort with the data

analysis, when she could work independently or with teachers in a familiar setting completing relatively familiar tasks.

Sam, like Ana, expressed ongoing reservations about conducting field research. She seemed paralyzed at the prospect of conducting interviews, procrastinating significantly entering the field for months. It was not until the teachers made the necessity of getting into the field clear and helped her to plan her experience concretely that she was able to relax enough to enter it at all. During the time she was unable to enter the field, she became distant from the entire project, going for an extended time without making any journal entries. Once she entered the field, however, her engagement with the project flourished, as indicated by the increased number of insights generated and her rising level of enthusiasm for the project.

Lou's challenge was the opposite of Ana and Sam's. He appeared too relaxed about doing fieldwork. He expressed early and consistent interest in his topic, and he never expressed any apprehension about entering the field. Once he entered, he found it to be the most fulfilling part of his experience, as he enthusiastically explained the value of gathering data through interviews. It seems that pre-existing work habits allowed him to procrastinate getting substantially into the field. He did not enter the field until anxiety about passing the course, a requirement for graduation, motivated him into action.

Summary of Finding One: Generating Insight into Topics

Immersion in the field was closely related to the number of insights generated. The deeper the immersion, the more insights were generated. Immersion in the field was related to students achieving a condition of motivating excitement. Immersion was

deepest when students felt excitement about being in the field but managed to channel that feeling in ways that made them interested and productive. Too much or too little excitement about being in the field was linked to limited immersion.

It should also be noted that the first research question pertains only to quantity of insights generated into the topic, not necessarily the quality. The third question about deepening understanding of the topic relates to the quality of what was learned. While more insight does not necessarily equate to better insight, deepened understanding, by definition, does.

What was the Effect of Direct Experience in Generating Self-insight?

Generating self-insight refers to the number of insights generated into the self. There were two types of self-insight: insight into their research process and themselves as researchers, and insight into their interests and themselves as people. Unlike the topic, insight into the self was not closely related to depth of immersion in the field. Ryan, who was in the deepest immersion category, did have the most self-insights (37), but Juliet, in the middle immersion category, had the second most (28) and, in proportion to the overall number of insights, much more than Ryan. Alicia, who may have had the deepest immersion in the field, recorded by far the fewest insights into self (2). Ana, who probably had the least contact in the field, generated half of her insights about herself, by far a more balanced topic to self-insight ratio, much lower than the class mean (nearly four to one).

If not immersion in the field, what did stimulate insight into self? A review of the projects did not reveal a consistent pattern among the projects. What stimulated self-

insight in one project was not a factor in another. For example, the level of personal interest in the topic seems related to the number of insights generated into self in some cases. Four students generated more self-insights than the class mean: Alice, Juliet, Ryan, and Rosa. In each case, there was a fundamental aspect of the project that was deeply and personally meaningful. Rosa and Ryan had pre-existing interests in politics and in the status of gays and minorities respectively, which found expression in the projects and stimulated self-insight. Alice and Juliet had pre-existing interests in gender issues, so that their admiration for their subjects also stimulated self-insight.

Personal meaning, however, was not sufficient to explain the quantity of self-sight in every project. For example, Eban's research experience was personally meaningful. It was "really an altering experience for him... [it] really deeply affected him" (Teacher A Interview II, 7). Eban, however, only generated 13 self-insights, under the class mean of 19. This limitation might be explained at least in part because he was generally not highly reflective, as evidenced by his teachers' persistent comments in his journal to be more reflective. He also had fewer insights into topic than the class mean (69 to 74).

Difficulty entering the field seemed in some cases to be a catalyst for self-insight. Ana, with her limited field experience, reflected as much about herself and the research process as she did into the topic, and learned, among other things, that was uncomfortable with interviewing and not self-motivated enough to structure such an open ended project. She concluded that this kind of project "wouldn't be something that I would do again" (Ana Phase II Interview, 4). While most of Lou's self-insights were about the stimulation of conducting fieldwork, he also recognized his "shortcomings.... Sort of procrastination... the need of a jumpstart at times was probably the most problematic part

of this for me.... It's the way I sort of am at this time. I just tend to do things at the last minute, but the teachers were great. They gave me a kick in the rear when I needed it, and I managed to pull it together enough to put that paper together and hopefully it does the project justice" (Lou Phase III Interview, 6).

Difficulty entering the field also stimulated self-insight for Sam. While Sam's number of self-insights was below the class mean, the importance of self-reflection to her was shown by her relatively low topic to self-insights ratio, which was equivalent to Ryan's. While motivated to explore her Italian heritage, Sam quickly realized how shyness and organization limited her immersion in the field. Part way into the semester, she became "completely lost" (Sam Phase III Interview, 5). With the substantial assistance of her teachers, Sam partially overcame her challenges and established "increasing authority over the research" (Teacher Comment, Sam's Journal, 28). Sam described the impact of the research experience this way.

> It has helped me figure out what I want to do with my life. One of my biggest problems is that I don't like going out and meeting people. I am shy. This has helped me, not to get over it, but I am much better now. I like this sort of work a lot because it is more real.... Just to have the emotion that comes with the contact with people. It is so much more real. It has made me want to do this again. (Sam Phase II Interview, 3)

In summary, depth of immersion in the field did not account for self-insight. In fact, a pattern among the projects was not evident for what did account for self-insight. Instead, several different factors emerged as influencing self-insight. A personal interest

in the topic seemed the most common influence, followed by difficulty entering the field. A self-reflective nature seemed to be another factor stimulating self-insight.

What was the Effect of Direct Experience in Deepening Understanding of Topics?

Because immersion in the field was strongly related to generating insight, it was also a necessary condition for deepening understanding. In fact, the depth of understanding was limited in the three projects in the least immersion category in comparison to the others. Immersion in the field, however, did not fully account for the deepening process. In short, it was a necessary but not sufficient condition for understanding to deepen. The use of academic practices by students with adequate immersion in the field was found to shape the deepening process.

Immersion in the field was a necessary condition for deepening understanding. Because most of the data were generated in the field, students needed adequate field experience in order to generate adequate data. Contrasting Alicia and Sam's findings illustrates this necessity. Alicia, who was in the deepest immersion category, and Sam, who was in the least immersion category, had parallel studies. They each sought to understand the role of a church in the lives of geographically spread out ethnic groups. Sam was able to see that the church was important to the Italian community, but she generated few insights into how or why it was important. Alicia was also able to see that the church was important to the Latino community. As evidenced by Table E1, Alicia Insight cluster (Appendix E), she was also able to generate many insights into how and why. She also generated substantial insight into background topics, which not only deepened her understanding of her research questions but also allowed her to use her

study of the church as a lens through which to view the fractures in the Latino community. Like Sam, Ana and Lou were limited in their understandings of topic due to minimal or late entry into the field. In fact, the three projects with the least immersion received the three lowest grades in the class.

In addition, direct experience in the field affected motivation for all nine students, in turn affecting the potential for deepening understanding. For eight students, it stimulated motivation to conduct the research; for the ninth it diminished motivation. Nearly all of the students expressed anxiety early in the semester about doing fieldwork. Six of them managed to translate this anxiety into excitement about being in the field, motivating further field activities. Two other students, Lou and Sam, expressed this same excitement about being in the field after belated entries. Ana's anxiety about the field did not transform to a motivating excitement, so her discomfort with being in the field effectively stifled her motivation to do the project.

The excitement students felt being in the field stimulated a connection that all of the students except Ana felt for their topic and/or their subjects, making the learning personally meaningful, which in turn made it more memorable and therefore deeper. Eight of the students made a point of contrasting the learning from this course to that in classroom based courses they had taken. In different ways, they expressed what Juliet meant when she said about what she had learned from the five women, "I know I will remember all of it for such a long time" in contrast to other classes where "you spend so little time on something you barely remember it" (Juliet Interview III, 6). Rosa explained the role of personal meaning in making the learning more memorable in the following way:

> [Fieldwork] was stressful and it was challenging, but it was certainly fun and rewarding and I think that once you get personal interest invested in it – it is not just some assignment that you have to do – it's something you want to do for yourself and something you can actually be proud of and something that's really valid and has original thought in it and when that happens – I don't see why someone would want to created something any other way because then you are actually creating something that's your own as opposed to like oh I just did this for school so I can just forget it. (Rosa Interview III, 6)

In short, the data indicated that direct experience in the field provided students most of their data, motivated further research, and made their learning more meaningful and, according to the students, more memorable than classroom learning. The data did not indicate, however, that the more students were in the field, the deeper their understandings were. The two projects in the middle immersion category were considered by the teachers, in some important respects, as the strongest in the class. One teacher cited Eban for having conducted the best analysis and described Alice and Juliet's work as groundbreaking. In fact, while immersion in the field was necessary for deepening understanding, the relationship between field experience and academic practices proved the key to how understanding was deepened or limited.

The important academic practices identified by this study are the development and use of a central question, the use of secondary sources, reflectiveness, analysis and paper writing, and collaboration. The analysis that follows examines how these practices influenced the deepening process. Because of the fundamental importance of immersion in the field to the deepening process, the analysis mostly refers to the six students and the

five projects in the deepest and middle immersion categories. The practices are presented in an order generally consistent with when in the semester it was first used. Central question is first because students began with it. Data analysis and paper writing are toward the end because they refer to phase III activities. Collaboration is last because it pertains only to the one collaborative project. Following the academic practice section is a discussion of the deductive and inductive modes of thought used by the practices.

Academic Practices

Central Question. This practice refers to the extent to which students developed a strong research question that guided data collection and analysis. The five projects in the two deepest immersion categories illustrated three roles that the central question played. Alicia, Eban, and Rosa illustrated how the central question shaped studies. Ryan's project illustrated what happened when a strong central question was developed but did not guide the data analysis process. Alice and Juliet's project illustrated what happened when a central question was developed, lost, and then found.

Rosa and Eban stayed focused on their central questions throughout their studies. Rosa, with her interest in the fragmentation of the adult gay community, seemed to be affirming her perspective not only that the community was fragmented but also that this fragmentation was a negative sign for the community. However, she ultimately realized that the fragmentation was actually a sign of health in the community. Nearly all of Eban's insights related directly to his central question about the role of the church in the community. For both, maintaining a consistent focus on the central question stimulated the most important understandings.

Alicia gathered sufficient data on her central goal "to gain insight into the role and influence of the church and religion in the community" (Alicia Research Design Abstract III, 2). Her insight clusters (Table E1, Alicia Insight Clusters, Appendix E) on the community and why her subjects came to Portland in the first place provided an important backdrop for identifying the influence of the church in the community. Her clusters into the motivation of people attending the mass and the limited attendance at the mass responded directly to the central question. Through these, she examined how the mass was important to the people in the community and how that importance had been limited. Her biggest cluster, however, was on the divisions in the Latino community. Because it did not seem to her to be related to her central question, she dropped it from her analysis. As will be discussed later in this chapter, that limited the depth of her understanding into her central question. In short, Alicia's example reveals both how being guided by the central question deepened understanding, and how not being guided by the central question limited understanding.

Ryan's project was an example of a lost central question. His project was highly successful by most measures. He was in the top category of field immersion, his interviews were well conceived and thoughtfully executed, he generated the second most insight statements, his journal was comprehensive, and his data analysis was thorough. The depth of his understanding was limited by his failure to form a strong hypothesis, or even to use his research questions to shape his analysis. He consciously wanted to honor exactly what his subjects said, so he ended up reporting what they said in a very organized way and forming an hypothesis after he had organized his data. As a result, he concluded that owning a business or market had rewards and challenges. His teachers

felt that if he had returned to the idea he established while developing his topic, which was to study business owners in light of the stereotype of Asians as the model minority, his data would have yielded substantially deeper understanding.

Alice and Juliet, if not for an 11th hour epiphany, were also in the process of losing their central question. They began with an interest in the sexist divisions of labor in the fishing industry. They, like Ryan, wanted to honor what their subjects said and were reluctant to go beyond what they said, especially given their admiration for their subjects. When their subjects minimized the impact of sexism in their lives, Alice and Juliet assumed that sexism had a minimal impact on their lives. Throughout the research process, however, the teachers kept reminding them of their central question and making note of evidence of sexism in the data, including statements to that effect made by the subjects. After a meeting part way through phase III, when one of the teachers asked them if they saw anything in the data differently than the subjects, Alice and Juliet had a sudden realization.

For the first time, they were able to differentiate between their subjects' minimizing the impact of sexism in their working lives and sexism having a minimal impact. They were able to hear what their subjects had actually been saying, which was that although they did not want to emphasize the point, they were all aware of being women in a man's world. Alice and Juliet had previously confused their subjects' not wanting to emphasize the impact of sexism with there not being sexism, so they minimized the importance of the fact that all of the women did report sexism as a defining characteristic of their working lives. In short, structuring their interviews to elicit information about their central question and returning to it during the data analysis

phase of their project deepened their understanding of their topic and prevented them from reporting only part of what their subjects had said to them. Ryan, as noted early, structured his interviews to elicit information about his central question, but he did not return to the question in the data analysis phase, and his understanding was limited as a result.

In summary, Alicia, Eban, and Rosa's projects were examples of the central question being the focus throughout the research process. Ryan's project was an example of the central question firmly guiding data collection, but being lost during data analysis. Alice and Juliet's project was an example of the central question being lost and then recovered in the data analysis phase. Together, they show the importance of developing a central question that guides both data collection and analysis.

Secondary Sources. This academic practice refers to the students' use of secondary sources for data. Secondary sources of data were significant for several projects. For example, Rosa's research into the history of gay political activism provided her a crucial perspective on the contemporary scene. Eban's historical research was central to his study, and again provided a crucial contrast for his insights into the current situation. Ryan collected much data about Asians as a model minority from secondary sources. However, he did not include most of what he learned in his analysis. As noted previously, this proved to be a significant limitation to the depth of his understandings.

Little secondary data were collected on the other projects. Alicia's thinking is overwhelmingly influenced by experiences in the field. Ninety of her ninety-four insights into the topic came exclusively or partially from the field. This limited Alicia's project to a contemporary focus, excluding the historical perspective on the evolution of

the Spanish mass. As her project stands, her analysis of the contemporary circumstance was done without much information about the past. In addition, she might have been able to gain more information from secondary sources about the population of illegal immigrants whom she noticed but felt unable to pursue because she felt that interviewing them might jeopardize their safety.

Alice and Juliet made little use of secondary sources because they could not find any written material about women in the fishing industry. All they could find was general information about the fishing industry, which helped them to set up the study, but it did not help them to analyze their data. However, they missed an opportunity to conduct secondary research about gender issues in general, which "really would have strengthened what they came up with" (Teacher A Interview II, 4). The teacher's comment was in reference to the researchers' conclusion that working in the fishing industry "stripped [their subjects] of their inherent womanliness. The mentally, and often physically, harsh environment on the waterfront subtly and slowly forces these women to forget their more feminine instincts" (Alice & Juliet's Paper, 25). While there is little written about women in the fishing industry, there is much written about gender that, the teacher felt, would have challenged these particular conclusions and therefore deepened their understanding.

In summary, all of the projects drew their data more substantially from the field than from secondary sources. However, supplementing field data with data from secondary sources deepened understanding when it happened and limited understanding when it did not.

Reflectiveness. This academic practice refers to the extent to which students took the time to think about their data, as opposed to simply generating and recording it. Reflectiveness was evident when students recorded their own inferences and observations and made connections among the data, going beyond the direct statements made by the subjects or found in secondary sources. Course expectations asked students to be reflective about their research experiences in their field journals. For example, the teachers asked the students to tell the story of the experience after each activity in the field. Many of the students' key insights were recorded in these parts of the journals.

Alicia, Alice, Juliet, Rosa, and Ryan were all commended by their teachers for both the quantity and quality of their reflections. For example, throughout her journal, Alicia received her teachers' praise akin to this comment on the first segment she turned in. "This is a wonderful journal. Not only is the information itself quite solid, your processing of that information and your experience make the writing valuable" (Teacher Comment, Alicia's Journal, 2/9). The commendation referenced not only the frequency of reflection but also its quality. All five of these students exhibited this tendency. Again, Alicia typified the pattern. A review of the insight table shows that in the first part of the data-gathering phase, Alicia's insights were roughly divided between statements made directly by subjects on one hand and her observations and inferences on the other. In the second half of the data collection phase and throughout phase III, many more insights were in the latter category. Many of these insights were conclusions drawn from what people said in interviews, and many others were conclusions drawn from observations made in the field. While Alicia illustrated the pattern of increased reflectiveness, Rosa was highly reflective throughout. Her ratio of reflective insights to

insights stemming directly from subjects or secondary sources was nearly three to one, the highest in the class. This tendency to reflect on her data in large part accounted for her high number of insights into topic.

Eban was the only student among the six in the deepest two immersion categories who was not cited by his teachers for being highly reflective in his journal. Like the journals of the other five, Eban's was thorough, but not as reflective as the others. The teachers made frequent comments in his journal, urging him to be more reflective. Not only were his reflections infrequent, but also through all of phase I and most of phase II, 60% of his insights came directly from statements made by his subjects or made in secondary sources. Then he became reflective. From that point on, over 90% of his insights were derived through inference or observation. This increase in reflectiveness coincided with when he began data analysis. Waiting until the analysis phase to reflect on his data fits Eban's profile as a learner. As noted in the Chapter Four project profile, Eban observed about himself that he is a math/science guy who was somewhat uncomfortable drawing conclusions from qualitative data. The abrupt increase in reflectiveness differed in style from the other five, who were highly reflective from the beginning or gradually more reflective. However, in his systematic way, Eban ultimately was able to reach understandings that were as deep as the other five.

The three students in the least immersion category also illustrated the importance of immersion to effective reflection. Sam stayed relatively close to what she was told by subjects or found in secondary sources, recording only slightly more reflective than direct insights. Ana generated little data, which undermined the quality as well as the quantity of her reflective statements. Many of Lou's statements were reflective, but oftentimes

they were highly speculative. In short, with minimal immersion, students either had little to reflect on or generated mostly speculative reflections.

In summary, the six students in the deepest immersion categories exhibited reflective thinking and illustrated the importance of such thinking to generating insight and deepening understanding. The three students in the least immersion category illustrated the importance of experience in the field to reflective thinking as well. Absent an adequate immersion in the field, student reflections were either insubstantial or speculative.

Analysis and Paper Writing. These academic practices refer to the activities students engaged in during phase III of the semester to create their concluding performance and product: a presentation and a paper. Eban proved to have "the best analysis overall in terms of taking his data and doing things with it... He took all of that data that he had on residency and did pretty sophisticated statistical analysis" (Teacher A Interview II, 7). He had ample data and organized it systematically which allowed him to see the implications of his data. He stated about his major conclusions, "I didn't have proof I don't think until I really started writing it and getting these ideas down that you sort of had things floating around beforehand different ideas but as you write you sort of start connecting to them yourself" (Eban Interview III, 1). His systematic approach to analysis was reminiscent of the way he developed his topic, which was heavily guided by the academic processes and class expectations. It also accounted for his dramatic increase in reflectiveness during this phase of the project.

Rosa and Ryan had much more data than Eban and were also highly systematic in their organization of it. This allowed them to substantiate their conclusions thoroughly.

Their analysis, however, did not deepen their understanding as much as Eban's. For Rosa and Ryan, this phase was more about documenting their conclusions than formulating them. Having done that, their analysis did not push their thinking much deeper. Ryan, as noted previously, failed to formulate an hypothesis to guide his analysis and Rosa slipped out of analysis into editorializing. This may have been the result of too much data and too little experience as researchers.

Alice and Juliet had also gathered ample data, which they organized systematically during the data analysis phase. In fact, they reached their most substantial conclusion during the analysis stage. Their analysis, however, did suffer for being rushed. Having started with an assumption of sexism in the fishing industry, they had been talked out of seeing its effects by the subjects themselves and were in the process of contradicting their hypothesis during the first stages of analysis. However, working closely with the teachers during phase III (as described above and in the insight profile), they recognized what would turn out to be the key understanding of the study, essentially affirming their hypothesis. This revelation, certainly the product of analysis, came with too little time left for further analysis. Both of their teachers felt that their analysis would have been stronger had they had the time to review their data in light of the literature on gender in order to fully understand the difference between the subjects minimizing the impact of sexism and an actual absence of sexism. Recognizing that the sexism existed, Alice and Juliet concluded that the women must not see it, which ran contrary to the women's testimony of working in a man's world. Thus, lack of time left a key point only partially resolved.

Of the six students in the deepest immersion categories, Alicia's analysis was the most limited. She had more phase II insights than any other student (expect Rosa), with nearly twice the class average (71 to 44). However, she had fewer phase III insights than any other student (except Ana), with only a third of the class average (12 to 37). This happened for two reasons. First, her analysis and paper writing were rushed because she gathered data until the scheduled end of the data collection phase and then ended her semester three weeks early, leaving her little time for analysis. Second, as noted in her research experience, she was much more excited about doing the research than writing about it. By the time phase III came along, she ran out of time and her motivation waned.

Her weakness with these academic practices limited her understanding. Only one of her phase III insights concerned an important new idea: she noted that all of her subjects had been in the United States three years or less. Rather than deepening her understanding of this observation in relation to her hypothesis, she had to leave the questions of Why are parishioners leaving the church? and Where are they going? for another study. In addition, Alicia left a key understanding disconnected from her hypothesis. In an effort to understand what the Spanish mass meant to the Latino community, she discovered divisions within the Latino community. As can be seen in the insight cluster (Table E1), she generated more insights into this topic than any other, including into the central question of the study. However, rather than analyzing this data in light of her central question, perhaps, for example, by using it to answer the question of why immigrants left the church, she dropped it from consideration. Community divisions are not mentioned in either the analysis or conclusion sections of her paper.

In short, phase III activities did not deepen Alicia's understanding, except by organizing the insights she already had. Fortunately for the quality of Alicia's study, she had immersed herself in the field and she had been highly reflective while doing so. Thus, her important insights were generated during phase I and II of the project, but the depth of her understanding was limited by weakness with phase III academic practices.

In summary, all five projects illustrate the importance of strong analysis and paper writing. Eban gained the most from these practices. The others organized their data effectively, which helped to substantiate their understandings. However, shortcomings in using these practices, such as limited time spent on analysis, left some of the potential in their data unrealized.

Collaboration. While all of the students were talking about their projects with their teachers and classmates, only Alice and Juliet actually conducted research together. This partnership proved important in a few ways. First, it helped them to collect data. They had a sense of security in having the other as they engaged in new activities in unfamiliar surroundings. For example, in Alice's description of trying to find the New England Fisheries Council meeting, she noted that Juliet "almost didn't get out of the car because she said she was completely embarrassed and the only way she would get out was if I would do all the talking" (Alice's Journal, 3/22). They also conducted the interviews together and took turns asking questions. This allowed the one not asking the questions to make observations about the subject, the interview, and the surroundings, which proved an important source of data.

Second, working together pushed the analysis deeper. Similar insights reinforced their thinking. Contradictory insights needing reconciliation broadened their database.

Alice noted that "often our disagreement on a point forced us to explore an area more earnestly, looking at our research and supporting our respective opinions to each other" (Alice and Juliet's Paper, 14). Third, for these two students in particular, working together stimulated comic relief. They reported far more instances of laughter and general hilarity than all of the other projects combined.

In summary, in one case collaboration proved a tangible assistance for data collection and analysis. It provided an additional person to facilitate data recording during interviews and an additional perspective on the data during analysis. In addition, the companionship provided an element of security and fun that both appreciated greatly.

Modes of Academic Processing

The academic practices, used by students to process experience, were conducted in both deductive and inductive modes of thought. Deductive thinking produced analytical understandings by surveying data intentionally, systematically, and linearly to respond to specific questions. Students thought deductively to choose methodologies during phase I and to analyze data in phase III. Thus, deductive thought tended to guide data collection, generally produced logical, constructed conclusions, and was usually related directly to answering the research questions and evaluating the hypothesis.

Ryan exemplified the effective use of the deductive mode of thought. He set out to identify the challenges and benefits to being a Southeast Asian owner of a market or restaurant. With this in mind, he conducted background research on both the restaurant scene in Portland and the refugee experience. He then made a list of the information he logically needed for data and structured an interview protocol accordingly. He then

selected appropriate individuals to interview, which consisted mostly of business owners but also of some additional people he felt could provide other relevant information. He then made his visits to the field, conducted his interviews, and recorded his data meticulously and systematically. Afterwards, he grouped his data according to how the respondents answered each question. He analyzed that data by organizing it according to themes and trends, stating these as his conclusions.

Using the deductive process, the result was constructed meaning. Ryan's conclusions were not available from the subjects or any secondary source, as he was conducting original research, at least in Portland, and the subjects were each reporting on their own experience, not necessarily anyone else's. It was up to Ryan to structure interviews that would lead him to the data he sought, and then to conduct them in a manner that yielded this data. He then needed to organize the data logically and to draw conclusions on his research question.

Inductive thinking yielded intuitive understanding reached through nonanalytical means. Intuitive understanding involved realizing something that had not been said, finally understanding something that had been said, or realizing the implications of data already in hand. It was realizing a pattern in data that had been available for awhile but not previously recognized. As such, intuitive understandings derived from inductive thinking were more realized or felt than constructed.

The key inductive academic practice was the requirement for students to describe their experiences and their thoughts and feelings about those experiences in their field journals. As part of the reflective process, students were encouraged to complete "story time" entries. These were stories about what happened in the field. These entries took

students beyond the simple recording of objective data to describing the sense of a place, impressions of the people, and speculations about what was really going on. Some students used the practice quite naturally and generated many of their conclusions from this kind of data. When students were reluctant to engage in story time, the teachers encouraged reflective thinking by asking them to remember to include story time and other forms of reflective thought. They also asked reflective questions about the data, pointed out patterns in the data, and positively reinforced reflective thought by praising it when students exhibited it.

Unlike most of the deductive thinking, some inductive thinking produced unintended understanding in that it related to topics not intentionally under consideration. Alicia, for example, did not intend to learn about the divisions within the Latino community. As she pursued her research questions, however, she kept coming across evidence of such divisions as they frustrated her efforts to gain data. Ultimately, rather than simply remaining frustrated with the problems these divisions were causing her, she began to notice the divisions. Although her insight into the divisions was only minimally part of her final report, it was one of the most important understandings she developed in her project. While expanding the topic with intuitive leaps could limit the depth of the analysis, as Lou's example showed, Alicia's example illustrated the enriching potential of inductive thinking.

Rosa also realized her most important understanding of her topic through inductive thinking. Unlike Alicia, her key understanding was about her research question. She originally focused her research on discovering whether the adult gay community in Portland was fragmented or just limited. She began to conclude that it was

fragmented, and that the fragmentation was a sign of poor health for the community. She believed the latter because several of her subjects said so and because it fed into her concern about the diminished level of political activity within the gay community. She assumed that diminished political activity was necessarily a sign of community weakness.

Rosa's research did end up documenting the notion of fragmentation and reinforcing her concern about the lack of political action. Had she only employed deductive practices as Ryan did, Rosa's understanding would not have deepened further. However, she also realized that the fragmentation was at least in part a sign of community good health in the sense that it indicated an improvement of conditions so that being gay no longer had to be the defining quality a person. In short, she realized that the fragmentation was made possible by the success of political activism.

Rosa's example illustrated the relationship between deductive and inductive processes. Although it was not analytically derived, this realization emerged as she was analytically organizing her data. Earlier in the research process she made several observations about complacency being at the root of diminished political activity, and diminished political activity being a sign of community fragmentation. She also made note of how everyone she interviewed expressed disconnection with their gay community, which she assumed was a problem, but exhibited activism in their larger community, although not pertaining to gay issues. As she was organizing her ideas, an understanding emerged of how these two often-repeated points were linked.

She described her realization this way:

> As I am organizing data I am realizing that in Portland one can be out in many facets and groups of their life and be supported by that. It doesn't have to be an

> exclusively gay organization to support and promote gay causes. Important to have some kind of community/support from other gay people and a way to come together and stand up and be visible as a community because that is still necessary, but not necessary to only find a place/support/identity with in that community. (Rosa's Journal, 4/3)

She went on to note that in the past gays needed to identify themselves as primarily gay in order to "fight oppression – show we are everywhere." Because of political gains, however, it seemed no longer necessary "to have to be exclusively gay" (Rosa Journal, 4/3). This insight was not stated to her, logically deduced, or made available by adding a new piece of data. Rather, as Rosa was in the process of documenting the fragmented nature of the gay community in Portland, she saw her data in a new way, data that she had had for many weeks.

In addition to showing the interrelationship between deductive and inductive modes of understanding, Rosa's example illustrates their differences as well. Her understanding of the fragmentation was deduced, constructed by consciously seeking and reviewing data confirming or refuting the notion of a fragmented community. Her understanding of the meaning of that fragmentation was inductive, emerging into consciousness from data already present. Rosa had gradually immersed herself further and further in the data, realizing the parts along the way, until she finally saw the whole. Inductive understanding was like seeing the pattern in the inkblot, in contrast to deductive understanding, which was akin to methodically assembling the pieces of a puzzle.

In fact, inductive understandings, arising from a deductive base as illustrated by Rosa's project, seemed to be the deepest. Along with Rosa, Alice and Juliet, Alicia, and

Eban generated important intuitive insight while in the process of assembling data analytically. Ryan's example showed that despite deep analytical thought, his understanding was limited in part due to a failure to think intuitively. On the other hand, Lou's understanding was limited by his failure to leave enough time to think analytically, which meant that his understanding was substantially speculative. Ana and Sam's understandings were limited by failure to gather sufficient data for analysis. Taken together, the projects in this study illustrate the importance of both deductive and inductive data processing to deepening understandings of the topics studied.

In short, the findings reveal not only key academic practices necessary for the deepening of understanding but also two modes of thought that characterized the academic processing of experience. Academic practices were deductive, inductive, or both. In fact, the understandings seemed deepest when realized inductively by a student processing data deductively.

Finding Summary: Deepening Understanding of the Topic

The depth of immersion in the field was related to deepening understanding of topics in that the students in the least immersion category did not generate enough data and therefore insight to be able to deepen understanding significantly. For students in the deepest and middle immersion categories, however, immersion in the field did not fully account for the deepening process. Several key academic practices – developing and using a central question, using secondary sources, reflectiveness, analysis and paper writing, and collaboration – were identified by the study. Using both deductive and

inductive modes of processing, these practices seemed to account for the differences in the deepening process among the students with adequate immersion.

Summary of Findings

For all of the projects, direct experience in the field provided the vast majority of the data used in the projects. There was a strong relationship between immersion in the field and generating insight into the topic. For all projects, the number of insights generated increased once students entered the field, and a vast majority of these insights came at least in part from the field. In addition, students in the deepest field immersion category generated the most insights. With one exception, the students in the middle immersion category generated more insights than students in the least immersion category.

Insight into self seemed more related to other factors than immersion in the field, as there was no definite relationship between depth of immersion in the field and the number of self-insights generated. In fact, difficulty entering the field was a source of self-insight for the students in the least immersion category. A strong personal investment in the topic also seemed to be a stimulant of self-sight.

Immersion in the field accounted partially for deepening understanding into topics. For deepening to occur, an adequate level of immersion established in a timely manner was necessary for students to generate an adequate amount of data from which to develop deepened understandings. Understandings of topic were notably limited for the projects in the least immersion category. However, understandings of topic for students in the deepest immersion category were not distinct from students in the middle

immersion category, suggesting that other factors must account for variations in depth of understanding. Further analysis revealed that once the condition of adequate immersion was met, student use of academic practices – both deductive and inductive - accounted for variations in depth of understanding.

Chapter 7

DIRECT EXPERIENCE AND SCHOOL REFORM

In her book, The Right to Learn, Linda Darling-Hammond asserted that a central aim for the current progressive school reform movement must be to foster deep understanding of academic topics for all students. However, despite efforts to reform classroom practices and create what she called a "pedagogy of understanding," many schools persist in offering rote and ritualistic teaching methodologies that promote only superficial and fleeting understanding. As an alternative, some reformers are recommending experiential methodologies, noting that field-based pedagogy at the secondary level is promising but rarely employed. In fact, some of these reformers contend that schools must move a significant portion of school learning outside the classroom into the field if schools are ever going to meet the goal of promoting deep understanding for all students.

The reasons that the vast majority of schools remain classroom-bound are numerous, including a long-standing split between vocational and academic curricula, logistical challenges, and limited knowledge among educators about what constitutes deep understanding and how to facilitate it the field. This study was intended to help address the latter obstacles. By examining the experiences of students engaged in a field-based academic course, it was intended to provide teachers and their leaders with an understanding of how direct experience in the field can contribute to learning. In addition, by examining the concept of deep understanding in the process, the study was

intended to help educators to better understand the potential of experiential methodologies to promote a school-wide pedagogy of understanding.

The research goal of the study was *to determine what influences tended to generate insight and deepen understanding, with particular attention paid to the influence of direct experience and its relationship to the other influences.* The study, more specifically, was intended to answer the following research questions:

What was the role of direct experience in generating insight into the topics?

What was the role of direct experience in generating self-insight?

What was the role of direct experience in deepening understandings of the topics?

The research methodology was a comparative case study of nine high school seniors at the Waynflete School in Portland, Maine, engaged in a class taught by two teachers entitled, Ethnic History of Portland. The major tasks required of the students were to design, conduct, and report findings of field research pertaining to aspects of the city's past and current ethnic experience. Students used anthropological and geographic methodologies. The course, which counted as two of a five course load for teachers and students, ran from the beginning of January through the beginning of May.

Data were gathered for the study of this class from several sources. These sources included course materials, student and teacher interviews, student field journals, and student products, including three drafts of research design abstracts, class notes, paper drafts, and extensive oral and written reports of their findings. Students were interviewed three times, once each at the conclusions of the topic development phase, the data gathering phase, and the course itself. The primary purpose of the student interviews was to gather data on the emergence and evolution of insights into the topics and the students

themselves. Both teachers were interviewed in March, and one teacher was interviewed again at the semester's end. The primary purpose of the teacher interviews was to triangulate with data stemming from the student interviews and from student generated materials.

Analysis of this data sought to determine what influences the generating of insight into topic and self, and what influences the deepening of topic understanding. Although special consideration was given to the influence of direct experience in the field, that influence was considered in its relationship to several important academic practices. Chapter Four presented Project Profiles, which described the topic development and the research experience of each project. It also provided an analysis among the projects to identify the influences shaping topic development. Chapter Five presented the insight profiles, which described the insight development of each project. It also provided an analysis of deep understanding, where the understandings derived by the students were considered in light the study's definition of deep understanding.

Building from the data presented in Chapters Four and Five, Chapter Six presented and examined the study findings on how direct experience related to generating insight into topic and self, and how it related to deepening understanding of a topic. Chapter Seven presents the limitations of the study, a summary of the study's findings, and emerging propositions about insight development and deep understanding. It concludes by examining the implications of the findings for further research and for school reform.

Limitations of the Study

There were at least five limitations to the study. First, the data were subjective. The key data, insights, were indicated through oral and written statements by students. Thus, they were the expression of student perceptions. In addition, they needed to be categorized as insights by the researcher. While a coding procedure was used to ensure the reliability of the data as much as possible, it was still open to the biases of both the students and the researcher. For example, the data pinpointing the influences on insight development were particularly susceptible to error because students may not have known what influenced their thinking. The role of the teachers in motivating students with topic development is an example already cited in Chapter Four of the potential of this limitation to skew the data. Students reported little teacher influence in directly motivating them with topic development. In the last interview, however, all of the students cited how supportive the teachers had been, and several made special note for the first time of how inspiring they had found the teachers to be. The data on teachers as a motivating force was likely underreported in part because students did not seem to be aware that the teachers were motivating them until they looked back on the experience.

Second, the definitions and procedures used to make data gathering and analysis as objective as possible may themselves have biased the data. For example, defining insight as assertions made by students orally and in writing may have skewed the number of insights recorded or the record of their apparent timing. Students may have had insights that they never expressed, or they may have asserted insights well after having them. A student who tended to write and talk a lot about his thinking may have been

credited with having had more insights earlier in the process than a student who tended to carry ideas fully formed but unarticulated in her head.

Defining deepening understanding as a process of reconceptualization of previous insight may also have biased the data because that definition did not fully provide for the accuracy of the reconceptualization. Mislabeling inaccurate reconceptualization as deepening of understanding was limited in some circumstances by the study's methodology. For example, several of Lou's reconceptualizations were not categorized as deepening because they were unsubstantiated, a fact evident from his data and noted by the teachers. Alice and Juliet's conclusion that the women they studied were "blind" to the oppression they faced in the workplace was more problematic. That assertion was considered a significant deepening reconceptualization because Alice and Juliet had data to support it and the teachers coached them in that train of thought. It might be argued, however, that in making an assertion about their subjects to which the subjects themselves were "blind" fundamentally violated the aim of their chosen methodology, ethnography, which is "to understand another way of life from the native point of view" (Spradley, 1979,3). Certainly, their further assertion that women need to surrender some essential part of their femininity to work in a man's world was not considered deepening because, as in Lou's case, it was unsubstantiated, a fact evident from their data and noted by the teachers. Because the data and the teachers supported the "blindness" conclusion, however, the study's methodology provided no basis for further evaluating whether or not it was a deepening of understanding.

A potentially limiting procedure was the one used to identify influences on thinking. As noted above, the level of teacher inspiration was underreported in part

because the students may not have been aware of this influence. It may also have been underreported because of the procedure used to identify influences. While students did not frequently report their teachers as sources of inspiration for their projects, they did frequently cite teachers for inspiring them in the disciplines. Because of the methodology employed to analyze the data, these statements were not included in the data on topic development motivators.

Third, as a case study of a small class, the scope of the study was narrow. It focused on one very particular type of experiential learning, which makes generalizing from the findings to other kinds of learning open to misinterpretation. In addition, the sample size of nine was small. There was enough variation among the subjects to suggest that a broader sample would have yielded still greater diversity of experience. In fact, this likelihood is validated by the researcher's knowledge of students who had taken the course in a previous year. In that group there were students whose experiences appeared to have differed in some important respects from the students who participated in the study.

Fourth, the researcher had several roles in the lives of the students and teachers that might have altered the data. The most significant role was being the Head of the Upper School, with duties including teacher and curriculum supervision and student discipline. In addition, the researcher was the English teacher or advisor to some of the subjects in the study. While several safeguards were used to mitigate against the possibility, these multiple roles had the potential to bias the data. Teachers, for example, might tend to exaggerate the success of the class in order to enhance the possibility of it being offered in the future. Students might be prone to exaggerate their successes in the

class in order to elevate their own status in the eyes of their administrator, to protect the teachers from potential criticism, or even to please the administrator/researcher who was obviously interested in the kind of learning involved in the class. Thus, the findings might contain an elevated sense of accomplishment.

Fifth, one of the safeguards taken was to mitigate against the potential bias of the researcher's multiples roles created another limitation. To help the students to feel free in talking about their experiences, they were assured that the research would not evaluate the quality of the work in the class, of either students or teachers. This measure limited data analysis to consideration of the understandings gained by students. The study could not gauge, considering the time spent, whether or not enough was learned well enough to make such pedagogy worthwhile. Given the goal of the study to help educators to evaluate the potential use of such pedagogy, this limitation is significant.

Summary of Research Findings

Research Question One: What was the role of direct experience in generating insight into the topics?

There was a strong relationship between immersion in the field and generating insight into the topic. With one exception, the six students in the two deepest immersion categories generated more insight statements than did the three students in the least immersion category. The connection between experiences in the field and generating insights was further indicated by the fact that the number of insights prompted by field experiences far surpassed those stemming from academic sources. In addition, the flow of insights increased noticeably after students entered the field. Even the few variations

to these patterns seemed to reinforce the link between being in the field and generating insight.

Given the importance of depth of immersion to generating insight, further analysis was conducted to determine what accounted for the differences in immersion levels. Immersion was determined by tabulating the number and kinds of experiences students had in the field. Based on this data, the description of the research experience in the Chapter Four project profiles, and the observations of the teachers, the projects were classified as deepest, middle or least immersion. Once the students' levels of immersion were established, their research experiences were analyzed to determine the cause of the differences. This analysis suggested that reaching and sustaining a motivating level of excitement was key. All six students in the deepest two immersion categories established this condition. Two of three in the least immersion category - Ana and Sam - were prevented from entering the field effectively by anxiety at the prospect of doing so. The third, Lou, did not become motivated to enter the field until too little time remained.

In short, too little or too much excitement about being in the field limited immersion in the field. Limited immersion, in turn, limited the number of insights generated into the topic. It should be noted that generating insight pertained only to the quantity of insights generated, not their quality. The third research question addressed the quality of thinking.

Research Question Two: What was the role of direct experience in generating self-insight?

Generating self-insight was, for some students, directly related to depth of immersion in the field. The excitement these students felt for their topics and doing original research in the field seemed to stimulate self-reflection. The experience of other students, however, was much different. One student was in the highest immersion category, but she generated few insight statements about herself. For other students, actual difficulty getting into the field was the source much self-reflection. Thus, a pattern in what influenced self-insight was not evident. Instead, several different factors emerged. A personal interest in the topic seemed the most common influence, followed by difficulty entering the field. A self-reflective nature seemed to be another factor stimulating self-insight.

Research Question Three: What was the role of direct experience in deepening understandings of the topics?

Depth of immersion was an important factor stimulating depth of understanding. Field experiences provided students most of their data, motivated further research, and according to the students, made their learning more meaningful and more memorable than classroom learning. In fact, the students in the two highest immersion levels received higher grades in the class than the students in the least immersion category, indicating that immersion was related to the success of the project. However, variations among the six students in the two highest categories indicate that depth of understanding was not fully explained by depth of immersion. Instead, understanding of topics deepened

when students combined an adequate field experience with effective use of a variety of academic practices.

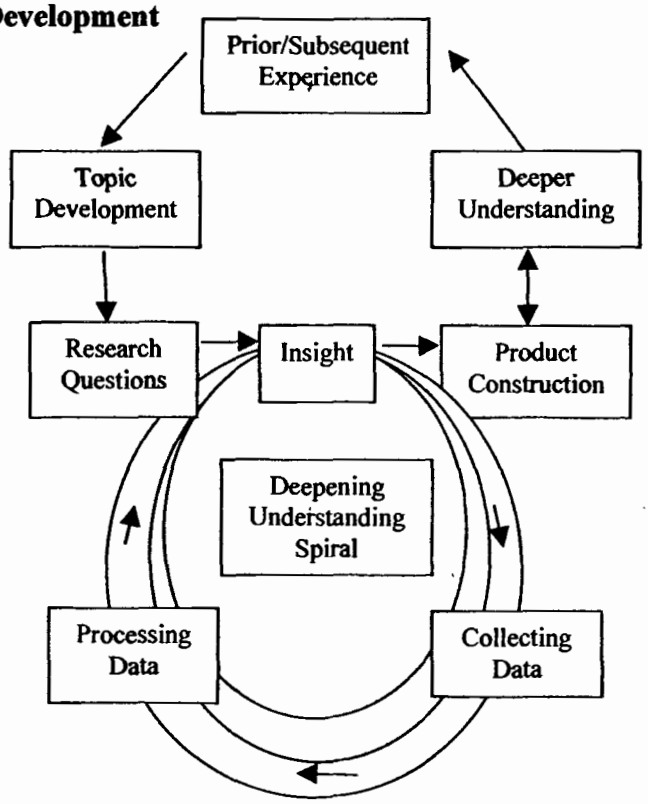
Identified academic practices were developing and using a central question, using secondary sources, reflectiveness, analysis and paper writing, and collaboration. Effective or ineffective use of these practices was significant in accounting for when student thinking was deepened or limited. In addition, two modes of thinking – deductive and inductive - were identified that students used to process their field experiences. Understanding deepened most effectively when the two modes were combined. In short, through adequate immersion and the balanced interplay between direct experience and academic processes and between deductive and inductive data processing, insight was generated and understanding deepened the most successfully.

Emerging Propositions

Insight Development through Field-based Learning

Taken together, the findings of this study about developing insight into topics through direct experience suggested a model of field-based learning. This model is illustrated below in Figure 1, Insight Development. It should be stressed that this model is normative. It does not describe the learning in every project, nor even necessarily the dominant mode. Instead, the figure describes what was learned from this study about the potential for insight development using experiences in the field, taking into account instances when understanding was both deepened and limited. Following the diagram is an explanation of it, organized by the stages of the learning process it identifies.

Figure 1: Insight Development



Prior Experience, Topic Development, Research Questions, and Insight. As Figure 1 illustrates, learning that led to deep understanding often began and ended with the students' personal experiences outside of the course. The inspiration for each project drew at least in part from prior experience. The idea was then shaped by a variety of influences in the topic development stage. This process yielded a series of research questions and a methodology for conducting the research to find the answers. Asking questions about a topic required some knowledge it. The hypothesis, under the coaching guidance of the teacher, was the product of the student shaping the research questions into assertions about the topic. This hypothesis – what the student knew about the topic and what questions s/he was intending to test or find out – constituted the initial insight into the topic.

Collecting and Processing Data and Insight. Insight for most students was then deepened through gathering and processing data. The data collection activities comprised the experiential part of the class, although some of the data were derived from secondary sources. In the diagram, data processing refers to the means of thinking about the data and experiences in the field. In the study, data processing included the academic practice of reflection.

As the diagram illustrates, the typical result of processing data was further insight. That insight might be into a new facet of the topic, or it might be a reconceptualization of an existing insight. That insight, in turn, altered the student's perception of subsequent research. In the most powerful examples, student thinking typically passed from insight through data collection and processing and back to insight, the thinking was deepened and widened. The series of ovals in the diagram represents a third dimension of the diagram. To more accurately describe the phenomenon of insight development, the diagram should be a three dimensional construct, with the inner ovals representing the spiral of deepening understanding.

Product Construction and Deeper Understanding. With data gathered, the student researcher left the field to analyze data formally in the process of preparing the cumulative performance and product of the course: an oral presentation and a paper presenting data analysis and findings. In addition to having drafts of their papers critiqued by the teachers, students prepared to answer questions from a panel of experts and the audience following their presentations. As they constructed their final products and prepared for the culminating performance, their understandings usually deepened.

The deepened understandings, in turn, typically affected the construction of the products, as reflected by the two-way arrows on the diagram. Thus, the construction of the final performance and product could also be dynamic. As the most comprehensive and detailed representation of student thinking, they were an expression of some of the deepest understanding of topics. The presentation and paper did not, however, express all of those understandings. Because they were intended to present an analysis of the topic in light of the hypothesis, the final performance and product omitted some of the understanding into the topic.

Subsequent Experience. It was assumed that those understandings, in turn, would affect the subsequent experiences of the student. Thus, the diagram was drawn as a loop back to experience, instead of depicted in a linear way from prior to subsequent experience. A linear model would suggest that the student had become someone different as a result of having had something added to her/him. The overall shape of the process (like a number eight) was intended to show that students were similarly affected by their experience in the class as insight was affected by the experiences of gathering and processing data. In this study, insight development was a process of reconceptualizing, in which insight was reordered, enriched, and clarified, developing in some way from prior insight. In the same way, subsequent experience developed from prior experience, as illustrated by the loop from prior experience to subsequent experience.

This cumulative effect was well expressed by Rosa when she explained how the experiences of the class had affected her.

> I do a self-published magazine and I was looking back at the things I've written and [the class] trained me to just look for themes and I think that personally I've

developed but the same themes are coming up in the stuff I wote this year is like last year and the years before that. I would sort of have known that and been like how curious but now I'm like 'Oohh oohh what does this mean?' (Rosa Interview III, 6)

In short, Rosa described how her experience in the course gave her a new perspective on herself. Several students who took the course in a previous year were also directly affected by their experiences in the course. At least two students became anthropology majors in college, attributing that decision to their experience in the class. One student decided not to go to college for the present, choosing instead to work in the agency where he conducted his research, where he remained working over two years after graduating from high school.

Summary of the Field-based Learning Model. The diagram illustrating an ideal model of field-based learning emerging from this study takes the shape of the number eight. The left side of the top circle represents activities in preparation for entering the field, in which prior understandings and interests were shaped by methodologies and new information into research questions. These questions, stated as an hypothesis, constituted the initial insights into the topic. The bottom half of the eight is a series of deepening circles, where experience and the processing of experience generated insights and begin to deepen understandings. The right side of the upper circle describes the way in which understandings were further deepened in the process of creating the cumulative product and performance. It also shows how the deep understanding then shaped subsequent experience. In short, the diagram illustrates how understanding typically was rooted in prior experience, deepened when direct experience

in the field and the processing of that experience were tightly and dynamically interrelated, and affected subsequent experience because it was personally meaningful and memorable.

While this figure represents a learning ideal, applying the experiences of the nine students in the class to it also illustrated the potential pitfalls of field-based learning. None of the students experienced their learning exactly in the way that the model suggests is possible. Some varied from the model in fundamental ways, failing even to adequately enter the field in a timely manner. Another, Ryan, illustrated the importance of fulfilling all aspects of the model. His failure in one area – using a central question – significantly limited the depth of his understanding. Rosa, Alice, and Juliet showed the importance of the intuitive leap in thinking, while Eban showed the value of analytical thinking. Sam revealed how a debilitating fear of conducting field research can be overcome, while Ana is a reminder that field-based study may not be for everyone.

The purpose of presenting a model was certainly not to suggest that the students' experiences fit it perfectly or that the experiences of any group of students ever would. Instead, the purpose was to draw from the experiences of these students to suggest a goal for which practitioners can strive. With a better conception of the potential relationship between deepening understanding and experiences in the field, practitioners should be better able to determine which students are ready for field experience, prepare them for field experience, guide the experience itself, and evaluate its success.

Deep Understanding

The concept of deep understanding was key in a study focused on determining the relationship between it and experiences in the field. As revealed in the Chapter Five discussion of deep understanding (171-181), there was a high level of consistency between the study's operational definition of deep understanding, which was gleaned from the literature, and the learning experiences of the students. The students' comprehension of the topic was *constructed by the student, transferable to new settings, involved performances and the creation of products that were central to a discipline, was learned in multiple contexts, and contrasted with rote, ritualistic, superficial, or fleeting learning.* In short, each element of the operational definition described key aspects of the student learning. The definition as a whole, however, did not describe student learning fully. These variations suggest three potential modifications of the definition.

The first modification pertains to what Howard Gardner described as performances and products central to a discipline. As indicated in the Chapter Five review of deep understanding, all of the students had some success in this area, but none fulfilled these criteria of understanding. In some cases, this shortcoming was due to avoidable failures on the part of the students such as excessive procrastination. However, even with the most diligent effort, the students were novices in using the methodologies of anthropology and geography. It does not seem likely that students could engage in these types of projects and become true experts in the field over the course of a semester in high school.

In fact, Gardner did make room for novices learning the principles central to a discipline when he wrote, "included in the ranks of the disciplinary experts are those

students who are able to use the knowledge of their physics class or history class to illustrate new phenomena. Their knowledge is not limited to the usual text-and-test setting, and they are eligible to enter the ranks of those who 'really' understand" (Gardner, 1991, 7). It is important to emphasize what student disciplinary experts might be expected to accomplish, as illustrated by the strongest examples of the students in this study. Otherwise, anything they accomplish short of what an expert in the field could do would be deemed a failure. In addition, it seems important that the students themselves realize the difference, or else they might believe that they have accomplished more than they really have. Again, the students in this study all expressed awareness of the limitations of their studies.

A second modification to the definition is related to the notion of constructed knowledge, a key concept to the operational definition of deep understanding. To the extent that the term construction implies that the knowledge is student generated, as opposed to information conveyed to the student by an authority such as a teacher, the term proved accurate. To the extent that the term implies that the knowledge consists of pieces of information put together by the student, the term was limited.

As such, the term "construction" seems descriptive of analytical understandings constructed deductively. Ryan's research goal of identifying the challenges faced by South East Asian business owners illustrates this kind of understanding. He incorporated questions about challenges in his interview protocol, analyzed his data for examples of challenges, and presented his findings accordingly. His understanding of parking as a challenge faced by his subjects is a prime example of an analytical understanding constructed from the data.

Not all of the understandings reached by students were constructed in this manner. In many instances, students came to realize something intuitively without constructing it analytically. Typically, this happened as students changed their perspective on something to which they had already been exposed. Rosa's understanding of the fragmentation of the gay and lesbian community illustrates a realized understanding reached inductively. As with Ryan's example above, Rosa was assembling data to demonstrate how the community was fragmented. She assumed that fragmentation, the product of a weakened social movement, had negative connotations for the community. Thus, as she documented the fragmentation, she assumed that she was documenting a phenomenon that would have to be overcome if the movement were to become strong once again. In the process of assembling her data, however, she realized that the fragmentation illustrated not how much the gay and lesbian movement had declined, but how much it had accomplished so that homosexuals no longer had to define themselves primarily by sexual preference. She did not reach this understanding by adding new data, but rather by looking at the same data until she was able to see it from a new perspective.

A third modification requires a clarification of what learning actually constitutes deep understanding. Much of what is being emphasized in the reform literature is assessing predetermined learning outcomes that have been selected because of their cultural importance. To the extent that these outcomes pertain to specific knowledge, the learning exhibited in this study is not likely to be compatible with it. Rather, the learning became profound due to the student's relationship to it, rather than necessarily its inherent importance to the larger world.

For example, what Ryan was told about the Vietnam War in his prior history class was more complex and historically important than what he learned in his study about why parking is a challenge for Portland businessmen. So was learning Newton's laws in his physics class. In this study, however, deep understanding depended on the student's engagement with and grasp of the topic; it had more to do with the learner than with the topic learned. Many students said their conclusions were not earth shattering, but all had a hand in reaching them. Because this characteristic typified the student understandings in this study but is not fully addressed by the operational definition of deep understanding, it is important to note.

In short, the operational definition of deep understanding fit the students' experiences but did not fully describe them. Modifications to the definition arising from this study call for further specifying what is meant by disciplinary expert, adding the possibility of realization to the notion of construction, and emphasizing that it can be the student's grasp of and relationship to an understanding that makes it deep, not necessarily its cultural value or even its complexity. None of these modifications is in any way antithetical to the operational definition of deep understanding used in the study. Rather, they constitute clarifications of important but previously vague elements of the definition.

Implications of the Study

For Further Research

The emerging propositions cited above suggest important areas for further research. As propositions, they are not findings, fully supported by the data. As the Chapter Two literature review noted, research specifying what is meant by deep

understanding and exactly what influences insight development is limited. The resulting vagueness of the concept of deep understanding not only hampers reformers but is potentially dangerous. If schools are to develop a pedagogy of understanding as Darling-Hammond suggests, then they must have a better concept of what they are trying to accomplish so that they will be able to design curricula and assessments accordingly. Otherwise, reform efforts may fall prey to the kinds of misinterpretations of philosophy that have plagued the progressive movement since before John Dewey warned educators of that possibility over 60 years ago.

In addition, the literature examining insight development in the context of students engaged in experiential learning is almost non-existent. This research, of which the current study is an example, is especially important given the promise of field-based learning as a methodology to promote a pedagogy of understanding. As several thinkers, including Howard Gardner, noted, experiential pedagogy is used successfully in many learning contexts but rarely in schools. Not only should schools tap into this proven form of learning, some thinkers, including James Fraser, think that doing so may be necessary if schools are ever going to realize a pedagogy of understanding.

Without a better sense of what deep understanding is and how experiential learning promotes it, reformers will continue to overlook this approach to schooling. While this study makes a contribution to the effort to build the requisite literature base, it constitutes only a beginning. As noted in the limitations section, this research is very narrow. As a case study, it examines only one type of experiential learning among a small group of students in a private school. Other studies need to be conducted broadening the kinds of experiential learning examined, the size of the study population,

and the range of schools sponsoring experiential curricula. Such studies could be used to validate the findings of this study, to test and modify the emerging propositions, and generally to clarify the link between insight development and experiences in the field so that practitioners can tap its potential effectively.

Little in the literature evaluates the potential of experiential education to shape whole school and system reform efforts. There is anecdotal evidence through the experiential reform initiatives now under way to harness this potential, and the section following in this report considers the implications of this study for school reform. However, additional studies are needed to validate this potential, especially if Fraser's contention is true that the historical limitation of progressive school reform is caused in large part by the classroom focus of the vast majority of reform efforts.

Research to clarify what is meant by deep understanding, how experiential learning can enhance insight development, and how school reform may be linked to moving learning outside of the classroom is especially important given the current nationwide focus on learning standards. As discussed in Chapter Two, instructivists Finn and Ravitch believe that progressive pedagogy is inherently antithetical to the standards movement. Many progressive thinkers, such as Fred Newman, agree that too often constructivist pedagogy has, at its own peril, overlooked assessing learning. Indeed, selecting content outcomes of predetermined importance to use in assessing learning does seem antithetical to the kinds of experiential learning exemplified in this study. However, most constructivist thinkers now agree that assessing learning is of fundamental importance. In addition to research clarifying the concepts above, further research is needed to clarify how learning that is not aimed at content outcomes of

predetermined importance can be assessed. Such research is necessary not only for pedagogical but also political reasons.

For Teachers

Many of the scholars cited in the literature review noted the lack of any real attention in schools to the intellectual development of students. Enhancing the intellectual development of students would require more than ensuring that students attain a specific set of predetermined learning outcomes. It would require "helping young people learn to use their minds well," which is the first of The Ten Common Principles of the Coalition for Essential Schools. In turn, this goal for schools would require a new role for teachers, that of being learning coaches, not simply disseminators and monitors of information.

Because the field-based curriculum examined in this study required the teachers to be learning coaches, the experiences of these teachers are instructive to educators interested in this role. Throughout the semester, the teachers' continually coached student thinking. The student field journals and the regularly scheduled meetings allowed the necessary contact with students. The teachers made the most of these opportunities, requiring students to reflect on their experiences frequently. In this way, teachers tuned into the thought process of each student, which allowed them to coach individual students in developing their ideas. This coaching helped students "learn to use their minds well" in the process of completing their particular projects.

By focusing on the evolution of student thinking and the influences on it in the context of a school-sponsored activity, the study itself adopted a perspective student

thinking that a teacher could use to help develop it. The definitions of insight, deep understanding, and insight development are particularly important for teachers aiming to enhance their students' intellectual development, as are the methods used in the study to analyze insight development. The model of field-based learning, presented earlier in this chapter as an emerging proposition, should give teachers a conception of how field-based learning can work. The fundamental relationship between rich experiences in the field and processing those experiences through sound academic practices is critically important for teachers to understand, especially given how little the educations of "hand" and "head" are linked in American schools.

With a field-based curriculum, teachers must be especially clear about the learning goals for students because the specific content to be covered is difficult to predetermine. In the class studied, the obvious benefits of a field-based experience were that it allowed students both to go deeper into their topics and to apply skills learned in the classroom. The amount of material covered was likely less than in a conventional class, coinciding with the Coalition's assertion that "less is more" regarding curricular content, and the exact content outcomes were unique to each student and impossible to predetermine. Curricular decisions made by the teachers were, in the words of the Coalition Principles, "guided by the aim of thorough student mastery and achievement rather than by an effort to merely cover content."

Accordingly, Howard Gardner and some of the cognitive scientists believe that an appropriate goal for students is to strive to become disciplinary experts. In fact, having students conduct original research that they felt had legitimacy was a key to the success of the projects in this study. For high school students to become true disciplinary experts,

however, is not always realistic. In fact, striving for disciplinary expertise might even prove harmful. If, for example, teachers are too exacting regarding the use of disciplinary methodology, then students may lose enthusiasm for their projects. On the other hand, if teachers are too lenient about the use of disciplinary methodology, then students may leave the class believing that they had accomplished more than they actually had. The teachers in this study seemed to strike a good balance so that all of the students except one remained enthusiastic about their projects, and yet all were also aware of the limitations in their projects.

While this class certainly required the teachers to be, in the words of the Coalition Principles, "generalists" with "multiple obligations," the fundamental importance of the teachers' expertise in their own disciplines was also clearly evident. Before the class began, the teachers determined a core set of methodologies from the disciplines of anthropology and geography to teach the students. The first effect of such clear, focused instruction was that the students felt inspired by what they were learning, influenced especially by the teachers' passion for and expertise in their disciplines. Enacting these methodologies then became the core task for the students and coaching their use became, along with coaching student thinking, the core task of the teachers. As such, these methodologies became the central structure of the course, and the teachers' disciplinary expertise, together with the students' confidence in that expertise, allowed this structure to function.

Field-based learning created logistical challenges for the teachers as well. Once the curriculum left the classroom, it became immeasurably more complex to manage than classroom-based curriculum. While the skill and experience of the two teachers allowed

them to avoid most of the potential logistical pitfalls, even they were not able to monitor the progress of all of the students all of the time. Thus, a few of the students went through stretches of time without accomplishing as much as the teachers expected they would. It is important for teachers to simplify the logistics of a field-based curriculum as much as possible and to anticipate potential problems. It is also important for students and teachers to realize that overcoming the inevitable logistical challenges in the field as they arise is a significant part of the learning experience because it is part of what makes field-based learning "real."

In short, "helping young people learn to use their minds well" required teachers to be learning coaches. The experiences of the teachers in this study illustrate the potential of the teacher-coach role to promote the intellectual development of students, as well as thoughtful responses to its inherent challenges. By focusing on the evolution of student thinking and what influences it, the study itself provides educators a perspective from which to view their students' intellectual development and some important tools they can use to guide it.

For Schools

In its survey of schools, Maine's Commission on Secondary Education found that Maine's high schools were not meeting the standards set by the State's Learning Results. Instead, students and educators across the state:

> described Maine secondary schools that are academically focused but rarely exciting or challenging, social but strangely impersonal and sometimes hostile, orderly but ill-suited for learning, predictable but lacking application to life.

> These schools do not support all young people in attaining the skills and knowledge described by the Maine Learning Results. Instead, too many reward students more for being compliant than for being self-directed and informed, more for memorizing information than for using it to solve problems, more for following routine than for making decisions responsibly or for being creative, more for functioning in isolation than for being collaborative community citizens. ([MCSE], 1998, 9)

John Gatto would contend that Maine's circumstance is typical of schools nationwide. Furthermore, he believes that schools are corrupted institutions that cannot be reformed because would be reformers "have consistently misdiagnosed and misdefined the problems of schooling" (Gatto, 1995, 5). Rather than reforming schools, he recommended eliminating compulsory education and shutting down government schools, dividing the tax money currently spent on schools to support the efforts of individual families to educate their children and free libraries (Gatto,1999, 14). Waynflete's example, however, showed how a school can "restore the primary experience base" (Gatto, 1999, 17) to student learning, as do the experiences of many schools across the country.

In fact, Waynflete's experience illustrated not only that schools can offer a field-based curriculum but also why schools are important to the process of learning in the field. The Chapter Five section on deepening understanding showed the integral relationship between experience in the field and academic reflection on that experience. Students were asked to engage in original research, which meant that they were being asked to create new knowledge. This open ended process was most successful when

students were given the academic tools and the coaching from teachers to establish a research goal and gather and analyze primary data systematically while being encouraged to reflect on that data intuitively as well.

Thus, when experience in the field and academic reflection on that experience were linked, students worked towards becoming what Maine emphasized as goals for all students: clear and effective communicators, self-directed learners, creative and practical problem solvers, responsible and involved citizens, collaborative and quality workers, and especially integrative and informed thinkers. Given the excitement that most students felt about the experience, there is good reason to believe that students might be adopting these qualities as learning habits of a lifetime.

Following Waynflete's example could prove a challenge for many schools for reasons unrelated to John Gatto's skepticism. The first hurdle might be finding teachers with the expertise to conduct field-based curricula. The two teachers who ran Waynflete's program were each trained in the relevant disciplines of anthropology and geography. They were both history teachers, and each had led students through field-based experiences before. Such expertise might seem to be scarce in some schools.

However, there may be more expertise on school faculties than first meets the eye. When Waynflete's faculty were surveyed for curricular ideas that would combine academic and fieldwork, teachers responded with an abundance of proposals in an array of areas. A science teacher proposed marine biology class based primarily in the field. An English teacher with boat building experience proposed that students build a boat while reading maritime literature. A counselor proposed a service/learning project where students would volunteer at an agency in the city, research a social problem related to the

clients served by the agency, and propose a solution. An art and an English teacher proposed learning about ethnic histories and then creating illuminated manuscripts that tell the stories. A drama teacher proposed a similar inquiry with a play written, acted, and produced by students as its goal. In short, the survey of the faculty found many others who were eager to get out of the classroom to pursue their expertise and passions. Their ideas suggest the rich variety of possibilities open to field-based curricula. Undoubtedly, teachers throughout the state have similar passions and expertise.

A second problem a school might face is having students who are neither personally nor intellectually prepared to participate in a program that requires initiative, self-discipline, and original thinking. Throughout high school, Waynflete students have been granted more autonomy than students at many schools, and the instruction they have received has emphasized critical and original thinking. For example, in the department in which both of the teachers are members, history is taught without textbooks through primary sources. Discussion is the primary teaching mode. In addition, students are expected to write term papers in history classes throughout high school. Even given such experience, not all of the students in the study were able to meet fully the expectations of the class. For example, three students had enough difficulty managing their time that it negatively impacted the quality of their experience and the level of their achievement.

A concern about the capabilities of students to act and think appropriately need not preclude field-based curricula. In fact, in accordance with Promising Futures, which calls on schools to set "high standards for the acquisition of academic, social, and personal skills and knowledge" for every student (MCSE, 1998, 6), preparing students to succeed in such curricula would make a good school outcome for which to strive.

Waynflete's experience could serve as an example to practitioners of both what to do and what to do differently. For example, one such lesson would be to consider whether or not learning complex methodologies in a few weeks of classes and then applying them is feasible. A prerequisite course in the methodologies of fieldwork might have helped all of the students.

It may be, however, that field-based learning is not appropriate for every student. Ana, for example, who was the only student in the class who had previously studied anthropological methodologies, was certain that such was the case for her. She found being in the field debilitating and the openness of the project to be confusing, factors that clearly limited her learning. A consistently successful student, she felt that she learned much better in a more traditional classroom setting. While it is possible that Ana struggled because she simply had not had enough exposure to field-based learning, her example might suggest that further exposure to the field would not only have been fruitless but perhaps damaging.

On the other hand, Sam had similar difficulties as Ana throughout most of the semester but she and her teachers felt that she had a real breakthrough toward the end. Her example might suggest the importance of getting all students into the field, whether or not they appear ready. In short, this study was not conclusive on whether field-based learning is suited for all students. It does clearly illustrate that schools must be mindful of who they put into the field, what students are expected to accomplish while in the field, and what kinds of structure and support they and their teachers may need to be successful.

A third problem might be expense. For this class, the student teacher ratio in this class was nine to one. This ratio is well below even the target load recommended in Promising Futures, which computes to a 16 to one student teacher ratio per class, which itself is below the reality facing most schools in Maine. In short, most schools could not sponsor a similar class without added revenue or sacrifice to other programs.

There are ways, however, that the expenses could be addressed. If field-based learning were being offered by an individual school, the cost could be kept down by adding more students to the class. A school could also link in partnerships with community resources. The teacher would become the coordinator of student experience, with much of the program delivered and monitored by volunteers in the community. Groups of schools could pool resources and create experiential education centers, much as they do currently with vocational centers. As with vocational centers, a student could participate in her/his extra-curricular activities and perhaps in some of the academic program in the home school, and complete the experiential component of the program through the center. Tax or private funds could finance such experiential education centers. In the latter case, families of interested students with the means to do so might pay tuition to cover costs and foundation and business funds could be solicited to underwrite financial aid for families without the means. The State of Maine might adopt statewide magnet school plan as it has done with the Maine School for Math and Science, or a regional program similar to what the State of Rhode Island has done with the Metropolitan Regional Career and Technical Center. At the M.E.T., the entire high school curriculum is set in the field.

Statewide or regional centers might also be used to train faculty in conducting field-based curricula by having the faculty rotate. At any given time, it would be comprised of teachers with field-based teaching experience and teachers without such experience who are interested in getting it. The former would mentor the latter. In this way, the experiential education centers would be learning institutions for faculty as well as students, supplying home schools with teachers trained in delivering field-based curricula.

In short, Waynflete's example may not be directly applicable to some schools. In addition, field-based learning may not be suited for every student, especially without adequate preparation and support for the students. However, models of field-based learning are multiple and adaptable, so schools could devise their own programs suited to their own needs, resources, and communities. In addition, Waynflete's experience is instructive because it shows what kind of learning can take place when academic topics are studied in the field.

For School Reform

Field-based curricula might be used to provide a group of students an enriching or perhaps transforming experience as it did at Waynflete. It also might also be used as a catalyst for school reform. Maine Commission on Secondary Education co-chair Gordon Donaldson said that one reason for the lack of reference to field-curricula in Promising Futures was the lack of knowledge on the Commission about how such curricula might work. By training teachers, regional experiential education centers would cultivate the necessary expertise for widespread use of field-based curricula. In addition, there are

initiatives currently underway across the country to use field-based curricula to promote school reform. In Boston, the Jobs for the Future organization's "main strategy for implementing school-to-work as whole-school change is through the creation of career pathways – multiyear sequences of academic and applied courses and work-based learning experiences" (Cushman, Steinberg, & Riordan, 1999, 86). The M.E.T in Providence, Rhode Island, has a totally project oriented curriculum and is purposely linked to the state's plan for reforming schools (Steinberg, 1998, 180).

The Rural School and Community Trust is another promising example on a national level. Working in more than 700 schools in 33 states, it's mission is "to enlarge student learning and to improve community life by strengthening relationships between rural schools and communities and engaging students in community-based public work." (The Rural School and Community Trust Website RSCT, April 22, 2001). The Partnership Rural Initiative In Maine (PRIM), a part of the Rural Trust, is:

> working collaboratively with seventeen school districts in the Western Maine Partnership and the Washington County Consortium, eight school districts in the Southern Maine Partnership are currently developing "curricula of place" which ties student learning with the local contexts. Instead of merely looking to "bring in" community resources, these schools are deeply exploring their role in the broader community. Each district is using the Maine Learning Results as a starting point and has formulated a plan to involve students in learning experiences which use local resources to deepen student understanding. Not only will these experiences lead to increased student achievement, but they will

develop an increased awareness and understanding regarding the role of both individuals and schools in rural communities. (RSCT Website, April 22, 2001)

An example of a PRIM project is in Lubec, one of the most chronically economically deprived communities in Maine. At Lubec High School, students may take a class in aquaculture and find themselves as "partners with the community in developing an aquaculture industry in Lubec [and helping to] restore this community's once flourishing sardine industry as well as preserving its rich maritime history" (Barsh, Clark, & Jenkins, 1999, 1). School officials have plans to expand the project. Superintendent Brian Coulthard "envisions a research center where local aquaculture professionals will work side by side with students in conducting marine research" (Barsh, Clark, & Jenkins, 1999, 7). By growing from the classroom and expanding into the community, projects such as these have a powerful potential to transform students, schools, and communities alike. By creating nationwide networks, such organizations as the Rural Trust suggest the possibility of transforming schooling in America.

Reconnecting the Education of Head and Hand for All Students

As Kathleen Cushman, Adria Steinberg, and Rob Riordan assert in their argument for learning that is rigorous and relevant, "the false dichotomy between learning (as in school) and doing (as in the real wold of work) – between head and hand, as John Dewey characterized it – lies beneath most of our secondary school structures and practices.... This view of education is unhealthy" (1999, xv). It has consistently limited the extent to which progressive education, as envisioned by John Dewey, has shaped American education. American educators spent more time in the 20th century rediscovering John

Dewey than they have actualizing his ideas. Now that the 21st century has arrived, perhaps the time has finally come for American secondary schools to link rigor with relevance by connecting head with hand in the curriculum for all students.

Linda Darling-Hammond calls on schools to develop:

> a widespread pedagogy for understanding, one that provides students with opportunities to test and apply their ideas, to look at concepts from many points of view, and to develop proficient performance. Students taught for understanding can evaluate and defend ideas with careful reasoning and evidence, independently inquire into a problem using a productive research strategy, produce a high-quality piece of work, and understand the standards that indicate good performance. They demonstrate that they understand by using what they have learned to solve problems they have not encountered before. (Darling-Hammond, 1997, 96)

If head and hand can be reconnected so that Darling-Hammond's vision for schools can be realized, then more young people might feel about their high school experiences what one Waynflete graduate, who had taken the first Senior Seminar in the Ethnic History of Portland, expressed in an email to her teacher nearly two years after graduation:

> Today I presented my Senior Seminar Project with some alterations in an anthropological theoretical framework.... It was part of the Ruhlman Conference, which is an event that occurs once a year and is a celebration of student achievement.... I thought about how Senior Seminar impacted my life. I can honestly tell you that I don't think that I would be an anthropology major today if

it wasn't for Senior Seminar. Yes, it was a lot of work, but I felt real interest and passion for learning that some people never experience. I thought about my classmates and our goal to write the book on ethnography in Portland. We were only in high school, yet our work was valuable and has validity. Since Senior Seminar, Portland Trails … contacted me about getting a copy of my study for their resource library to use as a reference. All of my professors, the alumni, and the other students really thought that the study was fascinating and have been urging me to continue with it.… You should see the looks on people's faces when they hear that I have done field research in high school, it's amazing. (Personal correspondence from a student to her former teachers)

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APPENDIX A: COURSE MATERIALS

The Ethnic History of Portland
2000

Karen Whitney
Bob Johnson
2 Credits

With two teachers working in a mentor relationship with students, Ethnic History of Portland will examine the social fabric of Portland, Maine, from the earliest European settlement to current city configuration. Rooted in anthropology and geography, this two-credit field study course will expose students to independent and collective field work experience and research methods. Such topics as ethnic composition, ethnic displacement, the relationship between physical geography and settlement patterns, and social structure and issues (e.g., the homeless, gangs, socioeconomics, etc.) will provide structure to the semester. Students will maintain field notebooks and portfolios and be responsible for one portion of a collective document. At the conclusion of the semester, students will have the opportunity to present their ethnographic study to the school and city community.

Books
Human Mosaic
Researching American Culture
Other assorted handouts

Course Requirements and Expectations

1. Attendance in class is mandatory and you are expected to arrive for class on time.
2. Always have the following with you in class:
   --at least one pen (blue or black ink)
   --reading notes
   --class notes
   --handouts
   --text
   --field journal/notebook
3. All written work which you hand into us is to be done in blue or black ink (or typed).
4. Your grade for the course will be determined by the following:
   a. Homework: Most homework assignments will ask you to read one of the texts *The Human Mosaic,* or *Researching American Culture,* one or more handouts, or a little of both. We suggest that you take notes, which will be essential to other work that you will be completing throughout the semester.
   b. Class participation: This class is a seminar which means that all students

will be expected to make significant contributions to discussions during class. Your attitude and constructive participation in class discussions will contribute to your grade.

c. Portfolios: The major work that you will be responsible for will be included in a portfolio. It will consist of several major projects which you will completing during the semester. The major categories are listed below:

1. Field Journal: You will need a field notebook in which you will be recording observations about the readings or when we are doing field work. We will want to look at this at least periodically and you will be required to submit it as part of your final portfolio.
2. Map component: Since maps are essential to this discipline you will be required to construct several maps and interpret others.
3. Data compilation (the final format will depend on your project focus)
4. Final Project: As a class we will be involved in a semester long study in the Greater Portland area. All of you will be required to contribute to this endeavor and produce a final piece of work which will include a map, written work, and an oral presentation.
5. An applied piece: This is an open category and may include original poetry or writing a lesson plan for another class at Waynflete and actually conducting that class.
6. Your contribution to an **annotated bibliography.**

5. You will be receiving many xeroxed handouts in this course. You will find these handouts to be extremely important when it comes time to review for tests and for the exams. We would recommend that you keep them in order for easy access.

6. If you are absent, the first thing for you to remember is that it is your responsibility to make up any missing work. You will all find that class notes are very important, and if you have missed any classes, you should ask to borrow the notes of a friend and copy them for your own use. You should also check with us immediately upon your return to school and see if you owe any written work. If you do your part in trying to catch up, we will be happy to meet with you individually and review any material with you.

7. Required for course credit:
--all elements of the portfolio
--final class project as described above
--any mapping assignments
--keeping a detailed field notebook
--attendance for fieldwork and class meetings

Ethnic History of Portland Research Project 2000

Karen Whitney
Bob Johnson

Assignment:

You are to conduct an independent research project on a specific aspect of ethnicity in Portland. It can be based on interviews, observations, questionnaires, experiments, etc., but must be actual field research. You must conduct ~i literature search prior to starting your project to see if there have been other studies done on this topic. This will help you in your actual research design and give you some basis for comparison. Your choice of topic must be approved before you begin your work. In addition, your research may be combined with that of other class members and must, therefore be statistically and scientifically accurate.

Time Table: To be announced in class.

Project Stages

- Topic proposal — January 14
- Research design abstract — January 28
- Research completed — March 27
- Results/Data and preliminary analysis — April 7
- Final analysis and conclusions (project paper due when you actually do your class presentation. — May 3

Proposal:

Needs to include:

1. Statement of purpose and hypothesis or question you hope to answer by researching this topic.
2. Bibliography of works to be consulted.

***Research design** Abstract:*

Includes:

1. Clear outline of the research process with:
   a. Timetable
   b. Study methods
   c. Area to be researched/subjects (define the population to be studied.)
   d. Methods of analysis and interpretation
   e. Format
   f. Computer search
2. Statement of anticipated maps
3. Acknowledgment of potential problem areas

Data and Results:

When you turn in your data and results, this needs to include:

1. A copy of your methods (questionnaire, interview questions, nature of fieldwork, etc.)
2. Field journal
3. Tabular presentation of data
4. Graphical, chart, andlor photographic presentation of results
5. Initial written interpretation of results
6. Assessment of research validity
7. Related maps

Final Paper and Oral Presentation:

Each student will submit a final project paper and present his/her study to a selected group. Both written and oral components must include:

1. A description of your project, including research methods, number of suspects, how research was conducted, etc.
2. A visual presentation of your data. This can be done with posters, overheads, slides using charts, graphs, photo documentation, computer presentations or some other imaginative way to present information
3. An inclusion and explanation of all maps
4. A summary analysis and interpretation of the results, i.e., why your data looks like it does, and conclusions drawn
5. A discussion of study's validity and identification of potential follow-up research needed
6. A full bibliography
7. A self-analysis: what you gained from this experience (what went well, what you would do differently next time)

Ethnic History

Whitney and Johnson

PORTLAND NEIGHBORHOOD FIELD WALK

You are about to perform your first field walk in Portland. This handout will provide some guidance as you complete this task. The major goal of the field experience is to gather data on a neighborhood and begin to understand the character of that region of Portland. It is also a good chance to use your journals in a real field setting. Be sure to use a writing implement that will not smudge or smear in wet weather. Pencil is fine, but since you won't have a sharpener, have extras or a mechanical pencil with plenty of lead. Also, be sure to dress for the weather.

You will be conducting an artifact survey of the neighborhood. Below are some suggestions of areas to observe. Clearly, they are not the only items to examine, but they are a starting point. The more thorough you are and the more ***lurking*** that you do, the more information you will find about the neighborhood.

Some items to observe:

Buildings

- Age, construction, style, use, number of occupants
- Are all the levels used in the same manner?

Streets

- Names
- Layout of the streets, kinds of streets, alignment
- Sidewalks

General Area

- Vegetation, atmosphere, fences, yards, pets, vehicles
- Services (electrical, sewer, water)
- Note what is NOT here

People

- Their activities, dress, age, gender

The Journal Entry

Make it as organized as possible. You will have to write up your work and you don't want to go back out to re-check. You may even want to set up your journal tonight before you go out in the field. This is a critical component of your work since time is so valuable to you.

Data collection (observations)

- o Objective
- o Subjective
  - Sense of place
  - Feeling about the area

Speculate about the neighborhood

- o History
- o Current situation i.e., economics

How do you find out more about this area?

Senior Seminar Class Hypothesis

Through our projects we have been studying different communities in Portland. Though these projects are diverse in nature we have found a common theme of a quickly evolving Portland. This evolution is caused by each community's rapid growth and increased visibility. Whether or not the people of Portland are becoming more accepting of these communities they are being forced to acknowledge them and in many cases reevaluate their opinions of them. We have found that the challenges of living in a diverse society have forced people to confront these changes on personal, cultural, and institutional levels.

SAMPLE COURSE SCHEDULES

Senior Seminar 2000: Ethnic History of Portland Mid-January Schedule

Wednesday, January 12	Discussion to include class & individual thesis formation
	Field Trip to Osher Map Library (USNI)
Thursday, January 12	
Friday January 14	**Topic Proposal Due** Interview techniques: **so** how **do** I formulate questions and actually interview people?
	No School: Dr. Martin Luther King Day
Monday, January 17 Tuesday, January 18	Fieldwork preparation: work on methodology, make phone calls, research background materials
Wednesday, January 19	Class Meeting Discussion to include how to prepare a research design abstract
Thursday, January 20	Computer workshop
	Fieldwork
Friday, January 21	
Upcoming	Presentation by Catholic Charities; Refugee
	Resettlement (date tba)
	SALT workshop (date tba)
	Research Design Abstract Due (1/28/00)
Reminder	Submit held logs twice per week. Maintain journal.
Class Meeting	

Senior Seminar 2000: Ethnic History of Portland
January 24-Februaiy 4 Schedule

Monday, January 24	Three options: Computer follow up w/Bob Fieldwork Individual meetings w/Karen **Submit proposed field logs for the week** *(Field logs are mandatory.)*
Tuesday, January 25	Class meeting (w/out Bob & Karen) to discuss, develop, and refine the class hypothesis; consider how each individual hypothesis will support the class objective/theory
Wednesday, Januaiy 26	Class meeting in R.C.Hyde 204 to report on the class hypothesis and present individual project updates for peer critique/review
Thursday, January 27	Fieldwork (This can include research at the Portland Room, Osher Map Library, Maine Historical Society, Portland city agencies, etc., as well as making phone calls, actual interviews, neighborhood examination, etc.); revise your methodology if necessary.
Friday, January 28	Presentation by Catholic Charities of Maine/Refugee Resettlement Center in Hurd **Research Design Abstract Due** **Submit actual field log for the week by 3:15**
Monday, January 31	Three options: GIS training WI Bob. Fieldwork Individual meetings w/Karen **Submit proposed field log for the week**
Tuesday, February 1	**Fieldwork**
Wednesday, February 2	Class meeting **In R.C. Hyde** 204: critique/review methodology and project progress
Thursday, February 3	Grade Advising/Curriculum Study Day
Friday, February 4	Fieldwork **Submit actual field log for the week by 3:15**
Note:	We will be collecting field journals for review beginning the week of January 24; we will return them as quickly as possible. You have the option of submitting your actual **journal** & later fastening in notes taken while we have your notebook, or you may provide a photocopy of your journal.

Senior Seminar 2000: Ethnic History of Portland
February-18 Schedule

Monday, February 7	Individual meetings w/*Teacher A & Teacher B*: *Student Names* Fieldwork Submit proposed field logs for the week.
Tuesday, February 8	Fieldwork
Wednesday, February 9	Class meeting (Come prepared to report on your progress to date & to discuss your work for peer review.)
Thursday, February 10	Individual meetings w/*Teacher A & Teacher B: Student names* Fieldwork
Friday, February 11	Individual meetings w/Teacher A & Teacher B: Fieldwork Submit actual field logs for the week. Journals due: *Student Names*
Monday, February 14	Individual meetings w/Teacher A & Teacher B: *Student Names* Fieldwork Submit proposed field logs for the week.
Tuesday, February 15	Fieldwork
Wednesday, February 16	Class meeting (as above) Individual meetings w/*Teacher A & Teacher B: Student names*
Thursday, February 17	Fieldwork
Friday, February 18	Individual meetings w/*Teacher A & Teacher B: Student names* Fieldwork Submit actual field logs for the week. Journals due: *Student names*

HAPPY VACATION

APPENDIX B: STUDENT INTERVIEW PROTOCOLS

Phase I Student Interview Protocol

- What do you intend to study?
- What made you interested in that topic?
- What do you already know about this topic? How do you know it?
- What do you expect to learn from your research?
- Probes: For each statement about expected learning, I said: Tell me more.
- How do you intend to gather information?
- Probes: Why did you choose those methods?
- What do you expect to learn from each method?
- When students mention an experience in the community, I said: Tell me more about why you chose that activity? Have you ever done anything like that before?
- I asked follow up questions on anything said about expected learning from the community experience.

Phase II Student Interview Protocol

- How is the project going?
- What have you done in the community so far?
- How did that interview/visit/etc. go?
- Probes: For each community experience, I said: How did that go? Tell me more about that. What was that like? How did that relate to what you expected?
- When the student mentions something they have learned from their community experience, I said: Tell me more about what you learned. What makes you think so?
- Describe what was happening in your study when you first realized that. How does all of this fit with what: You have been reading? You have been doing in class? You already knew? Your teachers say? Other community experiences indicate?
- How would you summarize what you have learned so far?
- Probe: When a student cites how his/her thinking is changing, I said: Tell me more about how your thinking is changing. If a student mentions a community experience as being part of that change, I said: Tell me more about that experience.
- What are you going to do next?
- Probe: When a community experience is mentioned, I said: Why are you going to do that? What do you expect to learn?
- What about this class is most significant to your learning? How? Why?

Phase III Student Interview Protocol

- What have you learned about your topic? When they gave an example, I said: How was it that you came to believe this?
- Probes: When the student mentions anything about his/her field experience being influential, I said: Tell me more about how that experience influenced your thinking. How does that relate to what you said about this before?
- How does what you learned compare to what you thought you would learn before you started or early on?
- Probe: For each difference, I said: Tell me more about how that happened. When the student mentions anything about his/her field experience being influential, I said: Tell me more about how that influenced you.
- What stands out to you about your experience?
- Do you have new questions?
- Is there anything you have learned that we have not talked about or that was not part of your written report or oral presentation?
- Probe: For each learning, I said: How did you come to believe that? When the student mentions anything about his/her community experience being influential, I said: Tell me more about how that experience helped you to learn that.
- How did the processes of data analysis and paper writing influence your thinking? For each influence, I asked the student to say more.
- How did teacher input influence your thinking? For each influence, I asked the student to say more.

- How was learning in this class different from your learning in other high school classes? For each difference, I asked the student to say more.
- What have you learned about yourself. For each learning, I asked the student to say more.

APPENDIX C: PERMISSION LETTER

1/4/00

Senior Seminar Students,

I am currently enrolled in a doctoral program in education at the University of Maine. For my dissertation, I would like to study the learning that takes place in a field based class. More specifically, I would like to describe how your experience outside of the classroom in the Senior Seminar influences your thinking in your research projects. I will only conduct this study with your permission, and you may withdraw from it at any time and for any reason.

Because I am the Head of the Upper School, it is important to state what **is not** the purpose of the study. This study is not intended to evaluate the effectiveness of the particular course, the teaching, nor the progress of any student. Naturally, if I am successful in completing this project, I will publish the results through the University. The data, however, will be used anonymously, and all records of data will be destroyed once the study is published.

To gather data, I will employ several methods. I will complete and tape record interviews with students and teachers, observe students in the class and in the field, read student field journals, tape record coaching sessions between teachers and students, examine student products such as their final reports, and read other course documents such as the course syllabus and assignment sheets. My interest is strictly limited to discovering what influences your thinking about the subjects of your study. Obviously, you will not be asked any questions of a personal nature.

Most of these activities consist of me watching the class in action. The interviews, however, are extra. I would like to conduct one interview as you get going with your study, two as you conduct your research, and a fourth after you have finished. The interviews should last an average a half hour. Thus, being a part of this study means approximately a two hour commitment over the duration of the semester.

My committee chair, Gordon Donaldson, a professor at the University of Maine, is my supervisor for the project and the only person besides me to have direct access to the data of this study. He may be contacted at the University at 1-888-275-2530 if you should have any questions or concerns about the study. Of course, any questions or concerns may also be directed to *Headmaster*.

I am excited about this project because I am interested in knowing more about field based learning, in part so we can incorporate more out of classroom learning at Waynflete. The scholarly literature is limited in this area, so the study could well make an important contribution to understanding how people learn. I also hope it might add to your understanding of field study to be both researcher and subject.

However, far more important to me than the study itself is knowing that you are participating because you want to. The absolute priority is that you have a great experience in the Senior Seminar. I would much rather not conduct this research at all than to think that I am detracting from anyone's experience in this class by doing so.

Please think over this proposal and let *Teacher A* and/or *Teacher B* know if you are willing to participate or not. I will answer any questions you may have before you can decide. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Lowell

APPENDIX D: INSIGHT TABLES

Table D1: Insight Tables

KEY		
TYPE First letter N: New insight R: Repeat previous insight B: Build additional facet onto previous insight C: Contradicts previous insight Second letter T: Insight into topic S: Insight into self	SOURCE F: Field A: Academic source T: Teacher M: Multiple sources P: Prior experience	CITE J: Journal/Month/Date I: Interview/Phase interview/Page P: Paper/Page

Alice Insight Table

Insight	Type	Source	Cite
Effect of class is realizing that you know things, but someone is making them apparent; new set of eyes	N/S	M: Realization sitting in class after having been in the field	J/1/10
Doesn't know too much about Portland, even though they live there	N/S	F: Realization while in the field	J/1/11
Need to be focused and directed to do field work	N/S	F: Realization after being in the field	J/2/7
Subject started doing bookwork at home, and then brought kids to wharf	N/T	T: Stated by subject; pointed out by a teacher as an important gender issue	J/2/11
Guys are not great bookkeepers	N/T	T: Stated by subject; pointed out by a teacher	J/2/11
Hates to use feminine side, but it has its advantages	N:T	T: Stated by subject; pointed out by a teacher	J/2/11
Reference to "Ben's wife"	N:T	T: Stated by subject; pointed out by a teacher	J/2/11
Little background information is available	N:T	A: Concluded after trying to find background information	I/1/3
Strong sense of community	N/T	F: Concluded from seeing poster about event to benefit family of fisherman who died at sea	I/1/4
Strong sense of community	B/T	F: Concluded from the fact that many names are repeated as they identify women in the industry; people seem to know each other	I/1/4
Women in roles supporting the actual fishing	N/T	F: Concluded after noting the roles played by the women they interviewed and the difficulty finding any woman who goes to sea	I/1/4
Everything is connected	N/T	M: Concluded after being in the field and being in the class hearing about the experiences of others	I/1/5
Woman in a man's world	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/2/13
Proud to be a woman in a man's world	B/T	F: Concluded after subject interview	J/2/13
Women know each other, but not connected	C/T	F: Stated by a subject; contradicts earlier conclusion	J/2/13

		earlier conclusion	
Fisherman protective of woman restaurant owner	N/T	F: Concluded after hearing reactions to stabbing at another restaurant	J/3/6
Customers are primary concern; "this woman's heart overwhelms her."	N/T	F: Concluded after interviewing restaurant owner	J/3/6
Mutual respect with clients	B/T	F: Concluded comparing two subjects	J/3/6
Valued by men for traditional role; comfortable with that	C/T	F: Concluded from interview; contrary to attitude in previous interview	J/3/6
Woman have high regard for clients	R/T	F: Concluded comparing two subjects	J/3/6
Supported husband	R/T	T: Stated by subject; pointed out by teacher	J/3/6
Division between fisherman and supporting businesses	R/T	F: Stated by a subject	J/3/6
Pride in work	R/T	F: Concluded from interview	J/3/6
Subject not being from Maine may affect feeling disconnected	N/T	T: Observed in interview; pointed out by teacher	J/3/6
Woman in supporting roles	R/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/10
Men get mad when women interrupt	N/T	T: Stated by subject; pointed out by teacher	J/3/10
Subject had commanding presence	N/T	T: Observed in interview; pointed out by teacher	J/3/10
Males have great respect for subjects	R/T	F: Concluded from anecdote told by subject	J/3/10
Few women on boats because of problems	B/T	A: Stated in newspaper article	J/3/10
Women in supporting roles	R/T	A: Stated in newspaper article	J/3/10
Strong community	R/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/10
No gender bias	C/T	T: Stated by a subject; contradiction pointed out by teacher	J/3/10
Enjoy working with men; big brothers	B/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/10
Skilled manager; no passion for industry	C/T	F: Stated by subject; lack of passion contradicted by observations of subject; contradictory to other subjects	J/3/10
Fishing community part of the state's character	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/20
Women in a supporting role	R/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/30
Woman in a man's world	R/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/20
Industry needs to attend to fisheries management	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/20
Women must earn respect	B/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/20
Men think women can't do the job at sea; women reinforce stereotype by choosing not to fish	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/20
Women are too smart to fish	B/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/20
Fishing industry provides good jobs for women	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/20
Subjects "hard-core" women	N/T	F: Concluded from interviews and subject statements about getting the job done	I/2/2
Recent in-migrants to Maine less connected in the community	R/T	M: Concluded from interviews; suggested by teacher	I/2/2
More feminine subjects more respected by men	N/T	F: Concluded from interviews	I/2/2
Supporting role is more than bookkeeping; women uphold the business and political	B/T	F: Concluded from interviews	I/2/2

ends of the industry			
Woman's role is vital, even though they do not go to sea	R/T	F: Concluded from interviews	I/2/2
Women choose not to do physically taxing and dangerous work	B/T	F: Stated by subject; bias noted	I/2/2
Community is close knit	R/T	F: Concluded from interviews and observations	I/2/2
Needed to learn to budget time, self-motivate	N/S	F: Concluded from experiences in the field	I/2/4
Eyes opened to many things, including culture and "why you are you."	B/S	F: Concluded from experiences in the field	I/2/4
Never knew much about one of state's distinguishing industries	B/S	F: Concluded from experiences in the field	I/2/4
Realized that they should have counted the number of men on the council	N/S	F: Realized in the field	J/3/22
Affectionate but patronizing attitude of men toward woman on council	B/T	F: Observation in the field	J/3/22
Men are called by first and last names women are called by first name on the council	B/T	F: Observation in the field	J/3/22
Women respected by men	R/T	F: Observation in the field	J/3/22
Map work helped visualize presentation; helpful visual aide	N/S	A: Realization in class	J/4/1
Feeling stressed about doing justice to subjects	N/S	M: Realization when thinking about paper	J/4/1
Saw themselves in relation to the subjects; inspired by strength	B/S	F: Response to knowing the women	P/4
Maine women an ethnicity worthy of study	R/T	T: Stated by teachers; inspired choice of topic	P/4
Traditional role is industry specific; what is traditional in industry may be non-traditional outside of industry	N/T	M: Operating definition for paper	P/6
Background research did not provide much information about topic	R/T	A: Concluded from researching secondary sources	P/8-11
Creating map helped deepen understanding of data	B/S	A: Concluded from mapping exercise in class	P/11
Areas of disagreement forced further exploration of topic	N/S	A: Concluded from data analysis process	P/14
Impressed with strength of personality	R/T	M: Concluded from interviews while processing data	P/18 I/3/2
Women were breaking down gender barriers	B/T	M: Concluded from interviews while processing data	P/19
Some women had traditionally men's jobs	N/T	M: Observed about subjects	P/19
Women with less education were more self-deprecating	N/T	M: Concluded from interviews while processing data	P/20
Women drawn into industry because of husband	N/T	M: Concluded from interviews while processing data	P/20
Important gender divisions exist in the industry	C/T	M: Concluded from interviews while processing data; contradicts sentiments of 4 of 5 subjects	P/21, 23
Stereotype reinforced by the fact that few women work at sea	B/T	M: Concluded from interviews while processing data	P/21
A separate community of women does not exist within the fishing industry	B/T	M: Concluded from interviews while processing data	P/22
Scope of study limited	B/S	M: Concluded looking at whole project	P/24

Subjects not concerned about or perhaps aware of gender bias	B/T	M: Concluded from interviews while processing data	P/24
Women must loose part of their femininity to gain respect of men	N/T,	M: Concluded from interviews while processing data	P/25
Subjects possessed masculine traits	B/T	M: Concluded from interviews while processing data	P/25
Not interviewing males limits scope	N/S	M: Concluded looking at whole project	P/26
Subjects enjoyed working with men	N/T	F: Concluded from interviews	I/3/1
Great pride and confidence in themselves	B/T	F: Concluded from interviews	I/3/1
Women have to overcome the expectation that they can't do the job	B/T	F: Stated by subjects	I/3/2
Lack of information about women shows a lack of appreciation for them	N/T	M: Concluded from largely unsuccessful search for information and teacher suggestion	I/3/2
Observing trends in data key to formulating insights	N/S	A: Concluded reflecting on data analysis process	I/3/3
Writing the paper stimulated insights e.g. traditional/nontraditional roles	N/S	A: Concluded reflecting on the paper writing process	I/3/3
Some traditional roles in the fishing industry are non-traditional roles outside of the industry	B/T	A: Realized while writing the paper	I/3/4
Teachers inspiring and supportive	N/S	T: Realized working with teachers	I/3/4
Teachers instructed and coached	N/S	T: Realized after working with teachers	I/3/4
Primary research gives better feel for the facts, better connection to the project	N/S	M: Realized looking at the whole project	I/3/5
Primary research allows self-reflection	N/S	M: Realized looking at the whole project	I/3/5
Commenting on level of education is complex	N/T	T: Difficulty pointed out by teacher	I/3/5
Women's pride in work blinds them to gender bias	B/T	T: Teacher coached to understand	I/3/6
Subjects did not verify the hypothesis, but observations about the subjects did	N/T	M: Concluded looking back on project	I/3/6
TOTAL 91. TYPE N 44, B 25, R 17, C 5; T 71, S 20. SOURCE F 45, A 10, M 22, T 14. PHASE I 12, II 46, III 33			

Alicia Insight Table			
Insight	Type	Source	Cite
Sacred Heart Church has people from many Latino nations.	N/T	F: Contact statement	J/1/12
Religion is a motivation to attend the church	N/T	F: Stated by a subject	J/1/12
Woman and her husband have two jobs each.	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/1/12
Safety is a motivation to be in Portland	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/1/12
Learning English is a motivation to be in Portland	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/1/12
Latin Community council meeting time and church service conflict on Sunday	N/T	F: Observation from trying to attend both	J/1/19
Latino Council meeting disorganized	N/T	F: Concluded after observing that there were several times given for meeting.	J/1/23
Latino community faces multiple issues	N/T	F: Concluded from the list of issues raised at a Latino Community Council meeting	J/1/23
Portland's Latino community is hidden and geographically	B/T	F: Concluded after nobody on the Council could identify a Latino	J/1/23

		neighborhood state how many Latinos live in the Portland area and having difficulty finding information	
Sacred Heart's Spanish Mass had a big influence in the community	N/T	A: Article described the past strength of the Sacred Heart Spanish Mass	I/1/2
A significant Portland Latino population exists	N/T	M: Concluded after teacher informed her of a significant Latino population, about which Alicia had no prior knowledge. The fact was confirmed by academic research.	I/1/2 P/4
Little information about the Latino community in Portland available	N/T	A: Concluded after finding little information and data about the Latino community in Portland Room archives	I/1/8
Attendance at church is low	C/T	F: Observed by attending Mass. Contrary to expectation. Reason given that there was a funeral being held simultaneously for dead fisherman, husband of a Latino.	J/1/30
Whole families attend, not just individuals	C/T	F: Contrary to prior experience. Concluded from direct observation at services	J/1/30
No list of names of church attendees, because some are illegal	N/T	F: Stated by the Priest	J/1/30
Interviewees seem to work a lot	B/T	F: Concluded from statements by interviewees	J/2/1
Many countries represented in the church.	R/T	F: Observed from talking to the parishioners at the coffee hour	J/2/6
Not as many people or as many old people or women as expected. Mostly men and middle aged and young people.	C/T	F: Contrary to prior experience. Concluded from direct observation at services	J/2/6
Attendance at church is low	B/T	F: Observation from attending service. Many say that as the days get warmer, the congregation will get bigger. New immigrants have not seen snow and felt cold.	J/2/6
Congregation is from many countries	R/T	F: Conclusion from talking to the parishioners at the coffee hour and subject's statement	J/2/3
Adults speak Spanish; kids speak Spanish and English	N/T	F: Concluded from direct observation at services	J/2/3
Some non-Latinos attend service	N/T	F: Concluded from noting that not all attendees at service speak Spanish	I/2/2
Church is a strong community	N/T	F: Concluded after observing the community rallying around a woman whose fisherman husband died at sea	J/2/6
Church started Mass when fish processing plant employed many Latino immigrants	N/T	A: Stated in newspaper article	J/2/6
Money and work of concern to the subjects	B/T	F: Concluded after hearing many coffee hour conversations focus on jobs	J/2/6
Religion is a motivation to attend the church	R/T	F: Concluded after observing a subject promote the service vigorously	J/2/11
Socializing with other Latinos is a motivation to attend church	N/T	F: Stated by a subject	J/2/11
Socializing with other Latinos is a motivation to attend church	B/T	F: Concluded from observing only Spanish speakers at the coffee	I/2/2

Minister feels that congregation, not he, should be recruiting.	N/T	F: Stated by the Priest	J/2/13
Minister thinks the church will help Latinos assimilate	N/T,	F: Stated by subject	J/3/2
Church attempts to integrate Latino with non-Latino parishioners	C/T	F: Concluded from witnessing an invitation for the Latino parish to attend an event sponsored by the non-Latino parish.	J/3/2
Only a fraction of the Latino population attends the Spanish Mass	B/T	F: Stated by Priest	J/3/2
Church hierarchy is divided from Latino population	N/T	F: Stated by Priest	J/3/2
Connection to home country and culture is a motivation to attend church	N/T	F: Subject stated that church allows immigrants to keep up with news from home.	J/3/3
As immigrants are in the US longer, they attend church less and less	B/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/3
Connection to home country and culture is a motivation to attend church	B/T	F: Teenagers say they want to be involved with Latino culture	J/3/5
Connection to home country and culture is a motivation to attend church	R/T	F: Stated by a subject	J/3/5
Socializing with other Latinos is a motivation to attend church	R/T	F: Stated by a subject	J/3/5
Speaking and hearing Spanish is a motivation to attend church	B/T	F: Stated by a subject	J/3/5
Speaking and hearing Spanish is a motivation to attend church	R/T	F: Stated by a subject	J/3/5
Diocese does not particularly support Spanish Mass.	B/T	F: Conclusion after unsuccessful attempt to glean information about the Spanish Mass from the Diocese archives	J/3/9
Connection to home country and culture is a motivation to attend church	B/T	F: Subject stated that he does not care about the Spanish, but wants kids to know culture.	J/3/12
Church does little to promote the Spanish Mass	B/T	F: Conclusion after learning that Church does not have a representative in the community to provide information about the Spanish Mass.	J/3/12
A reason only a fraction of the Latino population attends the Spanish Mass is that they do not know about it	B/T	F: Stated by a subject and concluded from supporting evidence	J/3/12
Money and work of concern to the subjects	B/T	F: Subject stated he could not come to the potluck at church because it cost too much	J/3/12
A reason only a fraction of the Latino population attends the Spanish Mass	B/T	F: Concluded after subject said could not stay for coffee because the family was going home for lunch and learning that Mass is scheduled at an inconvenient time for Latino customs.	J/3/12
Founder of the Spanish Mass accomplished much	B/T	F: Concluded after talking with the founding Priest.	J/3/17
Activist woman had difficulty organizing refugees because of class division	B/T	F: Stated by a subject	J/3/17
Divisions within the Latino community	B/T	F: Stated by a subject	J/3/17

Mass weaker now	B/T	F: After interviewing founder, concluded that the new Priest is not as effective as the founder	J/3/17
Speaking and hearing Spanish is a motivation to attend church	R/T	F: Subject stated that multiple nationalities at church is ok because speaking Spanish is most important	J/3/19
Communion seems disorganized	B/T	F: Concluded from observing the service	J/3/19
No list of names of church attendees, because some are illegal	R/T	F: Stated by a subject	J/3/19
Community council is comprised of the upper middle class	B/T	F: Stated by a subject	I/2/1
Transportation difficult for parishioners; they tend not to have cars	B/T	F: Stated by a subject	I/2/1
People come from near and far away to attend Mass	B/T	F: Concluded from talking to many parishioners	I/2/2
Some regular in the coffee, some occasional	C/T	F: Concluded from direct observation of the coffee hour	I/2/2
Socializing with other Latinos is a motivation to attend church	B/T	F: Concluded after hearing from many that the church is one of the few places where people can come together as a Latin community	I/2/3
Assimilating with the dominant culture is a motivation to be in Portland	B/T	F: Concluded when told by a subject that people coming from California and NYC may not speak English because they do not have to. In Portland, they must assimilate more.	I/2/3
Good schools are a motivation to come to Portland	N/T	F: Stated directly by a subject.	I/2/3
Church does little to bring the Latino community together due to lack of leadership	B/T	F: Concluded from observations	I/2/3
Mixing in church with people from many countries is fine because they are Latino first	B/T	F: Stated by a subject	I/2/4
Latino Community Council seeks to help the community	N/T	F: Conclusion from attending Council meeting and observing it is working on census so that Latinos get appropriate federal money.	I/2/4
Latino Community Council and the church both push the census	N/T	F: Concluded after hearing the Council stress the census and observing the Minister pushing the census in church.	I/2/4
Portland's Latino community is hidden and geographically fragmented	B/T	F: Conclusion after observing the confusion about how many Latinos there are in Portland: 500 to 3,000	I/2/4
Not able to interview illegals	B/T	F: Observation after trying to line up interviews	I/2/6
People in the church were concerned that Alicia might be a government representative in charge of census.	B/T	F: Conclusion after a man asked her if she were with the government	I/2/6
People in the back of the church probably illegals	B/T	F: Conclusion after observing their behavior and learning about illegals	I/2/6
Divisions within the Latino community	R/T	F: Statement by a subject that Latino activists are separate from those barely trying to survive (e.g. interest in the census)	I/2/7
Divisions within the Latino community	B/T	F: Conclusion after observing illegals	I/2/7

		sitting separately and slipping away. Contrast to better educated parishioners who stay and talk	
Mass size swells in the summer when the weather is better and people without cars can get themselves to church	R/T	F: Stated by subject; supported by observation that there are more people in the back of the church slipping away as weeks go on	I/2/7
Most of the people interviewed are educated (clearly middle class)	B/T	F: Concluded from observation of informants during the interviews	I/2/7
Subjects are very busy	B/T	F: Concluded after finding that the only time to interview people is right after the service because subjects need to go home or to work. Some work at night.	I/2/8
Alicia loves the work.	N/S	F: Realization from experience in the field	I/2/9
Alicia likes being part of a community, much more than writing a paper.	B/S	F: Realization from experience in the field	I/2/9
Division between Latino and Hispanic communities	N/T	F: Concluded after the churches' only Hispanic couple stated that they do not stay for social events because Latino culture is not their own.	J/3/21
Division between Latino and Hispanic communities	N/T	F: Concluded when the Hispanic couple stated that they do not identify with parts of the Mass, which they think is Latino. They are critical of the ceremony.	J/3/21
Speaking and hearing Spanish is a motivation to attend church	B/T	F: Subject from an Hispanic family stated that he likes to talk, think, and pray in Spanish.	J/3/21
Division between Latino and Hispanic communities	R/T	F: Concluded after interview the Hispanic family.	J/3/21
Speaking and hearing Spanish is a motivation to attend church; Socializing with other Latinos is a motivation to attend church	B/T	F: Subject stated that Center for Cultural Exchange has a Latin Dance night, but most who attend are Americans who want to dance. Church allows her to speak Spanish	J/3/26
Assimilating with the dominant culture is a motivation to be in Portland	R/T	F: Concluded after a statement by an subject that people are more a part of the larger community in Portland because it is smaller than Boston or NYC	J/3/28
Church does little to promote the Spanish Mass	R/T	F: Concluded after observing the Priest ask the congregation to spread the word about the Mass, stating that it is their responsibility.	J/4/9
Welcoming church community	B/T	F: Concluded after Alicia announced her departure and the Priest blessed her.	J/4/9
Only a fraction of the Latino population attends the Spanish Mass; Socializing with other Latinos is a motivation to attend church	B/T	F: Concluded after observing that the same people attend the coffee every week	J/4/9
Some fear government because of experiences with government in their home country.	N/T	M: Concluded from noting subjects do not want their names used, even if they are not immigrants.	I/3/1,2

Church is for newer arrivals. The longer they have been in Portland, the less they attend church	C/T	F: Concluded from observing how long the parishioners had been in Portland	I/3/5
Class of people married to Americans	N/T	F: Concluded after observing that the dead fisherman's wife went back home.	I/3/6
Portland's Latino community is hidden and geographically fragmented	B/T	F: Observed that nobody at the council Could identify a Latino neighborhood, or state how many are in the population.	I/3/7
Welcoming church community	N/T	F: Concluded after noting hot water for tea appeared after first Sunday and parishioners were willing to talk and be interviewed.	I/3/7
Welcoming church community	B/T	F: Concluded after noting how willing subjects were to have their pictures taken and to see the results	I/3/7
Mass weaker now than in past	N/T	A: Spanish Mass suffering after the departure of founder, Father Morin	P/3
Latino population is geographically spread	B/T	F: Conclusion from observing where people travel from to attend church	P/10
Socializing with other Latinos is a motivation to attend church	R/T	F: Conclusion after observing that a fragmented community has few other outlets	P/10
Mass attendees are a sub-group within a larger Latino ethnic population.	N/T	F: Concluded from the number of attendees in comparison to the reported size of the Latino community	P/11
Portland's Latino community is unknown to most residents of Portland	B/T	F: Conclusion from many observations	P/11
Latin Community Council separate from the church	B/T	F: Concluded after asking members of the council about the church and not getting much interest in response	P/22
TOTAL INSIGHTS 96. TYPE N 32, B 44, R 14, C 6; T 94, S 2. SOURCE F 90, A 4, M 2, T 0; Phase I 13, Phase II 71, Phase III 12			

Ana Insight Table			
Insight	Type	Source	Cite
Fewer teenage Cambodians in Portland than there had been	N/T	F: Stated by a subject	J/2/1
Teenagers have heavy family responsibilities	N/T	F: Concluded after speaking with subject	J/2/7
Eldest in house dictating factor for family responsibility	N/T	F: Concluded after speaking with subject	J/2/7
Finds the work tedious; procrastinates	N/S	F: Concluded six weeks into the class	I/1/2
Thinks her hypothesis will prove true	B/T	F: Concluded on the basis of an interview of an eldest at home	I/1/4
Work harder than past anthropology project; hard to stay focused	B/S	F: Concluded after six weeks in the class	I/1/4
Glad to be nearly done with the research; paper will be easy	B/S	F: Concluded after two months in the class	J/3/8
Wants to be finished with the field work	B/S	F: Concluded after 10 weeks in the course	J/3/14
Does not like conducting interviews	B/S	F: Concluded after 11 weeks in the course	J/3/21
Few Cambodians in elderly projects	N/T	F: Observed after reviewing Housing authority records	J/3/24

Cultural ties loosened by being a refugee	N/T	F: Concluded from interviews	I/2/2
Riverton families had traditional rules of women doing housework	N/T	F: Concluded from interviews	I/2/2
Not inspired by the work; disengaged; bored; contrast to others in the class	B/S	F: Concluded after conducting the field work	I/2/3
Better to have gathered the reports of others and then draw conclusions	B/S	F: Concluded after conducting the field work	I/2/4
Previous project based on statistical survey data much better	B/S	F: Concluded after conducting the field work	I/2/5
Traditional family structures based on farm life can not exist in urban America	N/T	T: Pointed out by the teacher	P/9
The role of young males is displaced in an urban setting	B/T	T: Pointed out by the teacher	P/9
Eldest in house dictating factor for family responsibility	R/T	M: Concluded from analyzing interview profiles	P/10
Older siblings who had moved out of the house no longer contribute, contrary to Cambodian traditions	B/T	M: Concluded from analyzing interview profiles	P/10
The more fragmented the immediate family, the more traditional its practices	N/T	M: Concluded from analyzing interview profiles	P/10
Families become fragmented when older siblings disengage	B/T	M: Concluded from analyzing interview profiles	P/12
Families that stay together longer are less fragmented when older siblings leave the house	B/T	M: Concluded from analyzing interview profiles	P/13
Cambodia family traditions challenged by American media's emphasis on individuality	N/T	M: Concluded from analyzing interview profiles and secondary sources	P/13
When family values are assaulted too quickly when older siblings move out, they fragment; traditional responsibilities are placed on the eldest in the household	B/T	M: Concluded from analyzing interview profiles and secondary sources	P/14
Fragmentation reinforcing tradition was contrary to expectations	B/T	M: Concluded after looking back on the entire project	I/3/1
Conducting the interviews yielded data not available from secondary sources or even interview transcripts	N/S	F: Concluded after reflecting on the field work	I/3/2
Writing and analyzing interview profiles yielded the important insights	N/S	A: Concluded after looking back on the entire project	I/3/2
More insightful with surveys than interview; interview process too "webby"	B/S	M: Concluded looking back on the entire project	I/3/3
Relied on teacher feedback on the paper for ideas, and for what is good and what needs to be changed	N/S	A: Concluded looking back on the writing process	I/3/4
Deeper analysis hindered by short interviews	N/S	A: Concluded after analyzing the data	I/3/5
Discomfort with interviews and lack of linear course structure made Ana really dislike the work	R/S	F: Concluded looking back on field work	I/3/6
It is easier to do a graph than to set up an interview	R/S	F: Concluded looking back on field work	I/3/6
Likes having done original research; the analysis of data much better than gathering it	N/S	M: Concluded looking back on entire project	I/3/7
Project did not have enough check points to guide Ana's work schedule	B/S	M: Concluded looking back on entire project	I/3/7
TOTAL INSIGHTS 34. TYPE N 15, B 16, R 3, C 0; T 17, S 17. SOURCE F 18 A 3, M 11, T 2. Phase I			

6, Phase II 9, Phase III 19

Eban Insight Table			
Insight	Type	Source	Cite
Notices a new stage in the church and wonders if it is indicative of changing times	N/T	F: Observation visiting the church	J/1/18
Rich parishioner housewives are bored and start relief fund	N/T	A: Stated in a history of the church	J/1/28
Church run like a business	N/T	A: Concluded from reading a history of the church	J/1/28
The wealth of the west end and the church were mutually reinforcing	N/T	A: Concluded from background research	I/1/2
Church is the center of some controversy	B/T	A: Concluded from background research	I/1/4
Church very liberal politically	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/2/1
Two churches split because St. Lukes had become too liberal	B/T	F: Stated by subject	J/2/1
Money easily raised to build church	N/T	A: Stated in a article on the church	J/2/7
Church a place for loving one another, not moralizing	B/T	A: Stated in an article on the church	J/2/7
After a low period, in the 1980s the church moved from survival to mission	N/T	A: Stated in an article on the church	J/2/7
Service well attended, but little ethnic diversity in the congregation or the clergy	N/T	F: Concluded from observations at the service	J/3/5
Parishioners are economically upper middle to upper class	B/T	F: Concluded from observations at the service and in the parking lot	J/3/5
Parishioners more elderly than young	B/T	F: Concluded form observations at the service	J/3/5
St. Lukes a close community	N/T	F: Concluded from observations at the service	J/3/5
Church and Diocese are politically progressive	B/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/7
Church is a conduit to social service agencies in Maine	N/T	F: Concluded after hearing of church's involvement with various organizations	J/3/7
Church wants to see people use their faith	B/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/7
Church involved with refugees	B/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/7
Minister wants church to be a leader of social change, not a follower	B/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/7
Pace of change slowed by desire not to offend and to do things right	B/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/7
Church seeks diverse parishioners	C/T	F: Stated by subject; contrary to observations	J/3/7
Special service for gay Catholics	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/7
Church helps refugees, but does not try to convert them	B/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/7
Amazed at level of agreement with the church	C/S	F: Reaction to interviewing the Minister; contrary to expectations from prior experience	J/3/7
Community church in a city	R/T	F: Concluded after attending a service and observing the party atmosphere at the coffee	J/3/19
St. Lukes theology unrecognizable	B/T	F: Stated by a subject	J/3/22
St. Lukes politically liberal	R/T	F: Concluded after interviewing a politically liberal parishioner who also attends a second church because of its	J/3/22

		traditional service	
Traditional theology may be altered to keep people coming to the church	N/T	F: Stated by a subject	J/3/22
St. Lukes an open community	R/T	F: Stated by a subject	J/3/23
Non-traditional theology necessary to be consistent with openness	R/T	F: Stated by a subject	J/3/23
Parish economically middle and upper middle class	R/T	F: Stated by a subject	J/3/23
St. Lukes welcomes displaced Catholics	R/T	F: Concluded after this was stated by the Minister and then Eban interviewed two former Catholics with liberal political views	J/3/23
St. Lukes offers a universal message	B/T	F: Concluded from hearing about the church's openness and liberal views	I/2/1
St. Lukes is a community church, not just a rich person's church as it was at its inception	B/T	M: Concluded from historical documents, interviews, and mapping data	I/2/2
Community involvement of the early church was condescending	N/T	A: Concluded from historical documents	I/2/2
People are excited about church	N/T	F: Concluded from interviews	I/2/2
Some people have left because of changes in the church	R/T	F: Stated by subjects	I/2/2
Bishop disapproves of changes at St. Lukes	N/T	F: Concluded after overhearing a conversation in the church office	I/2/2
Experience has changed Eban's views	R/S	F: Concluded after reflecting on the fieldwork	I/2/3
St. Lukes is accepting	R/T	F: Concluded after observing that not everyone kneels for prayer	I/2/4
St. Lukes is a community church	R/T	F: Concluded after observing that the coffee was packed and like a big family reunion	I/2/4
St. Lukes is a community church	R/T	F: Concluded after listening to church announcements about individuals	I/2/5
People coming back to the church because of modern culture	N/T	F: Stated by a subject	I/2/5
Church facility used for many community organizations	R/T	F: Concluded from observations and reading the church calendar	I/2/5
Process is more of an exercise than fact finding	N/S	M: Concluded looking back on research process	I/2/5
Research process more like doing a science lab than a research paper, and requires much more initiative	N/S	M: Concluded looking back on research process	I/2/6
Modern churches becoming more integral culturally than in religion	B/T	M: Concluded from extrapolating from all of the data collected on St. Lukes	I/2/7
A more diverse group attends a Thursday service; Sunday's service is more traditional	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/28
People, not the church, are dictating the church's theology	B/T	M: Concluded from all data	P/2
Original church drew most of its parish from the West End	R/T	A: Conclusion from maps and sign in book	P/4
St. Lukes parish has always been affluent and altruistic	R/T	M: Concluded from historical documents, census data, and subject statements	P/11
Church message is universal	R/T	F: Concluded from listening to the sermons	P/20
Church in transition from being traditional to being a leader on social issues	B/T	F: Concluded from interviews and field observations	P/21

Early altruism by people of the same social status trying to help those of a lower social status	R/T	A: Concluded from historical sources	P/21
Economic make-up of the community is broader than it was at the founding	R/T	A: Concluded from analyzing census data, maps, and historical records	P/23
Many parishioners now travel from outside of the city to attend St. Lukes	N/T	A: Concluded from analyzing census data and maps	P/23
Church has been successful in efforts to minister to a larger segment of the population	R/T	M: Concluded from interview data , census data, and maps	P/24
Move to activism, which is stimulating changes in theology, is threatening some	B/T	F: Concluded from interview data	P/25
St. Lukes places social responsibility higher than theology	B/T	F: Concluded from interview data	P/25
More traditional churches receiving benefit from St. Lukes liberalizing	N/T	F: Concluded from interview data	P/25
Move to social responsibility is controversial	R/T	A: Concluded after reading a newspaper article	P/25
People are attracted to St. Lukes	R/T	F: Concluded from subjects who had left their church and come back to St. Lukes	P/26
To flourish, church must evolve with culture	B/T	M: Concluded from all data	P/26
St. Lukes is increasingly entwined with culture, even more than religion	R/T	M: Concluded from all data	P/26
Eban acknowledges his bias in favor of St. Lukes	N/S	F: Concluded after reflecting on himself	P/27
People's expectations for religion are changing; people should dictate theology, not the other way around	N/T	M: Extrapolated from St. Lukes' example	P/28
People seek institutions that will nourish existing beliefs, not confer new ones	N/T	M: Extrapolated from example of St. Lukes	P/29
Changes in St. Lukes have changed the make-up of its neighborhood	N/T	M: Concluded from analysis of all data	I/3/1
People in their 30s and 40s seeking a spiritual identity are attracted to the philosophy of St. Lukes	N/T	F: Concluded from interviews	I/3/1
Analysis and writing galvanized the insights	N/S	A: Concluded looking back on the process	I/3/1
Coaching by teacher a third of the way through the writing process helped him to say what he was trying to say	N/S	T: Concluded looking back on the process	I/3/1
Data are inadequate	N/T	M: Concluded looking back on the process	I/3/3
Most of the work was done independently	N/S	M: Concluded looking back on the process	I/3/3
Liked the work and independence; proud of the result; more fulfilling	N/S	M: Concluded looking back on the process	I/3/4
Difficulty analyzing qualitative data	N/S	M: Concluded looking back on data analysis	I/3/5
Frustration without safety net	N/S	M: Concluded looking back on the process	I/3/6
People are increasingly demanding of their leadership institutions	B/T	M: Concluded from all data	I/3/6
Church's outreach is almost like recruiting	N/T	F: Concluded from interview data and field observations	I/3/6
What he learned could not be found in a book	N/S	F: Concluded looking at field data	I/3/7
Writing the paper caused him to realize	R/S	M: Concluded looking back on the	I/3/7

trends in his notes		process	
Everything has more than meets the eye	N/T	M: Extrapolated from example of St. Lukes	I/3/7
There is a story behind everything that probably relates to yourself	B/T	M: Extrapolated from research experience	I/3/8
TOTAL INSIGHTS 82. TYPE N 36, B 22, R 22, C 2; T 69, S 13. SOURCE F 46 A 14, M 21, T 1. Phase I 5, Phase II 43, Phase III 34.			

Juliet Insight Table			
Insight	Type	Source	Cite
Innocence about "low income life."	N/S	F: Realization after neighborhood walk	J/1/6
City's functions make more sense	N/S	F: Realization after neighborhood walk	J/1/6
Anthropological study could be a passion	N/S	A: Realization after presentation defining anthropology	J/1/7
Perhaps more a linear thinker than she realized	N/S	A: Realization after web note presentation	J/1/10
Mapmakers are artists	N/S	A: Realization after visit to map museum	J/1/13
Understanding the need for sensitivity and objectivity in interviewing	N/S	A: Realization after interview training	J/1/15
Being open in an interview opens the person being interviewed	N/S	A: Realization after interview training	J/1/15
Explaining project deepens insight	N/S	A: Realization after talking with teacher	J/1/15
Lack of information is as important as an abundance	N/T	T: Realization after talking with teacher	J/1/28
Judging other's culture requires more skill than researchers possess	N/S	M: Realization from conducting field work and talking with teachers	J/1/28
Maine fishing communities more intimate than other New England towns	N/T	A: Gleaned from a periodical article	I/1/3
Subjects are likely to be salty and hard edged	N/T	M: Impression from initial contacts and stated by a secondary source	I/1/4
Women involved in politics of industry	N/T	A: Stated by newspaper article	I/1/4
Wished teachers had been a little more directive	N/S	A: Impression after failing to gain much background information	I/1/5
Men respect subject because she can do what they can do only better	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/2/11
Subject does the work that needs to be done, which gains respect	R/T	F: Stated by subject	J/2/11
Learned so much more in an interview than in a classroom	N/S	F: Conclusion after first full interview	J/2/11
Smell initially turned researcher off to one subject	N/S	F: Realization of first impression after wonderful interview	J/2/16
Inspired by subject's rags to riches story	N/S	F: Realization after an interview	J/3/6
Subject devoted mother	N/T	F: Conclusion from interview statements	J/3/6
Restaurant built help fisherman, became community hub	N/T	F: Stated by subject, observed by researchers	J/3/6
Fishermen like subject's traditional role of serving food	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/6
Subject reluctant to participate in study	N/T	F: Conclusion from interview experience	J/3/6
Subject drawn into industry by husband, who then divorced her	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/10
Subject too smart to fish	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/10
Subject highly accomplished	N/T	F: Concluded from observing her resume	J/3/10
Subject made her own job	B/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/10
Gender issues pervade data	R/T	T: Stated by teacher	J/3/20

Subject very interested in the study	N/T	F: Concluded from observing subject	J/3/20
Subject mothering and nurturing; woman's role	B/T	M: Conclusion from observing subject; pointed out by the teacher	J/3/20
Many statements are repeated	N/T	F: Concluded looking back on interviews	I/2/1
Subjects see themselves as women in a man's world	B/T	F: Concluded looking back on interviews	I/2/1
Subjects realize bias against them; the need to prove themselves	R/T	F: Concluded looking back on interviews	I/2/1
Women don't feel the gender bias around them	B/T	F: Concluded looking back on interviews	I/2/1
Respect women feel means they don't feel the bias; don't need to break out	B/T	F: Concluded looking back on interviews	I/2/1
Restaurant owner likes her traditional role	B/T	F: Stated by subject	I/2/2
Women are happy	B/T	F: Concluded looking back on interviews	I/2/2
Women are very independent and confident	R/T	F: Concluded looking back on interviews	I/2/3
Wharf offices laid back	N/T	F: Concluded from observations of offices	I/2/3
Men listen to women in ways they don't listen to other men	N/T	F: Stated by subject	I/2/4
Subject thinks women are smarter than men	R/T	F: Stated by subject	I/2/4
Freedom of class makes it appealing	C/S	F: Concluded after reflecting on experience; contradicts earlier statement	I/2/4
Primary research is different than having teacher digest the information	B/S	F: Concluded looking back on interviews	I/2/4
Experience feels almost like a job	B/S	F: Concluded looking back on experience	I/2/5
Militant demeanor and pink lipstick; interesting gender commentary	N/T	M: Conclusion from observing subject; pointed out by the teacher	J/3/23
Loosens up when she realizes that she is not being judged	N/S	F: Observation after a field experience	J/3/23
On the council, the women participated as much as the men	N/T	F: Observation at a council meeting	J/3/23
Men were called by first and last names; women by first names only	N/T	F: Observation at a council meeting	J/3/23
Saw themselves in relation to the subjects; inspired by strength	B/S	F: Response to knowing the women	P/4
Maine women an ethnicity worthy of study	R/T	T: Stated by teachers; inspired choice of topic	P/4
Traditional role is industry specific; what is traditional in industry may be non-traditional outside of industry	N/T	M: Operating definition for paper	P/6
Background research did not provide much information about topic	R/T	A: Concluded from researching secondary sources	P/8-11
Creating map helped deepen understanding of data	B/S	A: Concluded from mapping exercise in class	P/11
Areas of disagreement forced further exploration of topic	N/S	A: Concluded from data analysis process	P/14
Impressed with strength of personality	R/T	M: Concluded from interviews while processing data	P/18 I/3/2
Women were breaking down gender barriers	B/T	M: Concluded from interviews while processing data	P/19
Some women had traditionally men's jobs	N/T	M: Observed about subjects	P/19
Women with less education were more self-deprecating	N/T	M: Concluded from interviews while processing data	P/20
Women drawn into industry because of	N/T	M: Concluded from interviews while	P/20

husband		processing data	
Gender divisions exist in the industry	C/T	M: Concluded from interviews while processing data; contradicts sentiments of 4 of 5 subjects	P/21, 23
Stereotype reinforced by the fact that few women work at sea	B/T	M: Concluded from interviews while processing data	P/21
A separate community of women does not exist within the fishing industry	B/T	M: Concluded from interviews while processing data	P/22
Scope of study limited	B/S	M: Concluded looking at whole project	P/24
Subjects not concerned about or perhaps aware of gender bias	B/T	M: Concluded from interviews while processing data	P/24
Women must loose part of their femininity to gain respect of men	N/T	M: Concluded from interviews while processing data	P/25
Subjects possessed masculine traits	B/T	M: Concluded from interviews while processing data	P/25
Not interviewing males limits scope	N/S	M: Concluded looking at whole project	P/26
Freedom helped them construct their own thoughts	B/S	M: Conclusion looking back on the experience	I/3/1
Freedom made them more responsible	B/S	M: Conclusion looking back on the experience	I/3/1
Primary research allowed connection to subject and subtlety of understanding	R/T	M: Conclusion looking back on the experience	I/3/1
One subject did not possess feminine characteristics, which is learned only by interviewing her	B/T	M: Conclusion looking back on the experience	I/3/I
Women were confident, but not arrogant, weak, or submissive	R/T	F: Observed in interviews	I/3/2
Cycle: women discriminated against but are happy, so the cycle is reinforced	B/T	M: Concluded from interviews and analysis	I/3/2
Could not gain their information from other sources	B/T	M: Conclusion looking back on the experience	I/3/2
Data analysis helped them focus on trends; see data more clearly	B/S	A: Conclusion looking back on data analysis	I/3/3
Coding data helped identify trends	R/S	T: Recommended by teacher	I/3/3
Fishing is like a religion to the community	B/T	M: Concluded looking back on the experience	I/3/4
Income is not steady	N/T	F: Observation from interviews	I/3/4
Life and job blended together	R/T	F: Conclusion from interviews	I/3/4
Primary research stirs passion for topic	B/S	F: Conclusion from interviews	I/3/5
Gender based teasing at the council	R/T	F: Observation at the council meeting	I/3/6
Immersion deepens learning	B/S	F: Conclusion looking back at field research	I/3/6
TOTAL 82. TYPE N 41, B 26, R 13, C 2; T 54, S 28. SOURCE F 40, A 13, M 25, T 4. PHASE I1 4, II 34, III 34			

Lou Insight Table			
Insight	Type	Source	Cite
Sees himself as a researcher	N/S	A: Observed after anthropology presentation	J/10
Exchange St. had a prosperous beginning. How did it slump?	N/T	A: Question after reading newspaper article	J/18
Rejuvenation of Exchange St. came from private investors. Who initiated?	N/T	A: Conclusion and question from newspaper article	J/22
Old Port was a slum	B/T	F: Stated by a subject	I/1/1

Area filled with prostitutes, bars, and warehouses in the 40s and 50s	B/T	F: Stated by subject	I/1/1
City was behind the urban renewal of the Old Port	B/T,	T: Hypothesis based on teacher explanation of what happened in another neighborhood	I/1/3
Old Port important to the city economically	N/T	F: Observation	I/1/3
City alone did not change Old Port	C/T	A: Concluded from articles	I/1/3
Many people shopping in the Old Port are not local	N/T	F: Observation	I/2A/ 2
Unsure of whether the city or the investors led the way	B/T	A: Question arising from background research	I/2A/ 3
City led the way	B/T	A: Implication of several articles	I/2A/ 3
Field work more important than articles; gives feeling of topic; formulate own views	N/S	M: Conclusion from experience so far	I/2A/ 4
Likes being independent	N/S	F: Conclusion from being in the field	I/2A/ 5
Teacher excitement is motivating	N/S	T: Concluded from working with teachers	I/2A/ 5
Working with teachers is helpful	N/S	T: Concluded from working with teachers	I/2A/ 5
City bureaucracy had trouble managing night life	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/25
City taxed successful Old Port businesses	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/25
City impeded success of Old Port	B/T	F: Stated by subject	J/28
Corporate basis of 1920s businesses. Few retailers or restaurants	N/T	A: Concluded from maps and articles	J/33
1970s Exchange St. attracted young people	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/34
1970 Exchange St. dangerous	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/34
Entrepreneurs, not the city, responsible for rejuvenation initially	R/T	F: Stated by subject	J/34
City involved 5-10 years later	B/T	F: Stated by subject	J/35
Retail businesses led rejuvenation	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/35
Rejuvenation repeated in cities across America	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/36
Influence of one entrepreneur key	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/42
Young people with vision and no fear changed Exchange St.	B/T	M: Stated by subject; teacher underscored	J/42
City has helped Congress St. but not Exchange St.	B/T	F: Stated by subject	J/42
No tax breaks for Old Port businesses	B/T	F: Stated by subject	J/46
Old Port distinct from Congress St. and Maine Mall	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/46
A few unruly young have harmed the relationship among generations	N/T	F: Stated by subject	I/2B/ 1
Entrepreneurs were from outside of Maine; natives lacked the vision	N/T	F: Stated by subject	I/2B/ 1
Private investors primarily behind renewal	B/T	F: Conclusion from interviews	I/2B/ 2
A few unruly young have harmed the relationship among generations	R/T	F: Stated by subject	I/2B/ 3
Young are more an annoyance than a threat	B/T	F: concluded from interviews	I/2B/ 3
Interviewing very interesting	N/S	F: Concluded from interviews	P/6

Old Port lure in old fashioned atmosphere	N/T	M: Concluded from observations, subject statements	P/11
Old Port declined in manufacturing, rose in retail	B/T	A: Concluded from map work	P/11
Exchange St. Portland's economic hub	B/T	F: Stated by subject	P/13
Imagination and guts of the young key to economic revival	R/T	F: Stated by subject	P/14
Big economic declined occurred after WWII, when Naval activity declined .	N/T	F: Stated by subject	P/15
Rent breaks helped small businesses start	N/T	F: Stated by subject	P/16
To project Congress St., city fought competition in the Old Port	B/T	F: Concluded from interview	P/16
Chains now trying to get into the Old Port	N/T	F: Stated by subject	P/17
City bureaucracy still a threat	B/T	F: Stated by subject	P/17
One chain (Starbucks) is doing well	N/T	F: Observation in the field	P/17
Some businesses were tied to the military	R/T	A: Conclusion from map analysis	P/18
Was military left, area fell into downward spiral	R/T	M: Concluded from interviews, articles, and maps	P/19
Entrepreneurs more business savvy than city planners, so Exchange was more successful than Congress St.	N/T	M: Conclusion from research	P/20
Once retail businesses took hold, are had an upward economic spiral	N/T	M: Conclusion from research	P/21
City benefited from Old Port success	B/T	M: Conclusion from research	P/21
Chains driving our out other independent businesses elsewhere	N/T	F: Observation	P/22
Chains are a threat to businesses in Old Port	B/T	F: Conclusion from observations and interviews	P/22
Aquarium is a threat to the Old Port	N/T	F: Conclusion from observation and interviews	P/22
Innovation and energy of youth revived Old Port, so animosity with current youth disturbing and ironic	N/T	F: Conclusion from observation and research	P/23
Chains may homogenize Old Port	B/T	F: Conclusion from observation and interviews	P24
Teens are a potential asset to the Old Port businesses	N/T	F: Conclusion from observation and interviews	P/24
Portland's future lies in its past	B/T	M: Conclusion from observation and research	P/25
Flavor of Old Port very local; chains and aquarium threaten that	B/T	M: Conclusion from observation and research	I/3/1
Old Port may evolve to replicate was is available at Maine Mall and Freeport	B/T	M: Conclusion from observation and research	I/3/2
Tourist drawn to unique feel of Old Port	B/T	F: Conclusion from observation and interviews	I/3/3
Ideas evolved a little and became clear in the writing process	N/S	A: Conclusion from writing process	I/3/3
Spending time in the Old Port key to developing his ideas	N/S	F: Conclusion from being in the field	I/3/4
Having experienced the data more memorable and exciting than being told it	N/S	F: Conclusion from being in the field	I/3/4
Businesses are alienating their next customers and investors	B/T	F: Conclusion from observation and interviews	I/3/4
Entrepreneurs influenced by national movement	B/T	F: Concluded from interviews	I/3/5

Young can help now by being problem solvers	B/T	F: Conclusion from observation and research	I/3/5
Procrastination a problem	N/S	M: Conclusion looking back on project	I/3/5
Teachers provided key guidance	N/S	T: Conclusion looking back on project	I/3/6
Ideas are his own	N/S	M: Conclusion looking back on project	I/3/6
Mapping helped him conceptualize project	N/S	A: Conclusion from mapping exercise	I/3/7
TOTAL 71. TYPE N 39, B 26, R 5, C 1; T 58, S 13. SOURCE F 44, A 11, M 12, T 4. PHASE I 8, II 27, III 36			

Rosa Insight Table			
Insight	Type	Source	Cite
Wants to work alone	N/S	F: Concluded from field exercise	J/1/11
Emerging idea is viable	N/S	F: Concluded from subject	J/1/14
What attracts gay people to Portland	N/T	M: Asked after gathering information from academic and field sources	J/1/21
Physical aspect of community important	N/T	F: Concluded from interview	J/1/21
AIDS important to study	N/T	A: Concluded from articles	J/1/21
A variety of gay people come to Portland for community	N/T	A: Concluded from a book	J/1/25
AIDS Project shows an adult community willing to come together for a cause	N/T	A: Concluded from a book	J/1/25
Otherwise, community is limited	N/T	A: Concluded from a book	J/1/25
Disunity in the gay community	B/T	A: Concluded from article	J/1/28
Gaynet attempting to link gay community through the internet	N/T	A: Concluded from article	J/1/28
Many in the gay community do not get recognition	N/T	A: Concluded from article	J/1/28
Politically active people will have a different outlook than the less active	B/T	A: Concluded from article	I/1/2
Out gays are more conscious of being gay in social situations	B/T	M: Concluded from interviews, articles, and prior experience	I/1/2
Seeks to focus on the lives of nonprominent gays	N/S	A: Concluded from articles	I/1/3
Posters inspiring political action	N/T	A: Concluded from ACT UP archives	J/2/7
AIDS marches positive, energetic, humorous	B/T	A: Concluded from ACT UP archives	J/2/7
Protesting reaches beyond Portland	B/T	A: Concluded from ACT UP archives	J/2/7
ACT UP "in your face" activism	B/T	A: Concluded from ACT UP archives	J/2/7
Activism fueled by reaction to press	B/T	A: Concluded from ACT UP archives	J/2/7
Casco Bay Weekly devoted to covering gay activism	N/T	A: Concluded from ACT UP archives	J/2/7
Much ignorance about AIDS previously	N/T	A: Concluded from AIDS project history	J/2/11
More room for radical action previously	N/T	A: Concluded from AIDS project history	J/2/11
Demonstration drew national attention	N/T	A: Concluded from AIDS project history	J/2/11
AIDS prevention and gay rights intertwined	N/T	A: Concluded from AIDS project history	J/2/11
Small group of activists stirred most of the action	N/T	A: Concluded from AIDS project history	J/2/11
Gay community is not as hidden or passive as she once thought	N/T	A: Concluded from AIDS project history	J/2/11
Gay community supportive	N/T	A: Concluded from S.A.L.T. archives	J/2/14
Person did not use her last name, due to fear of being identified	N/T	A: Concluded from S.A.L.T. archives	J/2/14
Gay couple faces many of the same challenges as heterosexual couples	N/T	A: Concluded from S.A.L.T. archives	J/2/14
Gay community supportive	R/T	A: Concluded from S.A.L.T. archives	J/2/14

Gay people automatically political because they are defending lives	N/T	F: Concluded from interview	J/2/16
Community is not united	C/T	F: Concluded from interview	J/2/16
Portland police homophobic	N/T	F: Concluded from interview	J/2/16
Portland may not be the haven of tolerance she previously thought	C/T	F: Concluded from interview	J/2/16
Information on tolerance is perception	B/T	T: Stated by teacher	J/2/16
Gay community is underground and fragmented	N/T	F: Concluded from interview	J/2/25
Radical activism has dried up	R/T	F: Stated by subject	J/2/25
Increased comfort decreases activism	B/T	F: Stated by subject	J/2/25
Portland community is not diverse	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/2/25
Portland is a desirable size	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/2/25
Complexity of community not being addressed	N/T	F: Concluded from interview	J/2/25
Torture is the core issue	N/T	F: Concluded from interview	J/2/25
Safe homosexual sex needs to be addressed in schools	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/2/25
Series of referendums changed politics	N/T	F: Stated by panelist	J/3/3
Common torture in discrimination	R/T	F: Concluded from panel discussion	J/3/3
Activism brought legitimacy and power	N/T	F: Concluded from panel discussion	J/3/3
A range of people were involved in the actions	N/T	F: Concluded from observing a photo opening	J/3/3
Political right wing forces reactionary self-protection	B/T	F: Concluded from panel discussion	J/3/3
Portland community linked to national community; issues evolve	N/T	F: Concluded from panel discussion	J/3/3
Community in cliques	N/T	F: Observation of people at opening	J/3/3
Leaders connect	N/T	F: Observation of people at opening	J/3/3
People seemed settled	N/T	F: Conclusion from gathering	J/3/3
Rural issues new focus	N/T	M: Concluded from reviewing journal	J/3/3
Attitude that only Southern Maine matters is prevalent	B/T	M: Concluded from reviewing journal	J/3/3
Rallying for the common good draining	B/T	F: Stated in interview	J/3/8
Activism burn out a theme	R/T	T: Pointed out by teacher	J/3/8
Gay people come to Portland because of the accessibility of the American Dream	N/T	M: Stated by subject; pointed out by teacher	J/3/8
Gay owned store started below ACT UP headquarters, showing connection	N/T	F: Concluded from interview	J/3/8
Frustration in gay community with political right	B/T	F: Concluded from interview	J/3/8
Youth needs to shape and carry out agenda	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/8
Community should not be segmented	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/8
Community has commitment to diversity	N/T	F: Concluded from interview	J/3/8
Political organizations is the way into the community	N/T	F: Concluded from interview	J/3/8
Portland gays want to live integrated into the larger community	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/8
Common reasons for living in Portland	R/T	M: Seeing patterns in a variety of sources	J/3/9
Diminished sense of threat from AIDS	N/T	M: Seeing patterns in a variety of sources	J/3/9
Gay community is not isolated/exclusive	B/T	M: Seeing patterns in a variety of sources	J/3/9
It is now possible to be a gay person in a number of communities	N/T	M: Seeing patterns in a variety of sources	J/3/9
For younger people, being gay is a bigger	N/T	M: Seeing patterns in a variety of sources	J/3/9

part of their identity			
People are more political than they think	B/T	F: Concluded from interview	J/3/9
Re-galvanizing initiative is needed	B/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/9
Subject too busy to be politically active	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/16
Subject not politically involved in gay issues, but very involved in broader community	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/21
Community is created by small acts as well as large ones	N/T	F: Concluded from interview	J/3/21
Uplifted by fact above	N/S	F: Response to interview	J/3/21
Growing complacency about AIDS	R/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/21
Finances are a recurring theme	R/T	F: Seeing pattern in a variety of sources	J/3/21
Subject feels undervalued by political community	B/T	F: Concluded from a subject's tone of voice and selection of words	J/3/21
Portland big enough to be interesting, small enough to be safe	R/T	M: Stated by subject as reason for settling in Portland; Teacher pointed out the trend	J/3/23
Identification as gay couple helped integration	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/23
Hard to get people involved in political affairs	B/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/26
Community broken up	R/T	F: Concluded from interview	J/3/26
Political groups exclusive	B/T	F: Concluded from interview	J/3/26
Health is an important issue	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/26
Apex Archives let voices be heard	N/T	A: Concluded from visiting archives	J/3/28
Activism is lacking	R/T	A: Concluded from visiting archives	J/3/28
Paper may turn into an action plan	N/S	M: Response to lack of activism	J/3/28
Community can be formed by coming together for diverse interests	N/T	A: Dictionary definition	J/3/29
Individuals say they are not politically active, yet they are more than most	B/T	F: Observed from interviews	I/2/2
Political activists seem unaware of social class	B/T	F: Concluded from interviews	I/2/2
People complain about activists, feeling they haven't been consulted	B/T	F: Concluded from interviews	I/2/2
There are many gay subgroups within the larger community	B/T	F: Stated by subjects	I/2/2
A real strength that a person can pursue interests and not be gay first	B/T	F: Concluded from interviews	I/2/2
Catch 22: but the community is hidden	B/T	M: Concluded from a variety of sources	I/2/3
People in the forefront of the movement 4 or 5 years ago probably feeling burned out	R/T	M: Concluded from a variety of sources	I/2/3
Groups working. No need or money to advertise	B/T	F: Concluded from interviews	I/2/3
Complacency is not laziness but a sign of progress	B/T	F: Concluded from interview	I/2/3
Not enough AIDS education in schools	R/T	F: Stated by subjects	I/2/4
Range of reactions on how safe Portland feels	B/T	F: Concluded from subjects	I/2/4
Many places are safe to be out	B/T	F: Concluded from setting up interviews	I/2/4
Businesses cater to gay people	B/T	F: Concluded from observations	I/2/4
There are gay oriented sections of the city: arts, theater, small businesses	N/T	M: Concluded from observation with guidance from the teachers	I/2/5
Owning a business helps people feel safe; none worked in corporations	N/T	F: Concluded from interviews	I/2/5
Appreciates the time and flexibility to pursue an interest independently	N/S	M: Concluded from project	I/2/5

Interest in subject motivates paper writing	N/S	M: Concluded from project	I/2/5
Spending quality time on a topic of interest allows Rosa to dig deeper	B/S	M: Concluded from project	I/2/5
The human quality of project challenges Rosa to think about what she is doing and saying	N/S	F: Concluded from doing interviews	I/2/6
Learning a lot about the city and the anthropological process	N/S	M: Concluded from project	I/2/6
Only scratching the surface of the topic	N/S	M: concluded from project	I/2/6
Portland gays get support outside of the gay community	B/T	M: Realized organizing data	J/4/3
Being a gay community is necessary, but being exclusively a gay community is not	B/T	M: Realized organizing data	J/4/3
Initial goal of defining the community proved too complex to do	N/T	M: Realized organizing data	J/4/3
Because gay community serves many needs and interests and is not exclusive, it can fragment	B/T	M: Realized organizing data	J/4/3
Interest in politics may have lead Rosa to emphasize politics	N/S	M: Realized organizing data	J/4/3
Few still decide for the many.	R/T	M: Realized organizing data	J/4/3
ACT UP more inclusive at class level; some uncomfortable with activism	N/T	M: Realized organizing data	J/4/3
Older activists say younger generation needs to get more involved	R/T	M: Realized organizing data	J/4/3
Need greater visibility/Rosa's opinion	N/S	T: Teacher pointed out editorializing	J/4/3
Portland's small size necessitates coalition with non-gays	N/T	M: Concluded from organizing data	J/4/3
Lack of community newspaper indicates the lack of activism	N/T	F: Concluded from observations	J/4/3
General belief in gradual change	N/T	F: Concluded from interviews	J/4/3
Gay and lesbians have similar agendas	N/T	M: Realized organizing data	J/4/3
Gay and art communities overlap	R/T	M: Realized organizing data	J/4/3
Looking at gay people as a cultural group may be another prejudice	N/S	M: Asked while organizing data	J/4/3
Action groups need to be more inclusive to broaden political action	B/T	F: Concluded from interviews	J/4/3
AIDS complacency as young grow up with it	B/T	M: Concluded from data	J/4/3
Need to take out "must be able, need to be, etc" from presentation	B/S	T: Suggested by teachers	J/4/3
Factors shaping community: Portland's size, activism, climate of acceptance, economics	B/T	M: Realized organizing data	P/2
Small town characteristics and urban feel attract subjects to Portland	B/T	F: Concluded from interviews	P/5
Safety is always the first priority	B/T	F: Stated by subject	P/6
View of community's diversity depends on definition of diversity	N/T	F: Concluded from interviews	P/6
Gay communities in larger cities become isolated	B/T	F: Stated by subject	P/6
Small size of Portland forces acceptance to come to the forefront	B/T	F: Stated by subject	P/6
Political action is integral to the past and present gay communities	R/T	F: Concluded from interviews	P/10
Political causes can serve to unite the	R/T	M: Concluded from various sources	P/10

community			
Larger community tends to negotiate with more moderate political groups	N/T	F: Stated by subject	P/11
Class divides the community	R/T	F: Stated by subject	P/13
Portland's size, safety, political changes and strategy, and acceptance shape gay community	B/T	M: Concluded from study	P/19
The guarantee of high visibility for being active may discourage some	N/T	F: Concluded from interviews	P/20
Sense of common obstacles	B/T	F: Concluded from interviews	P/20
Common obstacles not strong enough to unite community	B/T	F: Concluded from interviews	P/20
Many groups have formed to address specific needs	R/T	M: Observed in study	P/20
The many groups can fragment the community	B/T	M: Concluded from study	P/20
Meeting places spread out, further fragmenting	B/T	F: Observed in study	P/20
Lack of paper shows shift in focus and drain of resources and money	B/T	F: Concluded from interviews	P/21
Many do not want to be limited to being gay; overlap with art community	B/T	F: Concluded from interviews	P/22
Few decide the political issues for many	R/T	F: Concluded from interviews	P/22
Greater activism needed	N/S	M: Editorializing	P/23
Greatest activism during a conservative presidency	R/T	A: Concluded from background research	P/23
Economic security may contribute to complacency	N/T	M: Concluded from study	P/24
Many indirect ways to be active	B/T	M: Concluded from study	P/24
Making a living takes time and energy away from activism	B/T	F: Concluded from interviews	P/24
Different economic status is a divide within campaigns	R/T	F: Stated by subjects	P/24
Gay community in transition	N/T	M: Concluded from study	P/25
City does not have a traditionally gay neighborhood	N/T	M: Concluded from study	P/26
Lack of cohesion may strengthen some groups	B/T	M: Concluded from study	P/26
Lack of cohesion inhibits communication	B/T	F: Concluded from interviews	P/26
Gay people need to be more visible	R/S	F: Editorializing	P/27
Resources more visible for the younger gay community	N/T	F: Concluded from study and prior experience	P/28
Inspired by the people she met	N/S	F: Reaction to interviews	I/3/2
Interviews filled out and put into perspective background research	N/S	M: Response to the difference between academic and field work	I/3/2
Perspective on AIDS Project shifts	N/T	M: Comparison between background information and current information	I/3/2
Without the fieldwork, Rosa would have been left with a gap between what she reads historically and what she observes	N/S	M: Observed from study	I/3/3
Learned about the complexity of people's lives	N/T	F: Observed in interviews	I//3/3
Learned about the relationship between individual lives and the group	N/T	F: Observed from interviews	I/3/3

Being gay is one factor in a complex life for each individual in the community	B/T	F: Observed in interviews	I/3/3
This contrast to impression left when reading about a gay person in the newspaper	B/T	M: Concluded from study and experience	I/3/3
Coming out cycle: being gay more defining at first	N/T	F: Described by subject	I/3/4
Tension: some people have the time and resources to be involved; others do not	R/T	F: Concluded from interviews	I/3/4
Some feel their voice is not important	R/T	F: Stated by subjects	I/3/4
Interviews a look behind the scenes; written word is distilled	N/S	M: Concluded from contrasting background and field work	I/3/5
Rosa has many new questions	N/S	M: Arising from study	I/3/5
Stressful, rewarding work	N/S	M: Concluded from experience	I/3/6
Eye trained for themes now	N/S	M: Gleaned from experience	I/3/6
Wants to do primary research again	N/S	M: Motivated by experience	I/3/6
TOTAL INSIGHTS 175. TYPE N 94, B 55, R 24, C 2; T 150, S 25. SOURCE F 89, A 29, M 54, T 3; Phase I 14, II 95, III 66			

Ryan Insight Table			
Insight	Type	Source	Cite
Making an hypothesis before doing the research is a problem	N/S	A: Response to assignment	J/1/6
Efforts made to help immigrants with businesses, although not a specifically tageted loan program	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/1/31
Racism not a problem	C/T	F: Stated by subject. Contrary to expectation	J/1/31
Asians are considered the model minority	N/T	A: Learned in background research	I/1/2
Descrimination against Asians evident in Maine	N/T	A: Learned in background research	I/1/2
Family important Asian value	N/T	F: Example given by subject	I/1/2
Challenges to Asian community similar to those faced by other communities	N/T	F: Concluded from interview	J/2/7
Multiple Asian nationalities makes challenges Asian solidarity	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/2/7
The "I don't count as diversity" idea sets Asians apart from other minorities	B/T	F: Stated by subject	J/2/7
Conflict between parents and students over education	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/2/14
Business does not have to be related to culture	N/T	T: Pointed out by teacher	J/3/1
Man is bitter about inability to get necessary loans to improve, perhaps save, his business	N/T	F: Concluded from an interview	J/3/1
Restaurant supported primarily by non-Asians	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/5
Owner takes great pride in offering authentic food	N/T	F: Concluded from interview	J/3/6
Conflict among Thai restaurants suggested	N/T	F: Concluded from interview	J/3/8
Need to bring home the bacon, not do what he most wants to do	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/8
Proud of serving low income customers while making a living	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/9
Went too far in suggesting a possible response to a question	N/S	F: Concluded from interview	J/3/9

Subjects very busy	N/T	M: Noted in notes, pointed out by the teacher	J/3/9
Minorities being more accepted	B/T	M: Concluded from study	J/3/9
Difficulty with consent form	N/S	F: Experience in the field	J/3/17
Subject feels trapped as a business owner	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/3/17
Markets oriented to serving Asians	N/T	F: Concluded from interviews and observations	I/2/1
Restaurants oriented to serving non-Asians	B/T	F: Concluded from interviews and observations	I/2/1
Clientele affects décor	B/T	F: Concluded from observations	I/2/1
Learning to interview and take notes	N/S	F: Concluded from interviews	I/2/2
Improving skills at keeping interviewees comfortable	B/T	F: Concluded from interviews	I/2/2
Own businesses in order to work for oneself	N/T	F: Concluded from interviews	I/2/2
Enjoy sharing culture with those who don't know it	B/T	F: Concluded from interviews	I/2/2
Owning business gives feeling of being in control	B/T	F: Concluded from interviews	I/2/2
No time for activities outside of the business	R/T	F: Concluded from interviews	I/2/2
Some send children to ethnic schools to learn culture	N/T	F: Stated by subject	I/2/3
There are some new initiatives to celebrate culture	B/T	F: Stated by subject	I/2/3
Limits of time and money are the biggest concerns of business owners	B/T	F: Concluded from interviews	I/2/3
Learning about himself as a learner	N/S	F: Concluded from research experience	I/2/3
Difficult to give himself the time to do other things	N/S	F: Concluded from research experience	I/2/3
Project has become important	N/S	F: Concluded from research experience	I/2/4
Enjoys this kind of work	N/S	F: Concluded from research experience	I/2/4
Have wanted to put energy into the project	B/S	F: Concluded from research experience	I/2/4
Worried about his subjects	N/S	F: Concluded from interviews	I/2/4
Fieldwork feels more important than bookwork	N/S	F: Concluded from research experience	I/2/4
His enjoyment meeting the people reminds him that some have said he'd make a good politician	N/S	F: Concluded from interviewing experience	I/2/4
More urgent because these are struggles of people right now	B/S	F: Concluded from interviewing experience	I/2/4
Classroom work has taught him to think, which he is employing in this project	B/S	M: Concluded from this and past experience	I/2/5
To learn, one needs to read, discuss, and experience	B/S	M: Concluded from this and past experience	I/2/5
Background research was more general and less focused than interview data	N/S	M: Concluded from research experience	I/2/5
Perception of Asians as model minority	R/T	A: Found in background research	I/2/5
As model minority, Asians don't get the assistance they may need	B/T	F: Observed in the field	I/2/5
Many Asians really struggle	B/T	M: Concluded from background and field	I/2/5
Concerned about honor over profit	N/T	F: Observation of a situation in the field	I/2/6
Interactions among people are revealing	N/T	F: Observations from situations in the field	I/2/6
Sees what makes a successful business	N/T	F: Observations in the field	I/2/6
Conducted a lot of background research that	N/S	F: Concluded from research experience	I/2/7

may have gotten him off track			
Portland undergoing growth of East Asian minorities	N/T	A: Stated in background research	P/2
East Asian foodservice boom underway	N/T	M: Observed in city and stated in background research	P/2
Proceeded with a goal in mind, not an hypothesis	N/S	M: Observed	P/3
As model minority, East Asians experience Affirmative Action backlash	R/T	A: Concluded from background research	P/4
Uptown/Downtown Asians	B/T	A: Stated in article	P/4
First generation Asians have a different challenge than 2nd or 3rd	B/T	A: Stated in article	P/4
Refugees, who make up much of Portland's community, struggle the most	B/T	A: Stated in article	P/6
Vietnamese and Cambodian refugees escaped traumatic circumstances	N/T	A: Concluded from background research	P/7
Barriers for Cambodian refugees	B/T	A: Concluded from background research	P/8
Trends for restaurants and markets needed to be considered separately and together	N/T	M: Realized conducting the study	P/9
Growing popularity of Asian foods	B/T	M: Concluded from observation and article	P/11
Mainline grocery stores competing with markets	N/T	M: Concluded from observation and article	P/12
Restaurant and market ownership carries challenges and rewards	N/T	M: Concluded from research	P/22
Many markets serve ethnicities other than Asian (African phone card)	B/T	F: Stated by subjects	P/24
"Engineer attitude"	N/T	F: Value of staying calm	P/25
"Forced finance" is challenge	N/T	F: Difficulty starting a business and living	P/25
Fear of failure is challenge	N/T	F: Stated by subject noting Maine's small business failure rate	P/26
Sign for hours that doesn't fall down symbolizing reliability	N/T	F: Concluded from interview	P/26
As a minority, it is hard to get a loan	B/T	F: Stated by subject	P/27
Space for business a challenge	N/T	F: Concluded from interviews	P/28
Asian markets in intense competition	R/T	F: Stated by subject	P/28
People want to be able to buy all soup ingredients in one place	N/T	F: Stated by subject about need to carry many items	P/29
Parking is a problem	N/T	F: Stated by subjects; observed	P/29
Mainstream groceries provide competition because of convenience	B/T	F: Concluded from interviews	P/30
This divides the Asian community	B/T	F: Concluded from interviews	P/30
Restaurants "spy" on each other	B/T	F: Stated by subject	P/30
Owners hire Asians because of familiarity with merchandise	N/T	F: Stated by subject	P/31
Being a single owner is really hard	N/T	F: Stated by subject	P/32
"Before you take a day off, you have to build the system"	B/T	F: Stated by subject	P/32
Owner would rather be in store than hire help	B/T	F: Stated by subject	P/32
Sense of security comes from family business	N/T	F: Concluded from interview	P/33
Asian community financially limited, so prices must stay low	B/T	F: Stated by subject	P/33
Overhead, upkeep financially draining	B/T	F: Stated by subject	P/33
Along with food, market owner selling	N/T	F: Stated by subject	P/33

character			
Owner encourages substitutes when he doesn't have product	N/T	F: Stated by subject	P/34
Restaurants need to find niche	N/T	F: Stated by subject	P/34
Need to educate populace about products	N/T	F: Stated by subject	P/35
Maine is at the end of the supply line	N/T	F: Stated by subject	P/35
Only training in my mother's kitchen	N/T	F: Stated by subject	P/35
Red tape a challenge	N/T	F: Stated by subject	P/35
Autonomy is primary reward	N/T	F: Stated by many subjects	P/36
Sharing culture with others reward	N/T	F: Stated by many subjects	P/37
Financial security can be reward	N/T	F: Stated by many subjects	P/37
Realizing a dream is a reward	N/T	F: Stated by many subjects	P/37
Creating a place for the Asian community within the Portland community	N/T	F: Stated by many subjects	P/39
Owners contentment evident	N/T	F: Concluded from owners' engaged manner when describing their businesses	P/41
Measuring balance between reward and frustration difficult	B/T	F: Concluded from fieldwork	P/41
Personal responsibility is both challenge and reward	B/T	F: Concluded from interviews	P/41
Autonomy of ownership contrasts sharply with previous jobs	N/T	F: Concluded from interviews	P/41
Owners fully devoted to businesses; no time for much else	B/T	F: Concluded from fieldwork	P/42
Owners create a community within their businesses	N/T	F: Concluded from fieldwork	P/42
Communities that businesses create centered around cultural exchange	B/T	F: Concluded from fieldwork	P/43
Communities bond over food	B/T	F: Concluded from fieldwork	P/43
Businesses as much about human relations as about food	B/T	F: Concluded from fieldwork	P/43
Owners motivated by American Dream	N/T	F: Concluded from interviews	P/43
Owners happier now than in previous jobs	B:T	F: Stated by subjects	P/44
Financial challenges the biggest concern	B/T	F: Concluded from interviews	P/45
City location provides opportunity and challenge	N/T	F: Concluded from interviews	P/45
Supplies from Boston a challenge	R/T	F: Stated by subjects	P/46
Life is short	B/T	F: Subject concern about time spent at business	P/46
Lack of time for life outside of business strains the family	B/T	F: Concluded from interviews	P/46
Family benefits/suffers from business ownership	B/T	F: Concluded from interviews	P/46
Benefits and challenges connected	B/T	F: Concluded from interviews	P/46
Owners' experience carries challenges and rewards	B/T	F: Concluded from interviews	P/46
Ownership has considerable potential to provide economic and personal satisfaction	B/T	F: Concluded from interviews	P/47
Benefits outweigh challenges	B/T	F: Concluded from interviews	P/47
Small business ownership is hard	B/T	M: Concluded from field and background research	I/3/1
Language/cultural/trauma barriers make ownership harder	B/T	F: Concluded from fieldwork	I/3/1
Irony of working so hard for family straining	R/T	F: Concluded from fieldwork	I/3/1

the family			
Ethic food businesses fitting in with Portland's growing cultural interests	N/T	M: Concluded from field and background research	I/3/2
College students especially interested in ethnic foods	N/T	F: Concluded from interviews	I/3/2
Portland sized diminishes isolation of small towns	N/T	F: Concluded from interviews	I/3/2
Portland's size provides limited contact with other Asians	B/T	F: Concluded from interviews	I/3/3
What you sense or feel from an interview an important part of the data	N/S	F: Concluded from conducting interview and doing analysis	I/3/3
Owner making fun of a competitor	B/S	F: Example of feeling being important	I/3/4
Refugee business owners do not match the stereotype of model minority	N/T	M: Concluded from research	I/3/4
Owners successful, but not Ivy league successful	B/T	M: Concluded from research	I/3/5
Owners living in low income, ethnic neighborhoods, not in white suburbia	B/T	F: Concluded from interviews	I/3/5
Insights came from conducting research. Writing only clarified what was already there	N/S	A: Observed about writing the paper	I/3/5
Felt the least connected to writing	N/S	A: Observed about writing the paper	I/3/5
Interesting to see patterns	N/S	A: Observed about data analysis	I/3/5
Common challenges clarified through analysis	N/S	A: Observed about data analysis	I/3/5
Importance of non-ethnic group to customer bas	N/S	A: Observed about data analysis	I/3/5
More aware of the cultural impact of American military intervention in South-East Asia	N/T	A: Realized from background research	I/3/6
Enjoys interviewing for connection	N/S	F: Concluded from interviewing experience	I/3/6
Connection more important than the product	B/S	M: Concluded from project experience	I/3/6
Learned about anthropology and geography	N/S	M: Concluded from project experience	I/3/6
Work feels really important	R/S	F: Concluded from fieldwork	I/3/7
Didn't previously realize the importance of providing services	N/S	M: Concluded from research	I/3/7
Deeper understanding of the value of diversity to a community	N/S	M: Concluded from research	I/3/7
Project has deepened awareness	B/S	M: Concluded from research	I/3/7
More aware of social structures that exclude people	B/S	M: Concluded from research	I/3/7
More likely to look deeper in the future	B/S	M: Concluded from research experience	I/3/7
Working as a class rewarding	N/S	A: Concluded from class experience	I/3/8
Teachers helped Ryan focus	N/S	T: Concluded from interaction with teachers	I/3/8
Focused on restaurants and markets instead of businesses in general	B/S	T: Example of teacher influence	I/3/8
TOTAL INSIGHTS 149. TYPE N 86, B 55, R 7, C 1; T 112, S 37. SOURCE F 105, A 18, M 23, T 3; Phase I 6, II 47, III 96			

Sam Insight Table			
Insight	Type	Source	Cite
Church still important to the Italian community	N/T	F: Stated by subject	J/4
Italian community had little knowledge of community politics around the time of urban renewal	N/T	A: Stated city history	J/5
Church lost parishioners with urban renewal	B/T	A: Stated in newspaper article	J/6
Annoyed at lack of knowledge of Catholicism	N/S	F: Response to attending Mass	J/8
Children are an important part of the church	N/T	F: Concluded from observations at Mass	J/9
Urban renewal displaced the Italian neighborhood	N/T	T: Stated by a teacher	I/1/1
Learns of an Italian community	N/T	M: Discovered it in the neighborhood field walk class exercise	I/1/1
Some attend church to see fellow Italians	N/T	F: Stated by subject	I/1/2
Church seems to have strong family ties	B/T	F: Concluded from observations at Mass	I/1/3
Glad to be researching her own heritage	N/S	M: Concluded from getting into the subject	I/1/3
Uncomfortable doing field work	N/S	F: Concluded from doing fieldwork	I/1/3
Italians come back to the church to see other Italians	R/T	F: Concluded from noting the number of Italians in attendance	I/2/1
Italian businesses support church	N/T	M: Concluded noting bulletin sponsors; encouraged by teachers	I/2/1
Italians come back to the church to see other Italians	R/T	F: Stated by subjects	I/2/1
The traditional origins of the Mass draw Italians to the church	B/T	M: Concluded from interviews and background information	I/2/3
Sam know little of the Italian community, even though her father is from Italy	B/S	F: Concluded after learning about a huge Italian festival	I/2/3
St. Peter's helps to hold the Italian community together	B/T	F: Concluded from learning about the huge Italian festival it sponsors	I/2/3
Parishioners love the church and want to give back to it	N/T	F: Concluded from interviews	I/2/3
Experience has helped Sam be less shy	N/S	F: Concluded from fieldwork	I/2/3
Likes fieldwork because of the variety of activities and because the work feels real, motivating	N/S	F: Concluded from fieldwork	I/2/3
Church is a place to meet friends	R/T	F: Concluded from learning about pizza on Saturday and doughnuts on Sunday	I/2/4
Church lives by its religious message to love thy neighbor	B/T	F: Concluded from interviews and observations	I/2/4
Dedication of people to church is strong	B/T	F: Concluded from learning that the pizza is home made	I/2/4
Confidence boosted	B/S	M: Concluded from making phone calls to sponsors at the insistence of teachers	I/2/4
St. Peters is not successful upholding Italian traditions	C/T	F: Stated by subject	J/11
St. Peters does what it can in a country that is not Italy	B/T	T: Stated by teacher in response to Sam thinking about the importance of St. Peters her understanding may be completely wrong	J/11
Priest views community events as less important than they used to be	N/T	F: Concluded from interview	J/15

People love the church	R/T	F: Stated by subject	J/16
Church is more than an Italian church. It is a family.	B/T	F: Stated by subject	J/16
Does the idea of family come from the ethnic link?	B/T	T: Asked by teacher	J/17
Urban renewal divided the community, but it remains an ethnic church	R/T	A: Stated in the history of the church	J/21
Church is for family	R/T	A: Concluded from inscription placed over the door in 1974	J/21
Church is important to Italians	R/T	A: Stated in the history of the church	J/22
Family is the backbone of Italian culture	N/T	A: Stated in the history of the church	J/22
Sam growing stronger as a researcher	N/S	T: Stated by teacher	J/28
Mass in Italy more strict than St. Peters	N/T	F: Concluded from attending both Masses	P/10
Few parishioners seem to live in the neighborhood or even on the peninsula	N/T	F: Concluded from survey data	P/10
Church is a place to learn news of Italy	N/T	F: Stated by subject	P/11
The festival is an important way to experience Italian culture	B/T	F: Stated by subject	P/11
Church community very close	R/T	F: Concluded from interviews and bulletins	P/25
Church important to the Italian community	R/T	F: Concluded from interviews	P/25
Despite geographic separation, sense of family is strong	R/T	F: Concluded from interviews	P/33
Urban renewal has actually made the church community stronger	N/T	M: Concluded from all research	P/33
Gained respect for the Italian community	N/S	M: Concluded from learning what has happened to the community	I/3/1
Church helps the community by being there and sponsoring events	B/T	F: Concluded from interviews	I/3/1
Church in Italy did not have a close feeling	N/T	F: Concluded from attending both churches	I/3/2
St. Peters needs to uphold Italian traditions and hold together the community; the Italian church does not	N/T	F: Concluded from interviews and observations	I/3/2
Interviewing allowed Sam to better pinpoint what the church means to the community	N/S	M: Concluded after conducting field and secondary research	I/3/3
Research made Sam more confident in her hypothesis	N/S	M: Concluded from the research experience	I/3/4
Importance in differences between Italian and American cultures highlighted by research	N/T	M: Example of changing perspectives on information through research	I/3/5
Confidence boosted; better organized; more willing to meet people	B/S	T: Influence of teachers	I/3/5
TOTAL 51. TYPE N 26, B 14, R 10, C 1; T 39, S 12. SOURCE F 30, A 6, M 10, T 5. PHASE I 11, II 24, III 16			

APPENDIX E: ADDITIONAL TABLES

Table E1: Alicia Insight Clusters

Community of people attending the Spanish Mass (N9; R2; B3; C2) (F15; A1)

- Many nations (N1, R2) (F3)
- Suggested by a contact to go to Sacred Heart Church where she will find people from many Latino nations. J/1/12 N,F
- Many countries represented in the church J/2/6 R,F
- Congregation is from many countries I/2/3 R,F
- Attendees (N3, B2, C2) (F7)
- Not as many people or as many old people or women as expected from prior experience. Mostly men and middle aged and young people. J/2/6 C,F
- Whole families, not just individuals j/1/30 C,F
- Mass attendees are a sub-group within a larger Latino ethnic population. P/11 N,F
- Adults speak Spanish; kids also speak English I/2/3 N,F
- Some fear government because of experiences with government in home country. Do not want their names used, even if they are not immigrants. I/3/1 N,F
- Some people attend who don't speak Spanish I/2/2 B,F
- Only Spanish speakers stay for coffee I/2/2 B,F
- Purpose of Mass (N2, B1) (F2, A1)
- Minister thinks the church will help Latinos assimilate J/3/2 N,F
- Announcement made to invite parish to an event with the regular parish J/3/2 B,F
- Church started Mass when fish processing plant employed many Latino immigrants I/2/6 N,A
- People Friendly (N3) (F3)
- Alicia announced her departure. Priest blessed her on the way out J/4/9 N,F
- Community gathered around the woman whose fisherman husband died I/2/6 N,F
- Church goers friendly. Hot water for tea appeared after first Sunday. Willing to talk and be interviewed. I/3/7 N,F

Motivation for attending the Spanish Mass (N5; R7; B5) (F17)

- Religion (N2) (F2)
- Met a woman who takes the church seriously, pushes it on everyone that she can. J/1/12 N,F
- Person who attends church because of the importance of religion J/2/11 R,F
- Culture and community (N2, R4, B4) (F10)
- Informant thinks church is for immigrants to link them to home country. J/3/2 N,F
  - Person who attends to be with other Latinos J/2/11 N,F
- Community is reason for church attendance J/3/5 R,F
- Teenagers say they want to be involved with Latino culture J/3/5 R,F
- Another informant says that he comes for the culture J/3/5 R,F
- Informant does not care about the Spanish, but wants kids to know culture. J/3/12 B,F
- Latin dance at Center for Cultural Exchange has a Latin Dance night, but most who attend are Americans who want to dance. Church allows her to speak English J/3/26 B,F

- Other than religion, people attend Sacred Heart Church to be with other Latinos. P/10 R,F
- Church is one of the few places where people can come together as a Latin community I/2/3 B,F
  - Mixing in church with people from many countries is fine because they are Latino first I/2/3 B,F
- Language (N1, R2, B1) (F4)
- Spanish is reason for church attendance J/3/5 N,F
- Another informant says that he comes for the language. J/3/5 R,F
- Multiple nationalities is ok because it is speaking Spanish that is important J/3/19 R,F
- Hispanic family likes to talk, think, and pray in Spanish. J B,F
- Transition (N1) (F1)
- As immigrants are in the US longer, they attend church less and less. J/3/2 N,F

The Spanish Mass has limited attendance (N8; R2; B3) (F11; A2)

- Mass is weaker now (N3, B1) (F2, A2)
- Past strength of the Sacred Heart Spanish Mass I/1/2 N,A
- Spanish Mass suffering after the departure of founder, Father Morin P/3 N, A
- Current Priest too old to do what the founder of the Spanish mass did J/3/17 B,F
- Communion seems disorganized J/3/19 N,F
- Church doing little to promote Spanish Mass (N4, R2, B2) (F8)
- One said they would not stay for coffee because they are going home for lunch. Mass is scheduled at an inconvenient time for Latino customs. N,F
- Minister feels that congregation, not he, should be recruiting. Reaching only a fraction of the community J/2/13 N,F
- Diocese does not particularly support Spanish Mass. J/3/9 B,F
- Church does not have a representative in the community. No one to talk with at the church to find out about the Mass J/3/12 B,F
- Reason why more people don't attend church is that they don't know about it J/3/12 N,F
- Priest asked the congregation to spread the word about the Mass. It is their responsibility. J/4/9 R,F
- The same people attend the coffee every week J/4/9 N,F
- Other than having the Spanish Mass, church does not work particularly hard at attracting people I/2/3 R,F
- Attendance seasonally low (N1) (F1)
- As the days get warmer, the congregation will get bigger. New immigrants have not seen snow and felt cold. J/2/6 N,F

Class divisions within the Latino community (N17; R3; B17; C2) (F37; A1; T1)

- Regular attendees (N3, B4, C2) (F9)
- Woman and her husband have two jobs each.J/1/12 N,F
- One informant said he could not come to the potluck because it cost too much J/3/12 B,F
- Interviewees seem to work a lot I/2/1 B,F

- Much conversation is about jobs I/2/6 B,F
- Most of the people interviewed are educated (clearly middle class) I/2/7 N,F
- Only time to interview people is right after the service. They need to go home or to work. Very busy. I/2/8 B,F
- Some regular in the coffee, some occasional I/2/2 C,F
- The longer people are in US the more they go to church J/3/3 N,F
- Church is for newer arrivals. The longer they have been in Portland, the less they attend church I/3/4 C,F
- Activists (N5, R1, B2) (F8)
- Latin Community council meeting time and church service conflict on Sunday j/1/19 N,F
- Activist woman had difficulty organizing refugees because of class division J/3/17 B,F
- Latin council does not represent the survival needs of immigrants j/3/17 B,F
- Latino activists are separate from those barely trying to survive (e.g. interest in the census) I/2/7 R,F
- Latino Council meeting disorganized. Several times given for meeting. J/1/23 N,F
- List of issues raised at council meeting J/1/23 N,F
- Council raised money for kids. J/3/28 N,F
- Latin Community Council is working on census so that Latinos get appropriate federal money. Minister pushes census in church. I/2/4 N,F
- Illegal immigrants (N1, R1, B8) (F10)
- No list of names of church attendees, because some are illegal J/1/30 N,F
- No list of parishioners because some are illegal J/3/19 R,F
- Class divides middle class vs. immigrants I/2/1 B,F
- Transportation difficult I/2/1 B,F
- Not able to interview illegals I/2/6 B,F
- People in the church were concerned that Alicia might be a government representative in charge of census. I/2/6 B,F
- People in the back of the church probably illegals I/2/6 B,F
- Illegal seeking a better life but must remain separate I/2/7 B,F
- Mass size swells in the summer when the weather is better and people without cars can get themselves to church I/2/7 B,F
- While a core comes downstairs after the service, an increasing number as the months pass slips out. They may be illegals. I/2/7 B,F
- Hispanic vs. Latino (N2, R1) (F3)
- Hispanic couple does not stay for social events because Latino culture is not their own. J/3/21 N,F
- Hispanic couple does not identify with parts of the mass, which they think is also Latino. Critical of the ceremony. J/3/21 N,F
- Big difference between Hispanic informants and Latinos in her sample j/3/21 R,F
- Latinos married to Americans (N1) (F1)
- Class of people married to Americans. Dead fisherman's wife went back home. I/3/6 N,F

- Latino community hidden and fragmented (N5, B3) (F6, A1, T1)
- Alicia had no prior knowledge of a Latino population in Portland. I/1/2 N,T
- There is a sizable Latino population in Portland P/4 N,A
- Disappointed that Portland Room archives did not have much "ready made information and statistics" I/1/8 N,F
- People come from near and far away to attend Mass I/2/2 B,F
- Nobody knows how many Latinos there are j/1/23 N,F
- Nobody can identify a Latino neighborhood. J/1/23 N,F
- Great confusion about how many Latinos there are 500 to 3,000 I/2/4 B,F
- Nobody at the council could identify a Latino neighborhood, or state how many are in the population. Suggests a fragmented population I/3/7 B,F

Motivation for being in Portland (N3; R1; B1) (F5)

- Safety (N1) (F1)
  - She and her husband are in Portland because it is safer. J/1/12 N,F
- Assimilate (N1, R1, B1) (F3)
  - You can learn English. J/1/12 N,F
  - People are more a part of the larger community in Portland because it is smaller than Boston or NYC J/3/28 R,F
- Families coming from California and NYC may not speak English because they don't have to. In Portland, they must assimilate more I/2/3 B,F
- Schools (N1) (F1)
- Families come from other places for good schools in Maine I/2/3 N,F

Self (N2) (F2)

- Loves the work. I/2/9 N
- Likes being part of a community, much more than writing a paper. I/2/9 N

CODE

First letter indicates type of insight

- N: New insight
- R: Repeat previous insight
- B: Build additional facet onto previous insight
- C: Contradicts previous insight

Second letter indicates primary source of insight

- F: Field
- A: Academic source
- T: Teacher
  M: Multiple sources

Table E2: Topic Development and the Influences on Development

Student	Draft	Tenets and Changes	Influences Shaping Proposal
Alicia	One	Proposal 1: Primary focus on whether the motivation for people to attend the Spanish Mass is primarily religious or social. Secondary focus is how the Mass is different from the church they might have attended in their native land, given the blending of national origins and perhaps religion of the people attending. Proposal 2: Do three case studies of Hispanic immigrant families to document patterns of integration and reasons for coming to the United States.	Prior experience interested Alicia in the topic. Prior experience and a teacher input made her realize that she could pursue her interest in Portland. For proposal one, prior experience and field research were most influential in setting the questions. Secondary research reinforced the questions. For proposal two, the questions were set from general knowledge about immigrant experience.
	Two	The proposal stems from proposal one, with proposal two dropped. Proposal uses the term Latino to designate the subjects, dropping Hispanic. The secondary focus of examining the changes between the church service in Portland and in the native country has become primary. The study will do a general survey of church goers, and then focus on the experiences of families from one country.	Prior experience and field research were primary in getting the focus on proposal one. Field research caused her to focus on the Latino population. Prior experience and future plans caused Alicia to focus on the differences in church experiences. Teacher input, though unrecognized by Alicia, caused her to limit her study by adopting a case study approach.
	Three	The focus has been expanded to consider not only the religious experience of Latinos who attend Sacred Heart but also to consider "the role of the Sacred Heart Church in the community and to consider the connection the churchgoers feel for the church. The shift in focus is primarily from contrasting church services, which at this point Alicia sees as "not very different from their own services, to using the church experience "to gain insight into what it is like to be in Portland and be a Latino."	A realization of the impracticality of studying the experiences of one nationality stimulated the change in the proposal. Field research and teacher input guided the reshaping of the question.

Rosa	One	Proposal 1: focus on "what happens in peer groups of immigrant girls" and discovering the various influences on those interactions. Proposal 2: focus on "exploring the Portland gay community, both past and present" including identifying what shapes the community and what the community means to gay people.	Proposal 1: Previous studies suggested this topic. Course requirements, especially an anxiety over envisioning a workable design, influenced the idea. Proposal 2: Prior experience was the primary influence behind this idea. Both: A cause to bring voice to silenced experience stimulated the interest in both topics and also shaped the idea of listening to the experiences of the subjects.
	Two	Primary focus on "the out, adult gay community in Portland... and how their orientation factors into their lives and their sense of community life in Portland." Formed an hypothesis that the "community in Portland is close but limited." Secondary focus on "how strongly ethnic background plays in one's sense of identity and perceptions of gay community." The first proposal has been dropped.	Teacher input and field research made her see the relative practicality of the second proposal which caused her to choose it. Prior experience had led her to understanding much about the youth gay community in Portland, which stimulated questions about the adult gay community. Prior experience and the ethical requirements of research caused her to focus on the out population. Field and secondary research strengthened her interest in the topic.
	Three	The focus of the project is the same. The subject has been narrowed to be mostly lesbians. The terms of the study are modestly more defined.	Practicality and teacher input have stimulated the greater definition and focus.
Ryan	One	Primary focus on "the importance of Southeast Asian restaurants in Portland for the ethnic communities they represent." Secondary focus on "what these restaurants mean to the non-Asian population," and how they "impact Portland as a whole." The background information is entirely focused on the growing impact of ethnic food on Portland's restaurant scene.	Methodology & class activities indirectly stimulated thinking. Course requirements, especially for topic selection, were also cited by Ryan as an influence in topic development. Prior experience generated an interest in studying restaurants. Prior experience generated an interest in studying an Asian population. Prior experience and secondary research shaped the proposal.

	Two	Focus "to find the relationships between East Asian-American run businesses and their individual ethnic communities, the greater Asian-American community, and the greater community of Portland." More specifically, the study intends to understand why Asian-Americans run businesses, what challenges they face, and what benefits are gleaned from these businesses. Expresses the hope that the study can identify the challenges facing Asian-Americans in Portland, ... ways in which the white community can act as allies to Asian-Americans in the future, ... and ... the resources that already exist for future Asian-Americans that wish to start businesses."	A cause, field research, and secondary research all contributed to shifting the focus from restaurants to the Asian-American experience and Asian-American owned businesses. Assumptions from prior experience verified by secondary research gave the sense of a social cause in the Asian-American experience. A cause, field research, and secondary research all contributed to intensifying Ryan's interest in the project.
	Three	The core of the study is the same. The object of the study has shifted from Asian-American businesses to restaurants and markets. Ryan expects to find a distinction between markets and restaurants in the exclusivity of their relationships to their respective communities. The proposal is somewhat more succinct.	Teacher input influenced the shift from all Asian-American businesses to restaurants and markets. Field research influenced his expectation about the distinction between markets and restaurants. Teacher input influenced Ryan to make the proposal more succinct.
Alice & Juliet	One	Primary focus is to "gain better insight into women's influence on Maine fisheries," which heretofore "has gone unnoticed, and those that work as lobsterwoman find themselves in a sexist, male dominated, and closed society, despite their equally strong, ambitious, and patient effort." Secondary focus is "to study the evolution of the wharf, noting what changes it has undergone and how those changes have affected its function.	Teacher input introduced them to the general idea of studying an indigenous Maine group. Juliet's prior experience led them to select lobsterwomen as a focus of study. A sense of cause based on assumptions from prior experience led them to expect discrimination against lobsterwomen. Course requirements caused them to add a geographic/historical component.

	Two	Focus has narrowed to creating a ethnographic portraits of five wives of men in the fishing industry. These wives are also "have varying professions directly correlated to the fishing industry." Imbedded in the notion of portraits is that they will be "learning from these women, not studying them. The proposal maintains an assumption about gender bias, but shifts the focus to how the bias affects the women. The proposal backs away from a geographic/historical component.	Limited information on their topic caused them to shift subjects and the study focus. Teacher input caused them to narrow the focus of the project. Anxiety over judging others made the idea of ethnographic portraits appealing. Shifting methods to portraits stimulated the focus shift to the impact of the industry on women from the impact of women on the industry.
	Three	The focus of the study is the same. The subjects studied has shifted by dropping the idea of studying wives.	Teacher input and perhaps a desire to simplify the subject identification process caused the shift in subject selection.
Eban	One	Primary focus on the influences of the State Street Church and the Cathedral of St. Luke's on the historical development of the neighborhood. Secondary focuses on how the evolving environment has influenced the churches, on identifying who attends the churches and why, and on the churches' evolving role in the larger community. Also mentioned is the likelihood of learning about "the role of religion in people's lives, and how it has been changing through the history of Portland."	This topic is a shift from an early idea. The shift was influenced primarily by Eban's desire to apply the methodologies he had been learning in class. Field research and classroom activities suggested the topic. Class activities interested him in the primary focus. Class requirements suggest historical and geographic focuses. Prior experience interested him in the secondary focus.
	Two	One church has been dropped from the study. The original primary focus is the same. The original secondary focus has evolved to consider "why churches seem now to be more interwoven with culture than it is with religion." This formerly secondary focus is now equal to the original focus.	Teacher input (directive) limited the study to one church. Prior experience influenced the evolution and elevation of the secondary focus to a co-primary one.
	Three	The focus of the study is exactly the same. The proposal is altered only by greater specificity in detailing research methods, which is in large part reporting out what he has done so far and what he intends to do soon.	Proposal evolution influenced by successes and frustrations in the field.

Ana	One	Focus on sibling responsibility in Cambodian families in relation to how long an individual has been in the United States.	Prior experience and her own position as the oldest in a family of three children made her interested in the topic. Field research, secondary research, and perhaps teacher input caused her to choose the specific population. Prior academic experience helped her shape the design.
	Two	The topic remains fundamentally the same. The proposal has added an hypothesis, a brief rationale for study, and more specificity about what will be studied.	Teacher input influenced the changes in design. Prior academic experience helped Ana to know how to make the changes.
	Three	The core topic remains the same, with geographic and national comparison components added. Ana has added some detail on goals for the project.	The requirements of the class are the most significant influence on the expansion of the topic. Teacher input prodded the added detail.
Lou	One	Primary focus on studying the young people who hang out in the Old Port's Exchange Street and Tommy's Park area, with particular attention to "the relationship between the teens and the shopkeepers… and what they think of each other and the future of the area." Secondary focus on "the history of the area."	Prior experience interested him in the topic. Prior experience and secondary research set the project's basic inquiry. Class requirements caused him to add an historical component.
	Two	Focus has shifted to documenting "the U shaped swing Exchange Street made over the years, from a wealthy business district to a slum and back to a wealthy commerce district." Project does not have an hypothesis at this point.	Teacher input discouraged the original focus. Secondary background research made him aware of the history of the district. Prior experience made him aware of the current status of the district.
	Three	Formed hypothesis that city officials "initiated a process of urban renewal to change Exchange Street into a polished, commercial district… possibly to the detriment of individuals, to gloss over parts of the city that they disapprove of." After the March 1st proposal, the study focus expanded to include the future of the Old Port and the youth question with which the study began.	Teacher input caused him to focus his study and develop an hypothesis. Teacher input introduced the idea of urban development. A sense of a cause based on assumptions about city officials further shaped his hypothesis. Field research caused him to expand his topic.

Sam	One	Focus on "the history of St. Peters ... as well as the history of the whole [Italian] community." She will "figure the importance of this particular church, and how the importance of this particular church as changed over its history." With this information, she intends "to isolate the main reasons for the disintegration of the major Italian community."	Teacher input suggested the idea to her. Prior experience (her Italian heritage and regular travel to Italy) stimulated her interest. The sense of a cause, an injustice against the Italian community, deepened her interest Field research and a previous study further develop the idea. Practicality (the advantages of being half Italian when researching the Italian community) solidified her commitment to this idea for study.
	Two	The primary focus is more refined through inclusion of an hypothesis focused on the role played by St. Peters "tying the Italian community together," including "the importance of the church as both a community and as a place of worship." A secondary focus is to "find out about the traditions of St. Peters and... how similar it is to Catholic churches in Italy."	Teacher input stimulated the inclusion of a hypothesis. Prior experience, her sense of a cause, a previous study, and teacher input shaped the focus to be on the role the church plays in the current Italian community. Prior experience traveling to visit relatives in Italy and an plan to travel to Italy stimulated the inclusion of a comparison with Catholic churches in Italy.
	Three	The secondary focus became central to Sam's intent to research the authenticity of St. Peters "as an ethnic Italian church, and the strength that authenticity has in attracting the Italian community." Later adds connection with Italy and Italian heritage to the authenticity of the church, as reasons people attend the church.	Teacher input pointed out the need for topic refinements. Field research was the most influential in shaping the actual revisions.

BIOGRAPHY OF THE AUTHOR

Lowell Libby was born in Rochester, New York, on April 30th, 1955. He graduated from Allendale School in 1973. He attended Colby College in Waterville, Maine, graduating in 1977 with a B.A. in American Studies. He earned a M.Ed. in Secondary Counseling from The University of Maine in 1981.

Over a period of five years, he worked for Upward Bound as an instructor/counselor and, from 1981 through 1984, as the Assistant Director of the program at the University of Maine at Farmington. From 1984 to 1990, he taught English and history at Dirigo High School, Dixfield, Maine. From 1988 to 1990, he also served as Assistant Principal and English Department Chair. In the '90-'91 school year, he was the Associate in Education at Bowdoin College, teaching in the Education Department and supervising student teachers. From 1991 to the present, he has served as the Upper School Director at the Waynflete School in Portland, Maine. He is married and has two children.

In January 1990, Lowell was accepted in the Doctor of Education program. He is a candidate for the Doctor of Education degree in Educational Leadership from The University of Maine in December 2001.