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An Exploration of Student Enrollment and School Administrator Perceptions of JROTC at
One High School

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requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
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by

Tiesha Ann Tallman

Committee in charge:

Professor Charles Bazerman, Chair

Professor Victor Rios

Professor Cynthia Hudley

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The dissertation of Tiesha Ann Tallman is approved

Dr. Cynthia Hudley

Dr. Victor Rios

Dr. Charles Bazerman, Committee Chair

June 2017

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By

Tiesha Ann Tallman

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Vita of Tiesha Ann Tallman

EDUCATION

Bachelor of Arts in English, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2003

Master of Arts in Education, University of California, Santa Cruz, 2006

Doctor of Philosophy in Education, University of California, Santa Barbara, 2017

PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYMENT

2016 - 2017 Teacher, Dixon Unified School District, Dixon, CA

English 11

Advanced Placement English 12, "Literature and Composition"

English Language Development

2015-2016 Teacher, Antelope High School, Antelope, CA

English 9

English 11

2012 - 2014 Teacher, East Side Union High School District, San Jose, CA

English 9

English 12, Expository Reading and Writing

2012 Teaching Assistant, UCSB Gevirtz Graduate School of Education, Santa Barbara, CA

Education 236C, "Case Study Research: Methodology and Practice"

2011 - 2012 Teaching Assistant, UCSB Communication Department, Santa Barbara, CA

Communication 1, "Introduction to Communication"

Communication 89, "Theories of Communication"

2006 - 2009 Teacher, East Side Union High School District, San Jose, CA

English 9

English 10

SERVICE

2011 - 2012 Vice President, Graduate Student Association, UCSB

2011 - 2012 Student Representative, Diversity and Equity Committee, UCSB

ABSTRACT

An Exploration of Student Enrollment and School Administrator Perceptions of JROTC at

One High School

by

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This qualitative case study explores adult and student perceptions of the purposes of the Army JROTC program at one public California high school. The researcher sought to understand why students at this high school enrolled in JROTC, and what the school administrators perceived to be the purposes, benefits, and drawbacks of this program. In addition to the use of participant observation, a student handbook, and student questionnaires, five adults and 23 students were interviewed. The results are analyzed through the framework of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction. Findings demonstrate a contradiction in the stated purpose of JROTC, the students' perceptions of the purpose of JROTC, and the adult administrators' perceptions of the purpose of JROTC.

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Chapter One: Introduction

JROTC (Junior Reserve Officer Training Corps) is a federally funded high school program sponsored by the U.S. Department of Defense (DoD). There are four types of JROTC: Army JROTC, Air Force JROTC, Marine Corps JROTC, and Navy JROTC (NJROTC). More than 3,000 high schools throughout the world host a U.S. JROTC program (DoD Knowledge Base, 2014; Pema and Mehay, 2012) and over 500,000 high school students are enrolled in the program (Pema & Mehay, 2012).

JROTC takes the form of an elective class that students can enroll in for up to four years (Funk, 2002; Pema & Mehay, 2010). Host schools must offer at least three years of JROTC (Marine Corps, n.d.). Students enrolled in JROTC are termed “cadets.” Cadets who successfully complete the JROTC program at their high school are awarded with a higher starting salary upon enlistment in the military (Pema and Mehay, 2010, 2012; Taylor, 1999).

Upon signing a contract to host JROTC, school districts must hire a retired military officer who has been certified to teach JROTC. Each military branch certifies its own instructors (Taylor, 1999). The host school or district is then responsible for a portion of the instructor’s salary, usually 50% of their total salary (Funk, 2002; Taylor, 1999). The DoD continues to compensate the instructor through his/her military retirement benefits (Coumbe & Harford, 1996).

JROTC curriculum is created by and supplied by the military, and host schools are contractually obliged to adopt it. The DoD provides all supplies related to the curriculum, including textbooks, professional development, and lesson plans (Taylor, 1999). Cadets wear military uniforms, and these are also provided by the DoD. Depending on the type of JROTC, instructors provide training related to that branch of the military. Materials related

to this training, such as rifles used during drills, are provided by the military.

JROTC is present at high schools with students from low socioeconomic backgrounds (Funk, 2002) because it purports to reduce the dropout rate and provide an alternative to gang life (Bailey, Hodak, Sheppard, and Hassen, 1992). Another reason this program is popular among these types of schools is because the military provides financial incentives to schools that host the program (Collin, 2008; Galaviz, Palafox, Meiners, and Quinn, 2011), such as the provided curriculum materials and supplemented salary for instructors.

Statement of the Problem

JROTC is largely located in urban schools (Funk, 2002) that serve mainly students of low socioeconomic status. Researchers have noted that urban, at risk youth of color are overrepresented in JROTC (Pema and Mehay, 2009, 2010); specifically, women and African Americans (Pema and Mehay, 2012). Compared with all military recruits, those who were “JROTC participants are relatively concentrated among minorities” (Walls, 2003, p. 74). Taylor (1999) recommends that while “the JROTC expansion in the mid-1990s gave priority to establishing new units in inner cities . . . future expansions [should] continue this focus” (p. 36). As Pema and Mehay (2009) report, “the program expansion in the 1990s affected the size of the program but not the composition of participants” (p. 537). With continuing budget shortfalls in public education, it is unlikely that schools facing such monetary limitations will cancel their JROTC program; rather, it is likely that JROTC will expand.

Researchers have raised serious questions about the JROTC curriculum, mainly that it teaches conformity and obedience over individuality and critical thinking (Lutz and Bartlett, 1995). Regardless of whether or not enrollment in JROTC increases a student’s propensity to enlist in the military, socioeconomically disadvantaged youth of color are disproportionately

exposed to its military-oriented vocational curriculum. Further, JROTC appears to act as a tracking mechanism that separates “at risk” students from their peers. Using Bourdieu’s theory of cultural reproduction as a lens, JROTC can be seen as a mechanism through which public schools reproduce the social order in the interests of neoliberal ideology (capitalism). Further, while policy makers insist that JROTC is not military recruitment, JROTC funding continues to derive from the DoD’s recruitment budget (Galaviz et al., 2011) and is the focus of evaluation research by military institutional agents for its benefit to the military in terms of recruitment and military attrition (Bailey et al. 1992; Days and Ang, 2004; Peinhardt, 1998; Taylor, 1999; Pema and Mehay, 2009a, 2010; Walls, 2003).

Purpose of the Study

Despite the proliferation of JROTC, and its popularity among urban schools serving socioeconomically disadvantaged students (Galaviz et al., 2011), studies of JROTC are limited (Pema and Mehay, 2009, 2012). Most studies of the effects of JROTC have focused almost entirely on either academic outcomes (Bailey et al., 1992; Elliot, Hanser, and Gilroy, 2000) or effects on military enlistment and retention (Edwards, 2012).

Other examinations of JROTC are limited to non-empirical or theoretical analyses (Bartlett & Lutz, 1998; Berlowitz, 2000; Collin, 2008; Enloe, 1983; Furumoto, 2005; Galaviz, Palafox, Meiners, and Quin, 2011). Exceptions would be Perez (2006), who did ethnographic research to find out the why Latina youth consider joining the military, and Lutz & Bartlett (1995) who contributed a content analysis on the JROTC curriculum.

It has been reported that JROTC is for “motivated” students who “show leadership potential” (Hanser and Robyn, 2000). The Marine Corps JROTC cadet handbook, for example, lists enrollment requirements that include “good moral character” (U.S. Marine

Corps, n.d.). The handbook also states that cadets can be dis-enrolled from the program for “academic failure,” “ineptitude,” and “poor attitude” (U.S. Marine Corps, n.d.). Therefore, it is the hypothesis of this researcher that among low socioeconomic student populations, the target student is one who may otherwise enroll in postsecondary education.

This study seeks to examine effects of JROTC not previously studied. While institutional studies have examined the effect of JROTC participation on cadets’ academic success, this study seeks to understand why school administrators choose to host JROTC, and why students elect into the program, or not. Insight into these perspectives may help our understanding of the purpose of JROTC – do administrators view it as an army recruitment tool or something more? Do they believe it has educational value, and if so, what is the nature of that value? Further, this insight may help us to understand the value that students place on JROTC – does placement into JROTC encourage students to succeed in school or discourage them? Do they consider it to be a course equally if not more important than their other courses, or do they view it as a class that is not going to help them get ahead?

Research Questions

The researcher will seek answers to these questions:

1. Why do students choose to take JROTC?
 - a. Within the reasons expressed are there any responses that indicate awareness of social position?
 - b. Do other responses have implications concerning social position that are not explicitly recognized?
2. Within the target population of students from low socioeconomic backgrounds, does JROTC target those that would otherwise be college-bound?

- a. Are students placed in JROTC without their or their families' expressed desire to be so placed?
 - i. If so, what do they feel about it, if anything?
 - ii. Does this placement affect their perceptions of themselves as scholars or their sense of cooperation with or opposition to schooling? If so, how?
3. According to school administrators, what purpose(s) does JROTC serve?
 - a. Do they view JROTC as a way to provide social capital to students whom they perceive to be lacking in it or not able to attain it otherwise?
 - b. What other purposes do they attribute to JROTC, and are they phrased in terms of service to students or in terms of service to the needs of the institution?

Research Questions Explained

Drawn from the conceptual framework, these research questions are intended to bring understanding to the perspectives of those involved in social and cultural reproduction, via JROTC, in one high school. As student's aspirations may be the product of the opportunities afforded his or her social class (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990), the first question will help us understand why high school students at this particular school enroll in JROTC. Do their choices reflect awareness of, or ignorance of, their social position? Do these students consider JROTC to be a program that will help them with social mobility? Do they consider JROTC a good fit for somebody without the option of social mobility? How does enrollment in JROTC reflect this relationship between aspirations and opportunity?

The second question seeks to find out two things: first, at the research site, are

college-bound students targeted for enrollment into JROTC? This question directly relates to the conceptual framework because, if these students are the targets, than it could be surmised that JROTC in this context is in fact working to perpetuate the social order, plucking out students who might otherwise advance social and economic classes. Second, if placement in JROTC is always voluntary, or not. While responses may not indicate anything related to perceptions of scholarship or views of schooling as a process, this question is influenced by Giroux's Theory of Resistance that argues that some oppositional behavior on the part of students may be the result of their resistance to the social reproduction happening in school (Giroux, 1983). Therefore, this question also aims to understand the effects on students of being placed in a class, such as JROTC, that may not have been requested. If a student was not aware of their social position before being enrolled in JROTC, does their placement into the program bring about that awareness? If so, is the consequence resignation on the part of the student, or resistance? The third question is intended to provide insight into administrators' motives for hosting JROTC. Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital posits that schools legitimate social inequality (Bourdieu 1974). Among the purposes for JROTC expressed by administrators, is there a conscious decision to structure school to meet the needs of the capitalist class, or rather a reflection of their internalization of society's values and structures, and thus lowered aspirations of their working class students?

Method of Inquiry

To explore how JROTC may be viewed through the lens of social reproduction, I conducted a bounded case study (Merriam, 2009) at one high school using data collection methods such as participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and questionnaires. Interviews were conducted with both students at the high school and administrators of or

related to the high school. Interview data was triangulated with participant observation data and questionnaire data. This method of inquiry was chosen so as to add to the empirical knowledge of JROTC while offering a qualitative perspective on an otherwise quantitative-dominant research field.

Study Boundaries

In this study, the researcher made use of and examined constructs such as social reproduction and capital in order to describe outcomes and processes that are associated with the purpose of JROTC. However, it is important to note that this study is not an attempt to measure any of these constructs. Although there was a questionnaire administered, the sample size of participants who completed them was too small to be suitable for quantitative analysis. Further, only Army JROTC at one public high school is being studied. While throughout this paper the program is referred to as JROTC, it is referring specifically to one Army JROTC program on one campus.

Summary

JROTC is a widespread, publicly funded military program on high school campuses. Schools serving students from low socioeconomic backgrounds are more likely than other schools to host a JROTC program because of the financial incentives and the promise of increasing graduation rates and offering students an alternative to gangs. The popularity of JROTC is growing, but only among these schools that serve students of low socioeconomic backgrounds. The nature of student enrollment in the class, such as the process by which they are enrolled and the reasons behind it, is the subject of this research study. This chapter introduced the purpose of this qualitative research study, the research questions, and the method of inquiry.

Chapter Two: Review of the Literature

Overview

Studies on high school JROTC may focus on traditional JROTC programs in the various military branches, or they may focus on JROTC career academies. Many research studies on JROTC in the military branches are evaluations of JROTC, and some of these are evaluations of JROTC specifically as a military preparation program. This chapter will begin with the history and purpose of JROTC and an outline of JROTC by the services. Next literature on JROTC career academies will be presented, followed by themes found in the literature, such as: demographics of JROTC participants, propensity to enlist, leadership, academic outcomes, social reproduction, and conformity and militarization. Only research studies from the 1990's and beyond are included in this review. As the focus of this paper is JROTC, which implies high school level ROTC, studies on ROTC at the college level are not included in this review.

History and Purpose of JROTC

The passage of the National Defense Act in 1916 allowed for the establishment of JROTC units in high schools (Bartlett and Lutz, 1998; Coumbe & Harford, 1996; Funk, 2002). JROTC began as a way to train youth for military service (Coumbe & Harford, 1996; Days & Ang, 2004; Hanser & Robyn 2000; Pema & Mehay, 2009). Due to a lack of funding, JROTC remained only a modestly sized program of no more than 254 units (Coumbe & Harford, 1996). During Robert S. McNamara's tenure as U.S. Secretary of Defense, a Defense Department commission was established in order to assess the value of the program (Coumbe & Harford, 1996). The committee found that the program benefited the military "and the nation" in that it "foster[ed] favorable attitudes among American youth toward

military service” and “inculcated . . . character traits conducive to the development of docile and law-abiding citizens” (Coumbe & Harford, 1996, p. 260). In 1964, President John F. Kennedy signed the ROTC Vitalization Act of 1964, resulting in an increase of JROTC units from 254 to 646 (Coumbe & Harford, 1996).

In 1972 women were granted permission to enroll in JROTC, and their enrollment reached 40 percent by 1993 (Coumbe & Harford, 1996). In 1976, President Gerald R. Ford signed Public Law 94-361, allowing for an increase in JROTC units (Coumbe & Harford, 1996). This increase in units was not substantial, however, until the 1980s when JROTC enrollment increased by 5,600 cadets (Coumbe & Harford, 1996, p. 262). During this era, military recruiting officers began to utilize JROTC as a recruitment source, “work[ing] closely with JROTC cadre members to identify recruitment prospects” (Coumbe & Harford, 1996, p. 262).

An internal review in 1985 found that the program was not “yield[ing] many candidates for enlistment” (Coumbe & Harford, 1996, p. 265). This internal review spurred the JROTC Improvement Plan (JRIP), which sought to institutionalize and streamline improvements to JROTC. Improvement centered around (1) “enhanc[ing] the program’s image by upgrading cadet appearance and discipline and conducting summer camps”; (2) “rais[ing] cadre quality and performance by clarifying and stiffening selection and retention criteria”; and (3) improving management through the use of a computer information system (Coumbe & Harford, 1996, p. 267).

JROTC did not have a clear mission statement until 1987, when cadet command - the commanding office for JROTC - released an official mission statement for JROTC: “To motivate young people to be better Americans” (Coumbe & Harford, 1996, p. 269).

Currently, the self-reported purpose of the program is “to instill in students . . . the values of citizenship, service to the United States, and personal responsibility and a sense of accomplishment” as well as “develop in students an interest in military service as a career.” (U.S. Army, n.d.).

In the 1960s, JROTC Career Academies were established to run as vocational schools-within-schools for students at high risk of dropping out of high school (Hanser and Robyn, 2000). While JROTC is an elective course a student may choose to take, among other courses, JROTC Career Academies are schools in themselves with an “occupational focus” (Hanser & Robyn, 2000). The focus of this paper is not the career academies, but regular Army JROTC.

JROTC by the Services

The Air Force, Navy, Marine Corps, and Army all oversee their own JROTC. In 1916, the Army was the first service to establish a JROTC. The other services established units much later, enabled by the passage of the ROTC Vitalization Act of 1964 (Coumbe & Harford, 1996).

Air Force JROTC, first established in 1966, is now present at 890 host schools throughout the world (U.S. Air Force, 2015.). Most of these units are within the U.S. but some are hosted by DoD-dependent Schools (schools serving children of U.S. military service personnel stationed overseas) in other parts of the world such as Europe, Japan, and Guam (U.S. Air Force, 2015; Taylor, 1999). The purpose of this branch of JROTC is “to educate and train high school cadets in citizenship; promote community service; instill responsibility, character, and self-discipline; and provide instruction in air and space fundamentals” (Taylor, 1999). The curriculum contains two categories of study: “Academic

Studies” and “Leadership Studies” (U.S. Air Force, 2015) Academic Studies includes courses on aerospace science such as “A Journey into Aviation History,” “The Exploration of Space/Astronomy,” “Geography” but also courses titled “Management of the Cadet Corps” and “Policy and Organization” (U.S. Air Force, 2015). Course titles for Leadership Studies include “Citizenship, Character, and Air Force Tradition” and “Communication, Awareness, and Leadership” (U.S. Air Force 2015). Based on the total hours required from each category of study, emphasis is placed on the academic studies strand. For example, while recommended course hours for “Citizenship, Character, and Air Force Tradition” as an elective total 48, recommended course hours for “A Journey into Aviation History” as an elective total 72 (U.S. Air Force, 2015).

Navy JROTC, established alongside Air Force JROTC with the ROTC Vitalization Act of 1964 (Coumbe & Harford, 1996), is present at 435 high schools throughout the world (Taylor, 1999). Its mission is to “instill . . .the values of citizenship, service to the United States, personal responsibility and a sense of accomplishment” (U.S. Navy, n.d.). Curriculum topics include “leadership, citizenship, drug-abuse prevention, career planning, the past and present navy, nautically relevant aspects of natural science...first aid and survival training” (Taylor, 1999, p. 8). In addition to Naval JROTC, the navy also offers the Navy National Defense Cadet Corps (NNDCC) (U.S. Navy, 2011). The NNDCC, which now exists for all four services, has existed almost as long as JROTC, but has not been as popular (Coumbe & Harford, 1996). The NNDCC is offered as an alternative to Naval JROTC to host schools that do not qualify for Naval JROTC (U.S. Navy, 2011). While JROTC is primarily funded by the DoD, NDCC is primarily funded by host schools (Coumbe & Harford, 1996; U. S. Navy, 2011). While the Navy provides the curriculum for this program, the host schools

supply everything else, from instructor salaries to cadet uniforms (U.S. Navy, 2011).

Marine Corps JROTC is the smallest of the JROTC programs with 173 units in the U.S. and Japan (Peinhardt, 1998). It was first established in 1995 by retired Marine Corps officer Robert C. Funk (Funk, 2002). The purpose of the Marine Corps JROTC “is to instill a value of citizenship, service to the United States, personal responsibility, and a sense of accomplishment” (U.S. Marine Corps, n.d.). The cadet handbook states that the Marine Corps JROTC mission is to (1) Develop informed and responsible citizens (2) Develop leadership skills (3) Strengthen character (4) Promote an understanding of the basic elements and requirements for national security, and (5) Develop respect for, and an understanding of, the need for constituted authority in a democratic society (U.S. Marine Corps, n.d.). The handbook also states that in order to enroll in the program, a student must “be of good moral character” (U.S. Marine Corps, n.d.).

Army JROTC is present at 1731 schools throughout the U.S. (U.S. Army JROTC, n.d.). According to the unofficial website, the program “evolved from a source of enlisted recruits and officer candidates to a citizenship program devoted to the moral, physical, and educational uplift of American youth” in 2013 (U.S. Army JROTC, n.d.). The four-year curriculum includes six units. The first unit, “Citizenship in Action,” covers the first two years. The remaining units cover all four years. Their titles are as follows: “Leadership Theory and Application,” “Foundations for Success,” “Wellness, Fitness, and First Aid,” “Geography, Map Skills, and Environmental Awareness,” and “Citizenship in American History and Government.” JROTC is not an a-g course, meaning the credits earned by taking JROTC cannot be used to satisfy admission requirements to a California State University or any of the University of California campuses (personal communication). However, on the

“Information for Parents” page of the Army JROTC website, it is written that JROTC “prepares students (Cadets) for college” (U.S. Army JROTC, n.d.).

JROTC Career Academies

JROTC Career Academies were first implemented in 1992 with the purpose of “keep[ing] dropout-prone students in school” (Hanser & Robyn, 2000, p. xi). Like regular JROTC, the career academies provide “military training” (Hanser & Robyn, 2000, p. xi). Although their focus is the same as JROTC, they are structured like regular career academies. They were “built on the traditional career academy model... [with] an increased emphasis on civic values, responsibility, citizenship, discipline, and leadership that comes from the Junior Reserve Officers Training Corps (JROTC) program of instruction” (Elliot, Hanser & Gilroy, 2000, p. 1). The occupational focus of these academies “[range] from media and arts to health, assistive technology, maritime science and transportation, and aviation” (Elliot, Hanser & Gilroy, 2000, p. 2). Career academy curriculum may be developed by “business partners” (Elliot, Hanser & Gilroy, 2000, p. 2); participants of both regular and JROTC Career Academies are exposed to career areas. JROTC Career Academies, however, have the addition of “a structured and disciplined military training” (Hanser & Robyn, 2000, p. xii). While participants are considered “at risk,” in both regular and JROTC Career Academies (Elliot, Hanser & Gilroy, 2000; Hanser & Robyn, 2000), JROTC Career Academy participants are recruited, while regular career academy students are usually placed at the request of teachers and counselors (Elliot, Hanser & Gilroy, 2000, p. 3-4).

As part of a larger program evaluation on JROTC Career Academies that included establishing them in schools and evaluating their implementation (Hanser & Robyn, 2000), Elliott, Hanser, and Gilroy (2000) evaluated the effects of JROTC Career Academies on

student outcomes. They examined the administrative records (standardized test scores, grade point averages, attendance, and demographic information) of 27,490 students in 8 JROTC Career Academies and 8 similar schools to find how students in JROTC Career Academies fared with students in either 1) other career, magnet, or special program, including regular JROTC, or 2) no program at all. Variables included grade point average, attendance, and graduation rates. They found that JROTC Career Academy students' grade point averages were higher than non-academy students and that academy students had better attendance than non-academy students. While their data contained records on ninth and tenth graders, the researchers concluded that based on their graduation status at that time, academy students' graduation rates would be higher than non-academy students. Findings were based exclusively on statistical analyses of the data in the administrative records of the participants.

Demographics of Participants

JROTC enrollees are more likely to be minority males (Baily et al.,1992; Pema and Mehay 2009) from lower-income families (Perez, 2006) with less-educated parents and are more likely to live in single-parent households (Peinhardt, 1998; Pema and Mehay, 2009). They also attend predominately urban schools with high minority enrollments (Perez, 2006) located in the South (Pema and Mehay, 2010). These attributes suggest that JROTC enrollees are more likely to be at-risk students (Elliott, Hanser, and Gilroy 2000; Galaviz, Palafox, Meiners, and Quinn, 2011; Hanser & Robyn, 2000; Peinhardt, 1998; Pema & Mehay, 2009a; Perez, 2006; Walls, 2003). While African American students are overrepresented in JROTC, white students are underrepresented (Peinhardt, 1998). Traditionally, female participation in JROTC has not been nearly as high as male participation (Bartlett & Lutz, 1995; Bailey, 1992; Berlowitz & Long, 2003; Brown, 2003; Coumbe & Harford, 1996); In fact, females

were not permitted in JROTC until 1973 after a court ruled the ban discriminatory (Coulombe & Harford, 1996; Peinhardt, 1998). More recently, female enrollment in JROTC has been climbing (Pema & Mehay, 2010; Perez, 2006).

While hispanic and black males of low socio-economic status have been the target of JROTC for the purposes of instilling values of obedience and conformity and prevent future uprisings like the Los Angeles riots (Berlowitz, 2000; Galaviz, 2011), females may be targeted for a different reason. As Perez (2006) suggests, minority females need to be disciplined sexually: “while military involvement allegedly keeps young men out of gangs, for young women it allegedly functions as a way to mitigate unwed teen pregnancy” (p. 63).

JROTC enrollment is highest among ninth grade students (Bailey et al, 1992) as opposed to those in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grades. Berlowitz and Long (2011) surmise that JROTC’s target of ninth and tenth grade students is a response to its imperative to recruit high school students to the military (185).

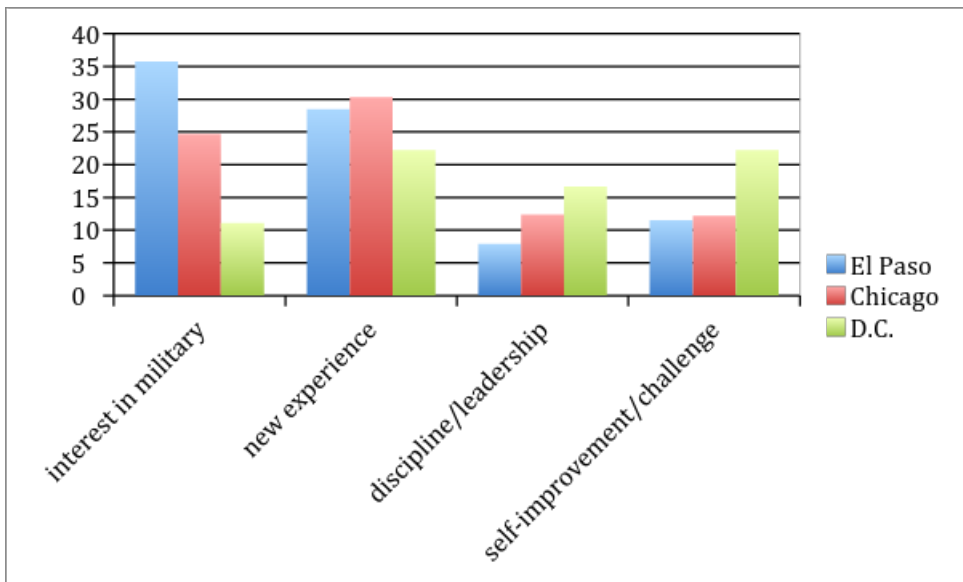
Reasons for Enrollment and Attrition

Literature on JROTC has shown that students enroll in JROTC out of interest in the military (Perez 2006), desire for discipline and leadership, self-improvement or challenge, desire for a new experience, or encouragement from family or friends (Peinhardt, 1998). (figure 1). In his ethnographic research, Perez identified some reasons as to why students found the military to be a motivating factor for enrollment in JROTC. According to the students he spoke with in Chicago, students viewed the military as a source of employment after high school, or as a source of money for college. Beyond strictly monetary concerns, they viewed the military as a sanctuary, or a way out of the environment they have grown up in (Perez, 2006, 60 Another important factor he discovered included the respect students

perceived they received for wearing the cadet uniform (58). Other reasons for enrollment in JROTC include the fact that they face limited course options and the option of taking JROTC instead of a physical education course (Perez, 2006, 58).

Students in JROTC leave the program for many reasons, the most common being at the instructor’s request and at the student’s request (Bailey et al. 1992). The cadet survey administered by Bailey et al. (1992) show that of his sample, 51% of the students who leave JROTC do so at their own request.

Figure 1: Reasons for enrollment in JROTC



Although Peinhardt (1998) did not examine the reason for student attrition from JROTC, he did seek answers to what aspects of the program they liked the least. Although his study focused on three areas: Chicago, El Paso, and Washington, D.C., he published focus group results from Chicago only. These Responses include: favoritism, abuse of authority, poor uniform quality, push-ups, and waking up early (Peinhardt, 1998).

Propensity to Enlist

Students who have participated in JROTC are more likely to enlist in the military than students have not participated in JROTC (Days and Ang, 2004; Pema and Mehay, 2009). Further, students who participated in JROTC their sophomore year are more likely to enlist than students who did not take JROTC until their senior year (Days and Ang, 2004). Notably, just attending a JROTC host school increases a student's likelihood of enlisting in the military (Pema and Mehay, 2009a, 2010).

In a follow-up study to their 2009 report on the effects of JROTC, Pema and Mehay (2010) examined possible differences in program effects based on how long students participated in JROTC. The authors used the same data set as their 2009 study, but they disaggregated the data further by timing – when JROTC participants first enrolled in JROTC – and intensity – how long the participants stayed in JROTC. While Pema and Mehay (2009a) examined program effects for the average JROTC student in the average school, this study included treatment effects for marginal participants (students who attend schools with JROTC). They found that students who enrolled early in JROTC and stayed enrolled throughout high school (continuous participants) were more likely to enlist in the military than their peers who either did not participate in JROTC or who participated late in high school (Pema and Mehay, 2010, p. 243). The inclusion of marginal participants in this study allowed the researchers to determine that the presence of JROTC in a school influences enlistment rates of non-JROTC students (p. 244).

Beyond enlistment, JROTC researchers have been interested in the length of service from JROTC participants in comparison to non-JROTC participants (Days & Ang, 2004; Pema & Mehay, 2012; Walls, 2003). They have found that JROTC participants have higher first-term completion rates (Days and Ang, 2004; Pema & Mehay, 2012; Walls, 2003). Pema

and Mehay's fixed effects estimates (which use non-JROTC recruits from the same zip code as control group participants) show that male recruits who are graduates of JROTC are less likely to leave during the 4-year contract (Pema & Mehay, 2012). Similarly, both females and males are more likely to re-enlist than other recruits (Pema & Mehay, 2012, p. 685). Moreover, both the fixed effects and bivariate probit estimates show that women are much more likely to experience turnover than their male counterparts. What may be alarming to JROTC proponents, however, are the promotion rates of JROTC recruits. Because these recruits enlist directly after graduating from high school, they have less education than the non-JROTC recruits who have some college experience, and thus they have lower promotion rates (Pema and Mehay, 2012).

Because it is not considered vocational education, education researchers have largely ignored JROTC (Pema and Mehay, 2012). This oversight may stem from the perception that military science courses represent extracurricular activities that do not affect employment" (Pema & Mehay, 2012, p. 682). Pema and Mehay (2012) emphasize that JROTC is indeed vocational education – specifically, training for the military: "The curriculum, the use of military instructors, and the close link with the employer are clear indicators of the program's vocational orientation" (p. 682). Still, in this case, the positive effects of traditional vocational education on job market success are not due to the "human capital effect" whereby vocational education improves job skills and subsequently productivity (Pema & Mehay, 2012, p. 680). Instead, the positive effects of vocational education (JROTC) on job market success (military career) is due to the job match effect, whereby participants in specific vocational education programs are disclosed information about the job and employer prior to the new recruit joining the organization (Pema and Mehay, 2012).

Educational Outcomes

The research on the educational outcomes of students enrolled in JROTC is not consistent. The results of the most rigorous studies conclude that JROTC cadets do not perform better than their non-JROTC peers in school, as demonstrated by their grade point averages (Pema and Mehay, 2009a). Peinhardt (1998) finds mixed results in his analysis of data reported by the Department of Army Instruction (DAI). In his Chicago sample, he finds that ninth grade cadets have lower grade point averages than their otherwise similar non-JROTC peers but that the trend is reversed in their sophomore year. He does not find the differences in the junior and senior years to be statistically significant (Peinhardt, 1998). In his El Paso sample, his results align with Pema and Mehay and point to JROTC cadets having lower grade point averages than their peers all four years of high school (Peinhardt, 1998). In his D.C. sample, Peinhardt (1998) does not provide summary statistics but reports on the numbers given to him from the DAI. According to those numbers, JROTC cadets have higher grade point averages than “the total school population, 2.32 vs. 2.19” (p. 97).

Pema and Mehay (2009a) perform much more rigorous research than Peinhardt (1998) before publishing their results. They used a two-stage matching technique to assume that “JROTC participation is random . . . [and that] JROTC units are randomly distributed among schools with similar student body demographics, academic programs, and recruiting environments” (p. 541). Two-stage matching estimates using data from the High School and Beyond survey, which tracks students beginning their sophomore year, “indicate that in-school performance of JROTC students is poorer than that of their peers [and that] JROTC students are more likely to drop out, are less likely to complete high school, and are less likely to pursue or obtain postsecondary degrees” (Pema and Mehay, 2009a, p. 548).

Graduation rates of continuous participants, however, may be higher than the graduation rates of their non-JROTC peers or their peers who did not continue on in JROTC (Pema and Mehay, 2010).

JROTC participants are not only less likely to enroll in college after high school than their non-JROTC peers (Pema & Mehay, 2009a), but they are also less likely to obtain a post-secondary degree should they enroll in college (Pema and Mehay 2009a). Peinhardt's (1998) study provides numbers on participants' self-reported post-secondary goals, but does not compare these numbers to non-JROTC students. According to his study, participants' goals after high school mostly fell into two main categories: college and active military duty (Peinhardt, 1998).

Leadership

Some researchers argue that participation in JROTC does not increase employability in general (Berlowitz & Long, 2003; Pema & Mehay, 2012). Because of the lack of employable skills training within the curriculum, JROTC has not been considered vocational education (Pema & Mehay, 2012). Berlowitz cites a terminated study by the Secretary of Defense that shows non-veterans have "higher degrees of labor force participation and higher income" than veterans; the same study also showed that veterans' military skills were not transferable to the civilian labor market (2000, p. 396).

Because it is not an academic class and not a vocational education class, JROTC is sold as a leadership training class (Bartlett & Lutz, 1995, 1998). Results from cadet surveys as part of Peinhardt's (1998) program evaluation of JROTC demonstrate that desire for leadership skills was one of the top reasons provided by students for choosing to enroll in JROTC. In some host schools, JROTC is called "Leadership Training" (Hanser & Robyn,

2000). Retired U.S. Marine Corps Officer and JROTC instructor, Funk (2002) uses anecdotal evidence to argue that JROTC does in fact teach leadership to high school students. When asked to provide their definition of leadership, cadets in Peinhardt's (1998) sample from Chicago are reported to have responded with the following answers: "in order to be a good leader, you must first learn to follow; to respect authority, obey orders, [and] demonstrate responsibility" (p. 96).

Berlowitz (2003) argues that this leadership training does not increase participants' employability; instead, it extols authoritarianism (187). Pema & Mehay (2012) would agree that JROTC does not increase participants' general employability. The leadership skills taught in JROTC emphasize following the orders of those who rank above you (Berlowitz, 2003; Funk, 2002; Hanser & Robyn, 2000). Bartlett and Lutz (1995, 1998) demonstrate how through JROTC, students learn values such as "discipline and uniformity" (p. 120). Thus, it can be argued that while JROTC is marketed leadership training, it is actually a way to inculcate within at-risk students the values of obedience and conformity.

Critical Perspectives of JROTC

What follows is an overview of the critical studies that have been done on JROTC. These studies differ from the traditional studies of JROTC in that they are not authored by military and are not sponsored by the DoD.

Social reproduction.

Critics of JROTC argue that the placement of JROTC units in public schools serving working class people of color reproduce the current class structure (Berlowitz & Long, 2003; Brown, 2003; Collin, 2008).

Some scholars have examined the sociopolitical context of the 1990's expansion of

JROTC (Bartlett & Lutz, 1998; Berlowitz & Long, 2011; Brown, 2011; Collin, 2008). They argue that the funding of JROTC at this time of expansion was a reaction to the Los Angeles riots and the race war going on at that time between African Americans and whites. Placing JROTC in schools with large populations of African Americans, Hispanics, and students of low socioeconomic status, policy makers were ensuring a way to stifle and re-direct discontent and anger with the social order resulting from perceived racism and suppression of minority groups (Bartlett & Lutz, 1998; Brown, 2003; Collin, 2008).

Critical theorists Brown (2003) and Berlowitz and long (2003) argue that the proliferation of JROTC in public schools serving working class students of color is evidence of “systemic violence” (Brown, 2003) or “structural violence” (Berlowitz & Long, 2003). Both terms refer to indirect violence imposed upon working class people of color. From this perspective, JROTC is a mechanism of a social reproduction whereby participants are needed in order for the upper class to thrive. According to Brown (2003), poor school sites and wealthy schools are “interdependent” (131). The upper class needs a steady stream of low-skilled labor in order to thrive economically (Berlowitz & Long, 2003; Brown, 2003). JROTC fulfills this need in a couple of ways. First, JROTC prepares students for low-skilled employment, jail, or unemployment (Brown, 2003). Second, JROTC literally provides the military in order to ensure free market capitalism.

Working class families, such as those in the communities where JROTC can be found, are “pushed” by economic constraints toward less ideal schooling options; they are then “pulled” by “economic carrots,” or the military’s promise that JROTC will put them in a position to earn money for college (Berlowitz & Long, 2003, Brown, 2003, p. 140). These are considered by the authors to be false promises. First, students are trained to be

employable in low-wage jobs or the military. Participation in JROTC replaces what could have been a college preparatory course with its own “watered down” curriculum (Berlowitz, 2000). For example, in their curriculum analysis, Bartlett and Lutz (1995) found that the JROTC text overly simplifies the constitution in comparison to typical civics textbooks in the “interpretive nature” of the Constitution (24). Second, they are not in a position to take advantage of the college scholarship because they do not end up going to college (Berlowitz & Long, 2003, 185). These students are instead trained for the low-skilled labor force, which the upper class needs to support their enterprises.

Finally, Berlowitz and Long (2003) argue that JROTC programs support free market Capitalism, or neoliberalism, through its support of military recruitment strategies. Cadets recruited to the military will “serve as cannon fodder in the proliferation of ‘limited wars’ waged against those forces that might interfere with U.S. protection and expansion of the free market” (Berlowitz & Long, 2003, 185). From this perspective, JROTC serves social reproduction by providing for wartime expendables, which in turn allows for unrestrained Capitalism, resulting in a widening of chasm between the classes.

Conformity and militarization.

These critical theorist researchers argue that minority and poor student participation in JROTC aids social reproduction through placing value on conformity. First, the value of conformity is transmitted through the glorification of the uniform (Bartlett & Lutz, 1998). The authors suggest that the uniform cadets wear symbolizes conformity. Through this conformity of dress, cadets “subordinate racial identification to an identification with the nation through what is presented as the most patriotic of institutions, the military” (Bartlett & Lutz, 1998). In other words, when cadets wear the uniform, they perceive themselves as

being regarded as an appendage of the military, rather than a unique person of a certain race and background. Brown (2003) also makes a link between the school uniform and attempts to promote conformity among working class students of color (130).

Conformity is also shown to be of value through the curriculum in these working class schools serving students of color (Bartlett & Lutz, 1998; Brown, 2003), which emphasizes rote memorization over critical thinking (Brown, 2003). Bartlett and Lutz analyzed the American history section of a JROTC textbook, which they also found to be overly simplified. In regards to the section on the Vietnam War, American citizens who held an anti-war stance are described as “confused”. Further, anti-war demonstrations are described as being “violent”, and conflicting perceptions of the war were framed as threats to national unity (1998, 128).

Yet another way that conformity is glorified in JROTC in the name of leadership training is through the investment of time on drill (Bartlett & Lutz, 1998; Peinhardt, 1998). A significant amount of instructional minutes are spent on drill: 40 percent (Bailey, 1992, 30) or 33 hours (Bartlett & Lutz, 1995). According to the Marine Corps JROTC Cadet Handbook, during drill, cadets march “in an orderly manner.” The purpose of drill is to instill “discipline and coordination,” and to “improve moral by developing team spirit.”

Summary

For such a controversial program as JROTC appears to be, there is surprisingly little research. JROTC began as a program with the overt purpose of training youth for the military. Funding for JROTC increased for the uncontested purpose of providing discipline to urban youth of low socioeconomic status. With the increased focus on standards-based curriculum, the DoD began to sell JROTC as a leadership program. Researchers and program

evaluators have largely been concerned with the likelihood of JROTC cadets to enlist in the military, and the academic achievement of JROTC cadets in relation to their non-JROTC peers. Some researchers and academics have expressed concern over the social mobility of JROTC cadets, namely that JROTC cadets may not be as successful as they may have been had they not participated in JROTC.

Chapter Three: Theoretical framework

Overview

In this chapter, Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction, habitus, and the forms of capital will be defined. First will be a definition of social reproduction and habitus, and following this will be a more in depth definition of the forms of capital. These ideas will also be explained in relation to the research questions.

Social Reproduction

Cultural and Social reproduction are oftentimes used together, because they are very similar. Social reproduction is "the reproduction of the relations between the groups or classes" (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990, p.54). In other words, it is the phenomenon by which, for example, the upper class continues to be the upper class, and the working class continues to be the working class. This type of reproduction follows from cultural reproduction, which itself is the reproduction, or passing on of, inherited culture. Cultural capital in its embodied state is *habitus* – which relates to people's tastes and dispositions that have developed through history, structures, and through interactions with others (Nash, 1990). These tastes and dispositions are created and sustained subconsciously, and they may survive well after the conditions that shaped them cease to exist (Nash, 1990). This "cultural arbitrary" can apply to any cultural tradition (as related to geography and religion). A natural product of the reproduction of this "cultural arbitrary" is social reproduction. Now that one class of people identify with similar "habitus," the relationships between groups is reproduced. This is structural in that it is built into the fabric of society. According to Bourdieu, the structure of education enables this social reproduction. Education, or pedagogic action, is *symbolic violence* in that it imposes its culture on those who may not

have it (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990). This is not very different from *systemic violence* (Brown, 2003) and *structural violence* (Berlowitz & Long, 2003) in that it favors the upper class. This act of “pedagogic authority” reproduces the social order in legitimizing the habitus of the powerful class – who will only continue to accumulate social capital - at the expense of the lower classes (Bourdieu, 1977 p. 24). These other classes, who arrive at school lacking in the cultural and social capital of their middle- and upper-class peers, will usually either be left behind or rebel and face the ensuing consequences of “eradicate[ion]” (Nash, 1990, p. 436). Habitus is, therefore, “the principle underlying the production of the most durable academic and social differences” (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990, p. 161) as it forms one’s cultural capital which in turn influences the collection and maintenance of social capital.

Connection to research questions.

My first research question asks whether student responses regarding their decision to take or not take JROTC have implications concerning social position that are not explicitly recognized. Answers to this question can highlight either an act of student rebellion or a feeling of being left behind, as Bourdieu posits. Research question three asks what purpose school administrators perceive JROTC as serving. From their perspective, is JROTC a way to provide this capital – social or cultural – to their student population? Or, do responses indicate an awareness of the symbolic violence that is materialized in JROTC?

The Forms of Capital

Integral to the concept of social and cultural reproduction is the idea of capital. The three forms of capital inherent to Bourdieu’s theory of social reproduction are economic, social, and cultural. These three forms will be discussed below.

Economic capital.

Economic capital is not a form of capital that is a focus of this research, but its presence is nonetheless a factor, as JROTC is most often found on public high school campuses serving predominantly low SES students. Economic capital is the economic resources available to an agent, and it can be “convertible into money” as well as “institutionalized in the form of property rights” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 82). Economic capital can be earned, inherited, or converted from other forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1986). More specifically, cultural capital and social capital derive from economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Typically, Army JROTC can be found at schools lacking in economic capital.

JROTC seeks to “instill good citizenship, responsibility, and leadership in high school students” (Taylor, 1999), particularly “at-risk” high school students (Funk, 2002; Hanser & Robyn, 2000; Taylor, 1999). Public high schools that serve socioeconomically disadvantaged students are particularly attracted to this program because it is subsidized by the Department of Defense (DoD). School districts that house JROTC save money because the DoD pays the salaries of JROTC instructors (Days & Ang, 2004; Taylor, 1999) and provides the curriculum and learning materials (Days & Ang, 2004).

Schools that serve primarily socioeconomically disadvantaged students of the type targeted by JROTC usually lack a PTA (parent-teacher association) and other outside funding sources that other schools within the same district may have. While school funding at the district level has received a lot of attention, less has been paid to school financing within school districts.

At the school district level, the state and federal governments have stepped in to ensure more equitable per-pupil spending. In 1971, the California Supreme Court mandated

California change the way it funded school districts based on local tax revenue (Murray, Evans, & Schwab, 1998). Through Title I, the federal government has also attempted to offset discrepancies in economic capital. This program allocates funds to school districts that serve a large number of socioeconomically disadvantaged students (Gordon, 2004).

Within-district spending discrepancies appear to be less researched. Within larger school districts there can be both well-to-do schools and grossly under-funded schools, such as is the case with the school site in this research paper. These poorer schools serve students who themselves are under funded, not only in economic capital, but can also be said to have limited access to cultural capital.

Connection to research questions.

My first research question asks why students choose to take JROTC, and if their reasons express any indication of an awareness of their social position. It would be valuable to find out if students, aware of their deficiency in economic capital, perceive JROTC as a way to bridge that gap towards earning cultural or social capital. This concept also supports my third research question regarding administrators' perceptions of the purposes and benefits of hosting a JROTC program. It may be possible that administrators view the program as a means through which to support underfunded school campuses with economic capital.

Cultural capital.

Cultural capital can be converted from economic capital largely in the form of education. Economic capital can pay for college tuition, preparatory school tuition, tutoring, camp, piano lessons, day care, and preschool. Similarly, economic capital can provide for a stay-at-home parent to a small child, thus converting into cultural capital for that child. It can also be inherited. Like money, heirlooms, or even property can be passed down from

generation to generation, cultural capital can be transmitted from parent to child. Because the transmission of cultural capital is not an immediate thing, but a long process, this is usually the means by which it is transmitted. The way in which a person is raised and the main caregivers of that person are the mechanisms through which this form of capital is transmitted. For instance, parents who are recipients themselves of cultural capital, whether through family or education, but who may struggle financially, may still transmit cultural capital to their children. They would do through instructing their children in proper interactions with others, in productive ways to handle their emotions, in allowing them time to be creative and limiting their exposure to television, video games, and violence. That child may lack a large amount of economic capital, but because of the quality time the child's parents spent with her, that child could be said to have cultural capital. The child would act differently than an otherwise equal peer who had similar financial circumstances but whose parents lacked cultural capital themselves. That child might grow up to look and act like she belongs in the upper class, simply by the way she carries herself and interacts with others. This "embodied state" of cultural capital is "external wealth converted into an integral part of the person, into a habitus" (Bourdieu, 1986, p.83) which may not be available in schools but transmitted to children by primary caregivers, parents and close family. This kind of capital can be equally if not more important than economic capital in explaining the lower educational achievement of socioeconomically disadvantaged students. According to Bourdieu (1986), "the scholastic yield from educational action depends on the cultural capital previously invested by the family" (83). In other words, regardless of the inputs provided a school, such as the number of academic counselors and college-preparation courses, what the students get out of these inputs is dependent on the students' backgrounds. Secondary

schools can attempt to offer a level playing field for incoming ninth graders, but not all ninth graders arrive to high school with the same amount of embodied cultural. Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch (1995) explain, “the successful development of supportive and profitable relationships with institutional agents is closely related to students’ social consciousness” (117). Socioeconomically disadvantaged students lack this “social consciousness,” or “those aspects of personality . . . that are deeply rooted in and shaped by the experiences of community members within the opportunity structure” (117). Thus, while schools may provide all students with access to academic counselors and well-qualified teachers (social capital), students lacking in cultural capital may not get as much out of these opportunities as their peers with more cultural capital. For example, a student who has grown up believing that they may not ask others for help, that resources are not in abundance, may be less likely to seek out assistance from their academic counselor or teacher.

The benefits students receive as a result of JROTC can be viewed as a substitution for the cultural capital that socioeconomically disadvantaged students are perceived to lack. First, the instructors promote militarization as a form of cultural capital in itself. Through their teaching of the curriculum, drills, and other activities, they are instilling values of conformity and obedience to chain-of-command. This form of cultural capital, unlike the kind that comes with an upper-class upbringing, is within reach of these students. Whereas cultural capital à la Bourdieu is acquired “unconsciously” (1986, p. 84) through a lifestyle, the cultural capital provided by JROTC can be acquired more readily by low SES students. JROTC cadets’ *habitus* allows for this inculcation of values because of their place in the social order. They may already be used to being in positions of subordination rather than in positions of power.

JROTC students who do well in the class are selected for promotion. They are given medals and responsibility over their own squad of JROTC cadets. Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch (1995) note: “when a student’s consciousness is manifested in terms of behavior and performance . . . institutional agents use this information to decide which low-status students are attractive and worthy candidates for institutional mentorship and promotion (citing Farkas, Grobe, Sheehan, & Shuan 1990, p. 117). It is unclear at this point what this mentorship looks like in a JROTC class. It is clear, however, that these students who do well in JROTC are assigned their very own recruiter who guides them either directly into the military after graduation or into college ROTC with a military scholarship.

Connection to research questions.

The first research question aims to find out whether or not awareness of social position plays a part of students’ reasons for wanting to take JROTC. Any research findings relating to this question can be viewed through the lens of cultural capital. Students lacking in cultural capital may choose to take JROTC because they feel that joining the military is one of the few options positive available to them. On the other hand, they may choose to take it because they feel that the JROTC curriculum would be more accessible to them than the curriculum of a college preparatory elective. Still, a participant may choose to take JROTC with the understanding that it will help them get into college. All of these scenarios can be interpreted through this lens of cultural capital.

Social capital.

While cultural capital, in the embodied state, is “wealth converted into . . . a habitus” (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 83), social capital is the benefit a person receives just by knowing— being in favor with - others who themselves have cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). It can be

converted into economic capital and includes resources accessed through social networks (Coleman, 2000). These resources can be determined by factors such as educational achievement and social ties (Engberg & Wolniak, 2010). Social capital could be information provided by one or more people to another person, and which facilitates action on the part of the person receiving the information. An example of this would be information that exerts an influence on a student's college plans. Such relationships – between the student and the person providing the information – are termed “instrumental relationships with institutional agents” by Engberg & Wolniak (2010) and can include teachers as well as peers. Institutional agents are those who can help someone navigate entrance into an institution. In the case of JROTC, the sergeant-instructor and the military recruiters act as institutional agents for the military.

A low SES student may acquire social capital at school by befriending peers who are college bound. These peers may then be considered a college-linking network, or institutional agents. Engberg and Wolniak (2010) found that whether a student's friends were planning on attending college or not was a strong predictor for whether they themselves would attend college: “as the number of one's friends attending a 4-year college increased, students were more likely to attend a 4-year institution” (p. 146). If their friends were attending a 4-year college, than they were more likely to attend a 4-year college. Interestingly, if their peers were attending 2-year colleges, they were less likely to attend a 4-year college: “the number of friends attending a 2-year college exhibited a negative effect on the likelihood of attending a r-year institution” (p. 146). While not the only factor, having friends or peers who are likely to attend a university after graduating from high school is strongly correlated with one's own likelihood of attending a university.

Stanton-Salazar and Dornbusch (1995) consider college-linking networks to be a *result of* cultural capital. Bourdieu (1986) says that cultural capital is “recognized as legitimate competence” and possessors of it “secure material and symbolic profits” (p. 84). In other words, in relation to education, those with cultural capital may have access to “material profits” in that they may be more likely to be seen as a good fit by employers of high-paying jobs and careers. They do not necessarily have this access directly because of the amount of effort they put into school, or their accomplishments, but rather because they understand the etiquette involved, such as how to apply, or how to act. Or, for example, they have a better chance of admission into a prestigious university because they graduated from an elite college preparatory school that has a reputation for serving upper-class students. Regarding access to “symbolic profits,” those with cultural capital may benefit symbolically, for example, in “the self-assurance of legitimate membership and the ease given by familiarity” (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 81). They may be seen as capable of taking advanced classes, or of succeeding at an elite university. From this perspective, college-linking networks and social capital are acquired authentically.

However, working class high school students, immigrants (Stanton-Salazar & Dornbusch, 1995), or Latino/a (Peron & Rosenbaum, 2006 in Engberg & Wolniak, 2010) have a difficult time acquiring social capital. Their parents are more likely to work in low-wage, high-labor jobs where interaction with institutional agents is limited. Unless a low SES student has other means of acquiring social capital, s/he arrives at school with a relative disadvantage in terms of his/her access to social capital.

From this perspective, JROTC is offered as an alternative to college-linking networks – something that students lacking in cultural capital are not going to have access to; it is

offered as a possible job-linking network rather than a college-linking network. In JRTOC, a student does not receive an education preparing him/her for college and eventually a high-paying career; rather, he/she receives a fast track to the Army, should he/she be eligible.

Connection to research questions.

The first research question asks: *Why do students choose to take JROTC? Within the reasons expressed, are there any responses that indicate awareness of social position? Do other responses have implications concerning social position that are not explicitly recognized?*

The intention behind this question is to better understand what is happening when a student knowingly signs up for JROTC. The answer(s) to this question may demonstrate the nature of these students' social capital. If they are choosing JROTC because their friends are also choosing it, that may say something about the social capital of these students. The answer(s) to this question may also shed light on whether or not students select this program because they have low academic expectations for themselves, or if they select it for different reasons. If indeed some students do select this program because they have low academic expectations for themselves, then there are implications for the school district related to the quality of opportunities they are providing their students, and their role in the process of social reproduction. Conversely, if students select JROTC for a different reason entirely unrelated to low academic expectations, it would be valuable to see what that reason is and whether or not JROTC is being advertised accurately and ethically.

The second research question asks: *Within the target population of students from low socioeconomic backgrounds, does JROTC target those that would otherwise be college-bound? Are students placed in JROTC without their or their families' expressed desire to be*

so placed? If so, what do they feel about it, if anything? Does this placement affect their perceptions of themselves as scholars or their sense of cooperation with or opposition to schooling? If so, how?

The purpose of this question is to discover if there are any connections to JROTC and students' social capital, or lack of social capital. If students are placed in JROTC without the expressed consent of their families, than that may speak to a lack of social capital on the part of students. Students lacking in social capital may lack advocates on behalf of their best interests. This may lead to a theory that JROTC is successful in facilitating social reproduction in that students who lack social capital (in the form of educational advocates) are enrolled in JROTC and therefore provided with a social network related to the military as a substitute for social capital.

Further, the location of JROTC programs at schools with predominantly minority and low socioeconomic status students is alarming. If college-bound students are in fact being funneled into the military via JROTC, than host schools need to be aware of this less-than laudatory purpose of the program. Further, if ninth grade students are being placed in this program without the knowledge of their parents, than there are ethical implications for host schools concerning military recruitment of minors.

The third research question asks: *According to school administrators, what purpose(s) does JROTC serve? Do they view JROTC as a way to provide social capital to students whom they perceive to be lacking in it or not able to attain it otherwise? What other purposes do they attribute to JROTC, and are they phrased in terms of service to students or in terms of service to the needs of the institution?*

The purpose of this question is to understand whether or not JROTC is a

hindrance to students' acquisition of social capital. While not as explicit as in the mission statement of JROTC career academies, JROTC researchers acknowledge that the typical JROTC program targets underprivileged, "at risk" students (Days & Ang, 2004; Pema & Mehay, 2009a; Walls, 2003). Hanser and Robyn (2000) notes that the difference between JROTC and career academies is that while JROTC attracts "motivated, enthusiastic students who show leadership potential," career academies "single out students who are. . . at risk of not completing high school." However, the mission statement of JROTC states that its purpose is to "motivate young people to be *better* [emphasis added] citizens" (Walls, 2003). Walls (2003) reports that principals at host schools claim "having JROTC reduces disciplinary problems in their schools" (p. 49). Further, "nearly 40% of the high schools that offer JROTC are located in inner-city areas, and about one-half of enrollees are minorities" (Pema & Mehay, 2009a, p. 533-4). If JROTC indeed acts as a tracking agent, then being enrolled in JROTC versus another class like foreign language or art (an avenue in itself to become exposed to cultural capital) is physically separating low SES students from a possible source of social capital - their higher SES peers.

Summary

A theory of social reproduction explains why and how the social classes are stratified such that the upper class remains the upper class and the working class, for the most part, remains the working class. The upper class has a plentiful store of economic, cultural, and social capital; through institutions such as public education, the working class is parceled out capital sparingly, and in forms not easily accessible by those whose habitus – embodied cultural capital – are not accustomed to it. Thus, students with who begin with plentiful cultural capital advance through school more easily than those who lack it.

This study seeks answers to three main research questions: Why do students choose to take JROTC; are college-bound students targeted by JROTC; according to administrators, why does CHS host JROTC? The answers to these questions will help to identify how JROTC works within the cycle of social reproduction. Working-class student populations such as those targeted by Army JROTC programs are at a disadvantage when it comes to capital, which in turn places them at a disadvantage when it comes to their opportunities for upward mobility. Whether or not JROTC is a mechanism for social reproduction, or not, is at the heart of this study.

Chapter Four: Methodology

Chapter Overview

This chapter will explain the research methods used in this research study. The research site and participants will be described as well as the recruitment methods. Following this will be the methods of data collection, which includes an explanation for the interview questions and the questionnaire design.

Case Study

This observational case study uses participant observation, interview, and survey research methods to guide the research design, data collection, analysis, and report of findings (Yin, 2014). Case study research provides “in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system” (Merriam, 2009, pg. 40). According to Merriam (2009), case study research is characterized by its unit of analysis; it is an examination of “a single entity, a unit around which there are boundaries” (p. 40). The phenomenon this study is concerned with is bounded to the research site. Among the different types of case study research, Bogdan and Biklen (2007) define observational case studies as those in which “the major data-gathering technique is participant observation (supplemented with formal and informal interviews and review of documents) and the focus of the study is on a particular organization) (p. 60 in Merriam, 2009, p. 48). This study used an observational case study design, drawing on the researcher’s own participant observation, interviews with administrators and students, and review of other documents such as a JROTC student handbook. The researcher also draw upon information collected from questionnaires distributed to ninth grade students at the research site.

Research Site

The research site for this study is a medium-sized public high school in the Silicon Valley of California, which will be referred to as Crossroads High School, or CHS. This school was chosen because, as a former teacher here, the researcher had access to the campus, staff and students. Furthermore, this school hosts the Army branch of JROTC, the most popular branch of JROTC. It is one of four high schools in this large high school district to host Army JROTC. Additionally, one of the schools hosts Air Force JROTC, another hosts the Marine Corps JROTC, and the other school hosts Naval JROTC (Table 2).

CHS is situated within a large high school district enrolling approximately 26,489 students (ed-data 2014). At the time of this study, it had 23 schools, 11 traditional high schools, 5 alternative schools, 6 charter schools, and an adult education school. In 2012-13 it received \$3,537,436 in Title I funds (ed-data). All of the names for these schools, when referred to in this study, will be pseudonyms.

Table 1. *2014-15 Ethnicities of students at CHS*

	CHS	District Total
Hispanic or Latino	967	13,785
Asian	638	7,880
Filipino	116	2,003
African American	25	715
White	24	1,695
Other	12	682
Total	1782	26,760

Note. Data was obtained by the California Department of Education website.

In part because of its location, CHS has long had a reputation of being an undesirable school. The surrounding neighborhoods are a hotbed for violent and drug-related criminal activity, as they include the intersection between two notorious and rival gangs. A large homeless encampment is located just a couple of blocks away. CHS enrolls predominately Hispanic and Vietnamese students (Table 1), but the largest ethnic population is Hispanic (Table 2). The majority of its students receive free or reduced priced meals (Table 2), which

includes breakfast, brunch and lunch. Just one other regular high school in the district has more students receiving free or reduced price meals (Table 2). The four schools serving the most economically disadvantaged and Hispanic students are also the four schools that host Army JROTC (Table 2). These schools are located near each other, with the three schools serving the fewest economically disadvantaged students located on the other side of the district boundaries, in the foothills.

Table 2.
2013-14 Comparison of regular high schools in district serving free or reduced price meals

School	% Students receiving free meals	% Minority (Largest ethnic group)	JROTC
School 1	17.9	93.8 (Asian)	None
School 2	22.4	68.8 (Hispanic)	None
School 3	27.3	92.4 (Asian)	None
School 4	47.1	95.4 (Asian)	Navy
School 5	53.9	90.5 (Hispanic)	Air Force
School 6	54.2	96.2 (Asian)	None
School 7	61.3	95.3 (Hispanic)	Marine Corps
School 8	65.1	96.7 (Hispanic)	Army
School 9	80.6	94.7 (Hispanic)	Army
CHS	88.8	98.5 (Hispanic)	Army
School 10	92.1	99.4 (Hispanic)	Army
District	53.1	91.3 (Hispanic)	N/A
State	59.4	74.4	N/A

Note: Adapted from U.S. Department of Education, Education Data Partnership. (2014). Retrieved from ed-data.k12.ca.us.

Many CHS students are English learners (ELs), with just under half of the total enrollment indicating that Spanish is their first language (Table 3). Vietnamese speakers are the second greatest EL population at 117 students, or 29.01% of the total population of CHS (Table 3).

The dropout rate for CHS continues to far exceed the rate for the district, county and state (Table 4). However, the school's reputation has been recently improving. Of the graduating seniors of class 2014-15, 102 were accepted into four-year universities. This is a

79 percent increase from the previous year, in which 57 students were accepted into four-year universities.¹ This improvement appears to have begun the 2012-13 school year when the number of graduates meeting UC/CSU course requirements jumped by 8.4 percent. Similarly, the cohort graduation rate sharply increased to 72.7 percent in 2012-13, up from 67.4 percent in 2011-2012, where it had remained fairly static.

Table 3. *CHS English Learner population for the 2014-15 school year*

Language	# ELs	# FEPs	Total #	% Total Enrollment
Spanish	307	548	855	47.98
Vietnamese	117	400	517	29.01
Filipino	9	59	68	3.82
All	462	1078	1540	86.42%

Note: The English Learner groups not listed have less than two percent enrollment. Data obtained from the California Department of Education website.

Like all of the traditional high schools in this district, CHS offers a variety of clubs, activities and athletics. After a recent push from the district to enroll more students in AP classes, in 2012-13 the school saw a record 214 students in grades 11 and 12 taking AP exams. That same year, there were 3.9 computers for every student. The number of students participating in independent study increased to 30 in 2012-13, and the number of students enrolled in the engineering magnet decreased from 299 in 2011-12 to 230.

In 2010-11, CHS began offering a school-within-a-school, or program of choice. In this paper, this school-within-a-school will be referred to as Crossroads High Academy, or CHA. Housed in the school's science building, CHA enrolls grades seven through 12. The middle school students are kept on a different schedule than the rest of the high school,

¹ Personal communication. Also published in the San Jose Mercury News on June 3, 2015.

taking their lunch at a different time and having their classes separately. Once in grade nine, the students are integrated into the regular classes at CHS. Beginning in grade eleven, students travel to a nearby community college for some of their classes. In 2012-13, 132 students were enrolled in CHA.

Table 4. *CHS cohort dropout rate in perspective*

Level	2011-12	2012-13
School	24.3%	21.7%
District	14.8%	13.5%
County	12.1%	11.1%
State	13.1%	11.4%

Note: Data obtained from the California Department of Education website.

In 2014-15, the district initiated areas of study, or pathways, as part of California’s Linked Learning program. This program, sponsored by the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce and introduced in 2011 as Assembly Bill 790, is intended to connect high school students with career pathways: “Linked Learning ignites high school students’ passions by creating meaningful learning experiences through career-oriented pathways in fields such as engineering, health care, performing arts, law, and more” (About Linked Learning, 2015). Currently, seven high schools in the district – six of which host a JROTC program- participate in the Linked Learning pilot program.

An observation also occurred at a nearby feeder school during phase one of this study. That school, hereby referred to as Main Middle School, is located just a few blocks away from the CHS campus. A few years before the time of this study, the name of the school was changed. This was done in order to release the stigma that had been attached to the school, which had a reputation for being an undesirable school. Main Middle School, part of an Elementary school district, enrolled 703 students during the 2013-14 school year. Of

those, 542 received free or reduced price meals (California Department of Education). Of the 39.5 percent enrolled students that are considered English Learners, 29.2 percent consider Spanish their first language (California Department of Education).

Participants

Participants in this study include CHS and CHA students, grade nine through twelve, in addition to a high level district administrator, a former associate principal of CHS, a CHS counselor and a CHS Army JROTC instructor. Observation participants include roughly 150 Main Middle School students in grade eight, one Main Middle School teacher, seven CHS student representatives, three of which are JROTC representatives, and the same CHS counselor included in the interview participants. Forty-Six ninth grade students completed questionnaires, and 22 students in grades nine through twelve were interviewed. The adults selected for interviews were those the researcher believed to have the most knowledge of the program. Also, these were people that held some responsibility - either in the past or at the time of the study - for student enrollment into the program. Finally, these participants were selected due to convenience; they agreed to an interview. While a former head principal was invited to interview, he did not respond to the invitation. The researcher was aware of the busy schedule of the current head principal, and so out of respect for his allowance of the study, she did not request an interview from him. Main Middle School students were selected for the observation component because this is the main feeder school for CHS. While CHS representatives visited numerous classes on visitation day, the researcher could only be present in one classroom at a time. Thus, the researcher chose to observe the classes in which Mr. Clark addressed. Ninth grade students were selected to complete the questionnaire because they are the group most often enrolled in JROTC at this school site. Also, They are

the first cohort of students to enroll in CHS since the inception of the district's new *areas of study*.

Questionnaires were offered to ninth grade students in their mainstream English classes. This was done to ensure that students would not complete more than one questionnaire and also to ensure that each student would be fluent enough in English to understand the questions. The mainstream English classes included: regular English I-9, English 1-9 Honors, and Read 180. English 1-9 is regular ninth grade English for incoming ninth graders, not repeaters. English 1-9 Honors is the honors English class for incoming ninth graders, and Read 180 is an English class for students who are not at grade-level in reading and writing and therefore not adequately prepared to participate in a regular English class. The Read 180 class selected to offer questionnaires for this study enrolled only students in grade nine.

Recruitment

Purposeful and typical case sampling techniques were used to recruit participants. Purposeful, or purposive, sampling, as opposed to probability sampling, was the most appropriate since the researcher was not looking to generalize results, but to gain insight into the phenomenon being researched (Merriam, 2009). Typical case sampling, a form of purposeful sampling, was employed in choosing the research site. According to Patton (1990), "when the typical site sampling strategy is used, the site is specifically selected because it is not in any major way atypical, extreme, deviant, or intensely unusual" (p. 174). While JROTC is present on many campuses and in many forms, Army JROTC- which the research site hosts- is the most common. The research site is also a regular high school, not an alternative school, charter school, or military school. Therefore, the research site can be

said to be a typical example of JROTC. Typical case sampling was also employed in the recruitment of informants for the questionnaires. In order to recruit “the average person, situation, or instance of the phenomenon” (Merriam, 2009, p. 78), the researcher left questionnaires with the English I teachers. Since all incoming students in grade nine take English I (or Read 180 in some cases), and JROTC enrollment is highest among students in this grade, this was the most effective way to reach as many of these students as possible.

Purposeful sampling was used in the recruitment of the adult informants: a high level district administrator, a school counselor, a former associate principal, and one of the JROTC instructors. Purposeful sampling selects “information rich cases . . . from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the research” (Patton, 1990, p. 169). To recruit these informants, the researcher sent each individual an e-mail requesting their participation.

To recruit students to be interviewed, the researcher posted signs (Appendix A) around campus, inside of the computer labs, and inside of some classrooms. The classroom teachers that were approached to hang signs and who did in fact hang them were: one psychology and world history teacher, six English teachers, and one teacher of a program called 80 Degrees - a program meant to help turn the lives around of troubled teens.

Interview consent forms were also available for students inside each of these classrooms.

Convenience sampling was also used in selection of the site and the informants. While this may not be a limitation in regards to the selection of the research site, it may very well have limited the amount of information received from the informants. Although the research site was chosen out of convenience, it is also a typical case. However, because of the nature of the study, convenience sampling was the only realistic tool for recruitment of

the student informants for the interviews. First, as the researcher needed to comply with ethical standards regarding the use of human subjects, student informants under the age of 18 were required to have a consent form signed by a parent or guardian prior to being interviewed for the study. This hindrance most likely prevented many possible informants from being able to participate in the study. While maximum variation sampling (Merriam, 2009) would have been desirable, it would have been very difficult to do because it would involve seeking out particular students, which may have pushed the envelope of the researcher's welcome on campus. Snowball sampling, "an approach for locating information-rich key informants or critical cases . . . by asking well-situated people" (Patton, 1990, p. 176) would have been difficult for the researcher to accomplish in her limited role on campus.

Data Collection

In addition to participant observation data, the following three instruments were used to collect data:

1. Participant Observation (Appendix A)
2. Student Experiences Questionnaire (Appendix B)
3. Adult Interview Protocol (Appendix C)
4. Student Interview Protocol (Appendix D)

Phase one of data collection began spring of 2014 and phase two began in the spring of 2015.

Each instrument is discussed in further detail in the following paragraphs.

Participant observation.

Participant observation took place during phase one of data collection. As a former teacher at the school site that is the basis for this study, the researcher had an opportunity to

attend the site visit whereby CHS counselors and other selected representatives visit the feeder schools with the purpose of explaining the course options available to in-coming ninth graders and distributing and collecting course selection forms. While “interviews are a primary source of data in qualitative research” according to (Merriam, 2009, p. 117), “so too are observations.”

Gold (1958, in Merriam, 2009) identifies four types of observer stances. For the purposes of this study, the researcher could be described as “Observer as participant” whereby the YBHS staff understood she was doing an observation for her research on students’ perceptions of their elective classes, but she did not participate in the presentations to the 8th graders. The researcher sat in a chair against a sidewall while the presenters made their cases for the various elective courses and the counselors spoke to the students. The researcher did not interact with the students.

The observation took place at Main Middle School, in three different classrooms on the same day. The researcher took “highly descriptive” field notes (Merriam 2009) on a laptop computer, describing both the student and the adult participants, as well as the activities and behaviors of both sets of participants. The researcher did not focus on the setting, as this was considered irrelevant to the focus. Direct quotations, when deemed relevant, were recorded by the researcher as well. Going in to the observations, the researcher’s questions were:

- What elective choices are available to these students upon entering the 9th grade?
- Is equal time given to each elective representative?
- How do the students react to each elective representative?
- Does there appear to be any pressure placed on the students to choose a particular

elective over another?

In early March, 2014, the researcher completed the observation of the process by which students in grade eight at Main Middle School to the school site selected their courses for grade nine. The researcher's role was somewhere in between "participant as observer" and "observer as participant." In "participant as observer," the group being observed knows that the researcher is observing, and this is "subordinate to the researcher's role as a participant" (Merriam, 2009, p. 124). With the later, "the researcher's observer activities are known to the group; participation in the group is definitely secondary to the role of information gatherer" (Merriam, 2009, p. 124). While the CHS representatives understood my role to be that of observer, the students were not instructed as to my role. While I maintained a wallflower position in the back of the room, students would still come to me with questions about filling out their form. Because I looked like a teacher, students engaged me as so and I reacted either by redirecting them to others who could help them assisting them myself if I believed that it would not interfere with what I was observing. Merriam (2009) addresses this issue: "in qualitative research where the researcher is the primary instrument of data collection, subjectivity and interaction are assumed" (p. 127).

In addition to the observation of this site visit, the researcher has field notes from her role as classroom teacher at the school site. This type of observation is strictly participant as observer: the researcher activities as observer were "subordinate to the researcher's role as participant," (Merriam, 2009, p. 124) or classroom teacher. One concern with participant observation of this kind is "the extent to which the observer investigator effects what is being observed" (Merriam, 2009, p. 127). Since the researcher did not begin interviews and collecting questionnaire data until she was no longer a teacher at the school site, this effect is

minimal. The field notes taken as participant observer deal with such instances as school-wide announcements concerning JROTC and public activity of JROTC cadets and instructor (such as appearances in the school quad).

Interviews.

During phase two of data collection, the researcher interviewed students and adult school district employees. A signed consent form was required of all interview participants. In compensation for their time, student participants received a five-dollar Taco Bell or Subway gift card at the start of the interview. Adult participants did not receive compensation. In order to be interviewed, each participant was first required to submit a signed consent form. If the participant was under 18, the consent form had to also be signed by a parent or guardian. All interviews were recorded on a digital recorder, and transcribed by the researcher. Student interviews lasted between three and 13 minutes and were conducted in an unused classroom. Adult interviews lasted between 18 and 60 minutes and were conducted in the personal office or classroom space of the informants. All transcriptions and observation notes were stored electronically in a secure environment, and all signed consent forms were stored in paper files.

According to Yin (2009), the interview is one of the most important sources of case study information: “interviews are an essential source of case study evidence because most case studies are about human affairs or behavioral events” (p. 108). In this study, focused interviews were used. With this type of interview, the researcher may use a conversational manner while following an interview protocol (Yin, 2009).

A combination of the informal conversational interview and the interview guide were used to interview the adult participants. As Patton (2002) explains, “a conversational strategy

can be used with an interview guide approach” (p. 347); the important thing is to “provide a framework within which respondents can express their own understanding in their own terms” (p. 348). The informal conversational interview was appropriate as the researcher was interviewing former colleagues. With this approach, “questions can be personalized to deepen communication with the person being interviewed” (Patton, 2002, p. 343). This technique was chosen so that the researcher could “pursue information in whatever direction appear[ed] to be appropriate, depending on what emerge[d] from . . . talking with one or more individuals. . . (Patton, 2002, p. 342). To prevent leading questions and biases that sometimes accompany this type of interview approach, an interview guide was also used. This interview guide contained specifically worded questions, much like those in a standardized open-ended interview. A standardized open-ended interview approach was not used, however, because the purpose was not, as is the case with those types of interviews, “to be sure that each interviewee [was] asked the same questions – the same stimuli- in the same way and the same order” (Patton, 2002, p. 344).

Adult interviews.

While the same interview protocol was used for all adult participants, not every section applied to each participant. Section one of the adult interview protocol (Appendix C) contains questions about the required areas of study. This section applies to the interviews with Mr. Clark, Mr. Ludsberry, and Mr. Shoemaker. The purpose of these questions was to provide background information necessary for understanding the context of the student course selection form - the reasoning behind the pathways and the reasoning behind the placement of JROTC in the Humanities pathway. The answers to the questions in this section may also help to answer the third research questions about the purpose of JROTC. What the

participants say about the placement of JROTC in the Humanities pathway may provide some illumination. The second section applies to all adult interview participants and contains questions meant to understand their feelings about JROTC as well as the general feelings about JROTC within the district. The answers to the questions in this section may provide illumination as to whether or not stakeholders and the participants themselves regard JROTC as a way to provide social capital to students that may otherwise lack it. The third section, which applies to Mr. Clark and Mr. Ludsberry, contain questions about student enrollment in JROTC. Answers to these questions may provide answers to the second research question about how students are enrolled in JROTC, whether it is done without their or their parents' expressed consent, and whether or not college-bound students are targeted. Part four of the interview protocol contains questions about the history of JROTC in the district. These questions apply to the interviews with Mr. Clark, Mr. Ludsberry, and the Major. These participants have been employed in the school district much longer than Mr. Shoemaker, and thus would have more knowledge pertaining to these questions. The answers to these questions may shed light on some of the concerns underlying research question three, namely the role JROTC has played in the school and district and whether the purposes are phrased in terms of benefit to the students or to the institution. Part five of the interview protocol, however, applies only to Mr. Shoemaker. Some of the questions appear in other sections of the protocol that do not apply to Mr. Shoemaker, but were important enough to ask Mr. Shoemaker. The other questions were meant to understand how the highest level of district leadership views the role of JROTC.

Student interviews.

A combination of the standardized open-ended interview and the interview guide

approach guided the interviews with the student participants. According to Patton (2002), “this combined strategy offers the interviewer flexibility in probing and in determining when it is appropriate to explore certain subjects in greater depth, or even to pose questions about new areas of inquiry that were not originally anticipated in the interview instrument’s development (p. 347). In this interview protocol, the first questions are intended to, as Murphy (1980) explains, be easy and non-threatening: “with the first questions, the purpose is less to dig for information than to relax the subject . . . “(p. 92). The researcher begins by asking them what grade they are in and what their favorite class is. The researcher then probes them by asking what about that class makes it their favorite. This is done “to encourage elaboration” (Murphy, 1980, p. 97). If the participant is in the twelfth grade, the researcher asks them if they plan on graduating this year. These background questions enable me to “locate the respondent in relation to other people” (Patton, 2002, p. 351). The last question in this section asks if it was the participant’s choice to attend CHS. The probe asks why they chose CHS over other high schools. These are the first opinion and value questions, and meant to gain understanding of participants’ opinions, judgments, and values (Patton, 2002). The answers to these questions, specifically the last question, was intended to shed light on whether students are aware of their socioeconomic status or social position within society.

The second and third sections of the interview protocol contain the more challenging questions. This was done in order to, as Murphy (1980) puts it, “start off with the easy questions, broach the tough questions toward the middle, and finish up with some light questions and a pleasant discussion” (p. 99). During the second section of the interview protocol, the researcher uses direct questions (Murphy, 1980) to find out whether or not the

participant has ever taken JROTC, when they first heard about JROTC, and why they decided to choose it or not to choose it. This question was meant to help shed light on research question one: why do students choose to take JROTC? Elaboration probes (Patton, 2002) are used to elicit more information about the circumstances surrounding their selection of JROTC. Direct questions (Murphy, 1980) are also used to find out whether these students discussed their selection with their parents and whether or not they have family members in the military, and if so, whether that influenced their decision or not. The answers to this question may answer part of research question two: Are students placed in JROTC without their or their families' desire to be so placed? A knowledge question (Patton, 2002) is used to find out how they first learned of JROTC, which may help to answer research question one and illuminate why students may choose to take JROTC. , This question is followed up with the final question in this section for those who have ever been enrolled in or selected JROTC: *I hear some other schools in this district don't have JROTC. Sebastian High, for example. Would you recommend they have it?* This opinion and value question (Patton, 2002), or what-if question (Murphy, 1980) is designed to illuminate what participants think of JROTC. This question mainly intended to answer the first research question about why students enroll in JROTC. How they answer the question may provide insight into the value they place on this program, and whether or not they are aware that the wealthiest schools in the district do not offer it. This question is followed up with an elaboration probe. Participants who have never taken JROTC are asked instead whether or not they remember being given the option to take JROTC, and elaboration probes to elicit more information about that experience. The final question in the second section for these participants is an experience and behavior question (Patton, 2002) designed to allow the researcher to understand what the participant was

thinking when they chose to not select JROTC: *Tell me about your decision to not take it.*

This question is followed up with the elaboration probes: *can you remember what your reason was? Did you want to take another class instead?* Answers to this question may also help to answer research question two that seek understand whether college-bound students are targeted, or not. While not included in the research questions, students answers to this question may provide some understanding of non-cadet student perceptions of JROTC.

The third section – *questions about JROTC* – is for current or past cadets only. The first question asks participants: *take me through a typical day in JROTC. How does the class begin? What happens next? How does the class end? Is there homework?* This question and the elaboration probes are intended to help “the interviewees describe the stimuli that they experience” (Patton, 2002, p. 351). The purpose of this question is also to gather information about the academic demands of the class. Current cadets are then asked what they are learning in JROTC, a knowledge question (Patton, 2002). These questions are not about opinions or feelings, but facts and can be useful when asked about programs (Patton, 2002). The follow-up question is an opinion and value question that asks how they think knowing what they are currently learning will help them after high school. The answers may allow for better understanding as to what happens in the class, and may be used to triangulate the student handbook curriculum. Responses from students who did not choose to take JROTC may help to answer the second research question regarding how the placement may affect students’ perceptions of themselves as scholars or in their sense of cooperation with or opposition to schooling. The next two questions are feeling questions: *How do you think you’ve changed since you’ve entered the program?* and *Being a cadet, do you feel connected to the military?* These questions were also intended to support research question two.

Elaboration probes are necessary with that final question in order to understand the nature of this connection, if present. Past cadets are asked a direct question about what they most remember learning about in JROTC, and an opinion and value question about whether or not they think that will be helpful for them to know once they have graduated high school. They are asked to reflect on how they may have changed as a result of being in JROTC, and they are also asked whether or not the experience connected them to the military in any way. Both current and past cadets are asked whether they think JROTC is good for everybody. This opinion and value question (Patton, 2002), was aimed at discovering whether or not the participant is aware of his or her social position, and the extent to which they view JROTC as an avenue for social mobility.

While the fourth and final section of the protocol was designed to wrap up the interview with broad, easy questions, it also enabled the researcher to learn more about the participants. Whether or not the students are college-bound, they were asked if they discuss their post-secondary plans with family or friends. The purpose of this was to reveal the nature of the social capital available to the participants - both JROTC cadets and non-cadets, such college-linking networks.

Student experiences questionnaires.

During phase two of data collection the researcher also distributed questionnaires to students. Before filling out the questionnaires, students were instructed to take an information sheet and read it before filling out the questionnaire. Students were not compensated for their time spent on the questionnaires.

Questionnaires were given to three regular English and Read 180 teachers to make available to their ninth grade students. The teachers instructed students to take an

information sheet and read it before filling out a questionnaire. There was no extra credit given or any other incentives for filling out a questionnaire, and students did so at their own discretion. A locked box with a slit in it was made available for students to deposit their completed questionnaires.

There are three sections to the Student Experiences Questionnaire. The first section asks for students' demographic information. This includes their gender, ethnicity, whether or not English is their first language. The second section asks for some background information. This includes the middle school they attended and whether or not anyone in their family is a former or current member of the U.S. military. The purpose of this section is to identify which middle school the participants attended, and determine if there is a pattern related to the school attended and the participation rate in JROTC. This section is also intended to identify those students who have had a family member in the military and who also selected JROTC. The third section asks students about their courses. In this section, students are asked to remember whether or not a CHS representative visited them while they were in middle school for the purpose of selecting their ninth grade courses. They are then asked to identify the area of study, or "focus area", if they can remember it. Afterwards is a list of possible reasons for their focus area selection, including "I wanted to be in classes with my friends," "My parent(s) wanted me to take these classes," "I thought these classes would be easier," and "I thought these classes would help me get into college." Following these choices there is a place to write in their own response. They are then asked if they were placed in the focus area of their choice. The next question asks students to write down the name of the courses they are enrolled in and indicate whether or not one of those courses is one they did not choose, and whether or not there was a course that they wanted but did not

receive. The next questions ask about JROTC: whether or not they are enrolled in it or ever have been, if they requested to be enrolled in it, and if so, would they consider it a positive experience or not and the extent to which they would recommend it to others. The purpose of this section is to identify whether or not there were students who were placed in JROTC even though they did not wish to be. It is also intended to identify their reason(s) for choosing either the focus area that includes JROTC or the one that does not include JROTC.

Documents.

Two types of documents were collected as data: a course selection form and a JROTC book or course materials. The course selection form (Appendix F) was collected during the participant observation at Main Middle School. The JROTC book was collected as a voluntary contribution from a former student of the researcher.

The JROTC book, titled “LET 1 Core Materials: 2nd Edition” is a collection of student handouts for the Leadership Education and Training (LET 1) course. Three units are included in this book: *citizenship in action*, *leadership theory and application*, and *foundations for success*. The 8 ½” by 11” book is 290 double-sided pages.

To establish the authenticity of these documents, a list of questions (Guba and Lincoln, 1981 in Merriam, 2009) and their answers (Appendix G) concerning both documents are provided.

Data Analysis

Of the four general strategies that Yin describes for analyzing case study evidence, “the first and most preferred strategy is to follow the theoretical propositions that led to your case study” (Yin, 2009, p. 130). The researcher will employ both Merriam’s (2009) and Yin’s (2009) strategies for analyzing the data in this study.

To begin, the researcher analyzed the observation field notes, each interview transcript and each questionnaire. Merriam (2009) says to begin “By identifying segments in your data set that are responsive to your research questions” (p. 176). In this study, the observation notes, interview transcripts and questionnaires are segments of data. Each segment of data was coded separately.

According to Kvale (1996), “the most frequent form of interview analysis is probably an ad hoc use of different approaches and techniques” (p. 203). No single method was used to generate meaning from the interview data; instead, multiple methods were used and will be explained in more detail below.

The researcher began by doing open coding on the interview transcripts. When open coding, the researcher makes notes of anything in the data that might be useful (Merriam, 2009). Each interview transcript was typed into separate Microsoft Word documents, and the initial coding appeared as comments inserted into the document as well as the assignment of different colors to different themes. The second step in the open coding stage was to create a simple chart listing all of the topics that came up during the first step. Each interview transcript was assigned a different letter from the alphabet. The researcher then re-read each interview transcript, making note of these topics in the margins, and tracking their appearance on the simple chart.

The next step in the data analysis was to construct categories. According to Merriam (2009), to do this, one would “go back over [the] marginal notes and comments (codes) and try to group those comments and notes that seem to go together” (p. 179). Using the research questions as a guide, The researcher combined some topics from my open coding phase into larger categories. The original topics became subcategories. According to Kvale (1996),

meaning categorization is breaking the data down into main dimensions, and then each main dimension is “differentiated into subcategories” (197). During this axial coding (Merriam, 2009) phase, each interview was coded as a whole for each of the categories, or main dimensions, and their corresponding subcategories. As in phase one, a simple Microsoft Word chart was used to manage the occurrences of categories and subcategories in the data.

During phase three, categories were condensed and re-named, as needed. Each category was broken down further into current JROTC, past JROTC, and never JROTC. Key quotations were then drawn from interview transcripts to represent the different categories, and placed in each of the three sub categories. While this “this process of refining and revising” is continuous (Merriam, 2009), at this step in the analysis four of the 14 phase three main categories were chosen as the most prevalent. The researcher made a simple Word document cross-section analysis of the final four categories, or key themes. Depicting the themes this way allowed for a clear visual of the results of the data.

The first step in coding the questionnaire data was to look for patterns and general themes. The first and most obvious pattern was that some students were enrolled in JROTC, and some were not. Similarly, among those not enrolled in JROTC, there were students who self-identified as ELs and students who did not identify themselves as ELs. All students identified as either Vietnamese (all or part) or Hispanic/Latina/o. The number of students not enrolled in JROTC exceeded the number of those enrolled. Thus, the researcher broke the data down into three main categories: those enrolled in JROTC, ELs not enrolled in JROTC, and non-ELs not enrolled in JROTC.

For the first category - enrolled in JROTC – three sub categories were based on reasons for focus area selection. Once questionnaires were separated by these sub categories,

the variables were then selected. For this category of students enrolled in JROTC, the variables were ethnicity (Vietnamese or Hispanic), EL, focus area, and feeder school. For the second and third categories – EL and non-EL students not enrolled in JROTC, the sub categories were also based on reason for focus area selection. The variables were ethnicity, focus area, feeder school, advanced courses, and no visit (to feeder school from CHS).

Once all interview transcripts and questionnaires were coded and categorized, the researcher performed a cross-section analysis whereby commonalities were garnered from student interview transcripts, adult interview transcripts, and, where applicable, questionnaires. This process served as a quality check on the initial coding the researcher performed and also shed light on more themes not previously discovered.

The JROTC book and course selection hand out were not analyzed; rather, the purpose of these documents is to provide internal validation by triangulating data obtained from the site observation, the questionnaires, and the interviews. As Yin (2009) explains: “for case studies, the most important use of documents is to corroborate and augment evidence from other sources” (p. 103). The documents in this study were intended to help the researcher obtain triangulation of data sources (Yin, 2009), if necessary.

Open coding of the field notes was done shortly after the observation. The observation notes were typed into a Microsoft Word document. To code the observation notes, answers to focus questions were highlighted in corresponding colors. From there, the notes were reviewed themes that emerged from the interview transcripts and questionnaire data.

Summary

A qualitative case study was conducted to gain an understanding of students’ and administrators’ perceptions of JROTC. Ninth grade students at one high school were

provided with questionnaires to complete at their will. Through flyers posted around campus, all students at this high school were informed of interview opportunities for this study. all questionnaires were completed and submitted and all interviews were conducted over the course of one semester. An observation of course selection practices was conducted the prior Spring. In total, student and administrator's perceptions were gathered in regards to the role and purpose of JROTC at the school site.

Chapter Five: Overview of the Data

Summary of the Study

The purpose of this qualitative case study was to explore the perceptions high school students and administrators have of one Army JROTC program. In order to explore these perceptions, the participant-observer researcher conducted semi-structured interviews with students and school administrators and distributed questionnaires to ninth grade students.

Pierre Bourdieu's theory of social reproduction guided this study. This theory posits that social classes are reproduced through the distribution of social and cultural capital. This theory is relevant to the field of education because education is a part of the social reproduction cycle, providing capital to some students while withholding it from others. Using Bourdieu's theory as a lens, the researcher sought to explore how JROTC acts as a mechanism for social reproduction in one high school.

As a participant observer, the researcher noted her observations of the JROTC program on campus, including announcements made by the program, events held by the program, and the visible activities of the participants during school hours. The participant observer also observed a school visit to the local feeder school in order to collect course selections from current eighth grade students who would be enrolling in the high school in the fall. A total of 27 were interviewed for this study, 23 students and four adults. Completed questionnaires were collected from 46 ninth grade students. After the observation, the researcher reviewed her typed notes. After the interviews, the researcher transcribed the recordings and analyzed the transcripts. The completed questionnaires were organized and analyzed for themes and answers to the research questions.

Chapter Overview

This chapter begins with an overview of questionnaire participants, including their demographic information. Following the presentation of questionnaire participants, interview participants are presented. Next, the data that resulted from the questionnaires and interviews will be displayed, as well as the data from an analysis of a JROTC student text.

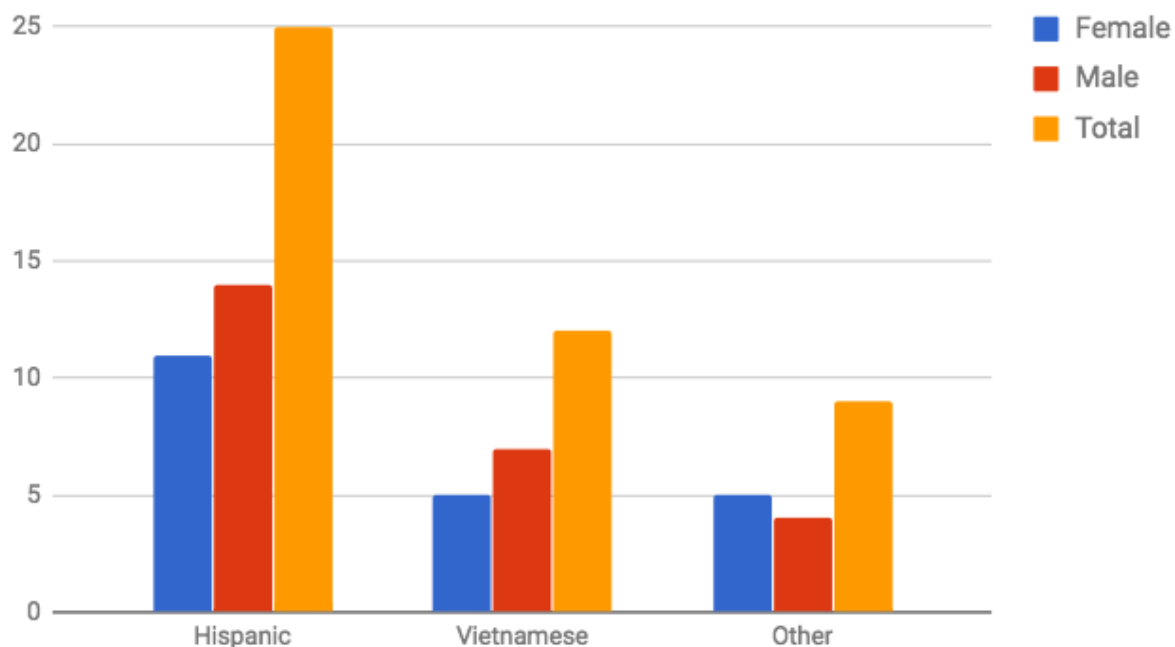
Overview of Participants

All of the student participants were CHS students at the time of this study. The questionnaire participants were all in the ninth grade, whereas the interview participants were of mixed grade levels. All of the student participants will be labeled as a letter of the alphabet. Questionnaire and interview participants were labeled separately, so questionnaire participant A is not necessarily the same student as interview participant A. The adult participants are provided pseudonyms so as to protect their identity. The adult participants all have some form of administrator role at or of CHS, either at the time of this study or immediately prior to the time of this study. In addition to the pseudonyms assigned to the adult participants, the names of the schools mentioned in this study are also pseudonyms.

Questionnaire participants.

Forty-six questionnaires from ninth grade students were collected. Of the participants, 21 were female and 25 were male. Of the females, 11 identify as Hispanic/Latino, two as Filipino, one as Filipino and Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, five as Vietnamese, one as Chinese, and one as Afghan. Of the males, 14 identify as Hispanic/Latino, seven as Vietnamese, one as Chinese, one as Cambodian and Vietnamese, one as Cambodian, and one as Laotian, Mien, and Cambodian. From here on, for simplicity's sake, students who identify with anything other than Hispanic/Latino or Vietnamese, including those that identify with more than one ethnicity, will be considered "other." Figure 2 displays these results.

Figure 2. Genders and Ethnicities of Questionnaire Respondents



A number of the questionnaire respondents identified themselves as English learners:

12 males, half of whom were Hispanic/Latino, reported that English is not their first

language. Eleven females, six of whom identify as Hispanic/Latina, reported that English is

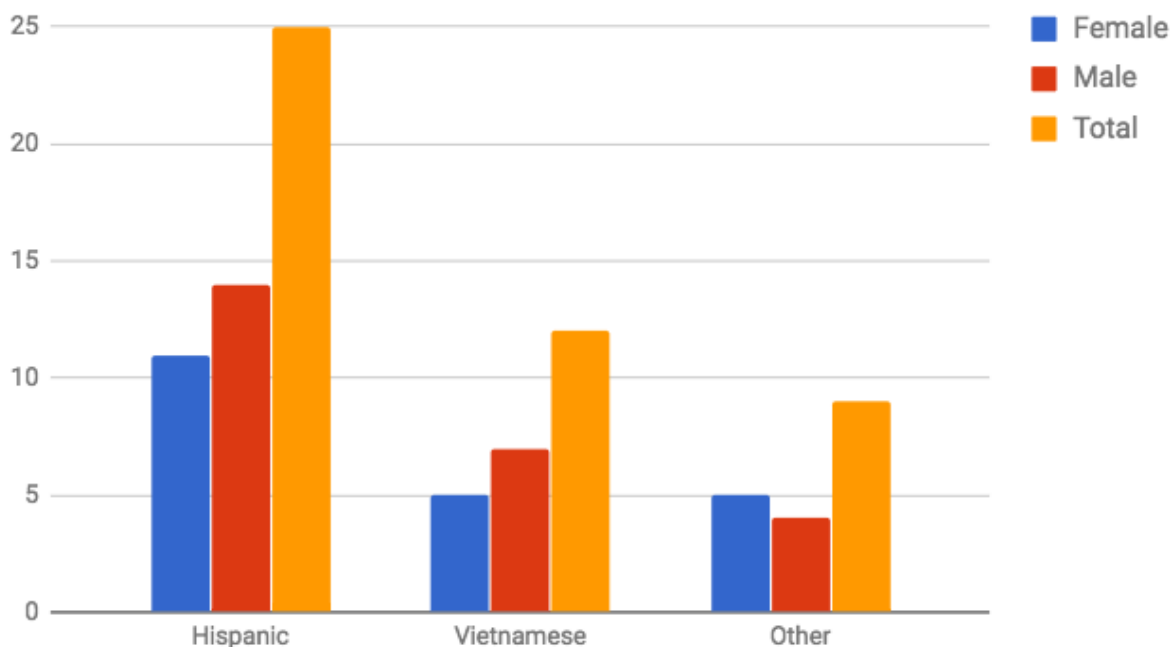
their first language. In total, out of the 23 reported English learners, 11 were Hispanic/Latino

(Figure 23). Data from the 2014-15 school year show that 137 CHS ninth graders, or almost

28%, identified as an English Language Learner (dataquest). As nearly 48% of survey

respondents identified as an English Learner, they were overrepresented in the questionnaire results.

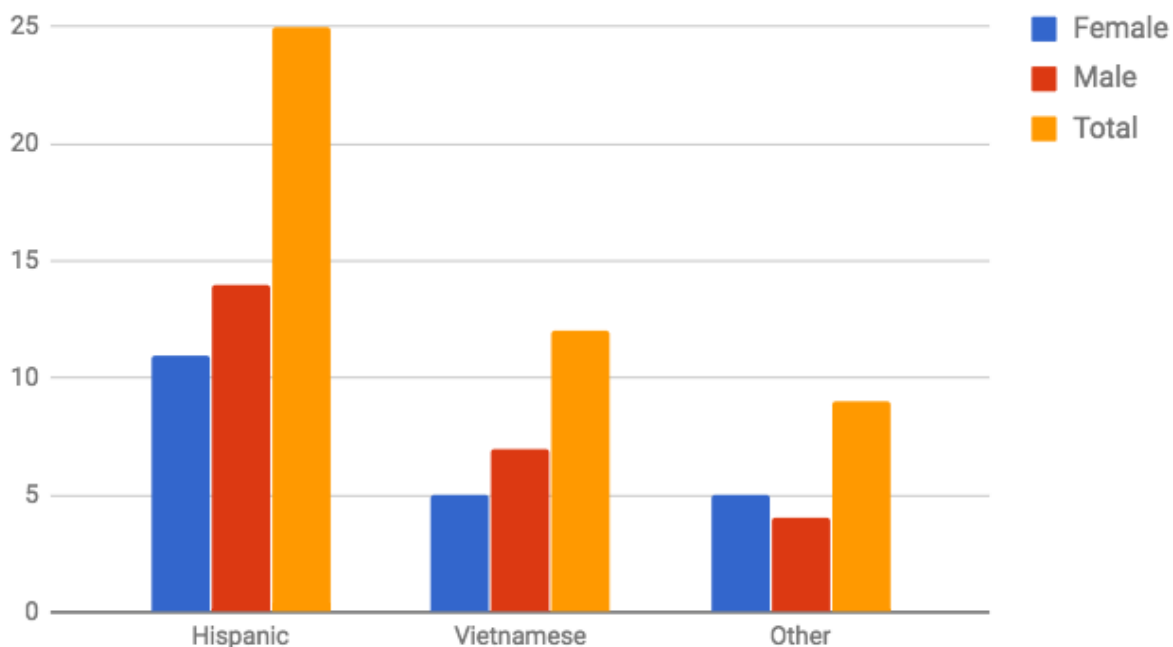
Figure 3. Genders and Ethnicities of Questionnaire Respondents



The questionnaire respondents attended different middle schools. Twenty-two respondents came to CHS from Main Middle School, 10 from CHA, and 14 from other middle schools. While JROTC enrolls a higher number of students in the ninth grade than other grade levels, only eight questionnaire respondents reported being enrolled in JROTC. Of these eight respondents, four came from Main Middle School and four came from other middle schools (Figure 3).

The four participants from Main Middle School are made up of two Hispanic/Latino ELs, one Hispanic/Latino non-EL, and one Vietnamese EL. From the other middle schools, one participant is Hispanic/Latino, two are Vietnamese, and one is an EL of a different ethnicity. None of the respondents in JROTC came from CHA (Figure 5).

Figure 4. Genders and Ethnicities of Questionnaire Respondents

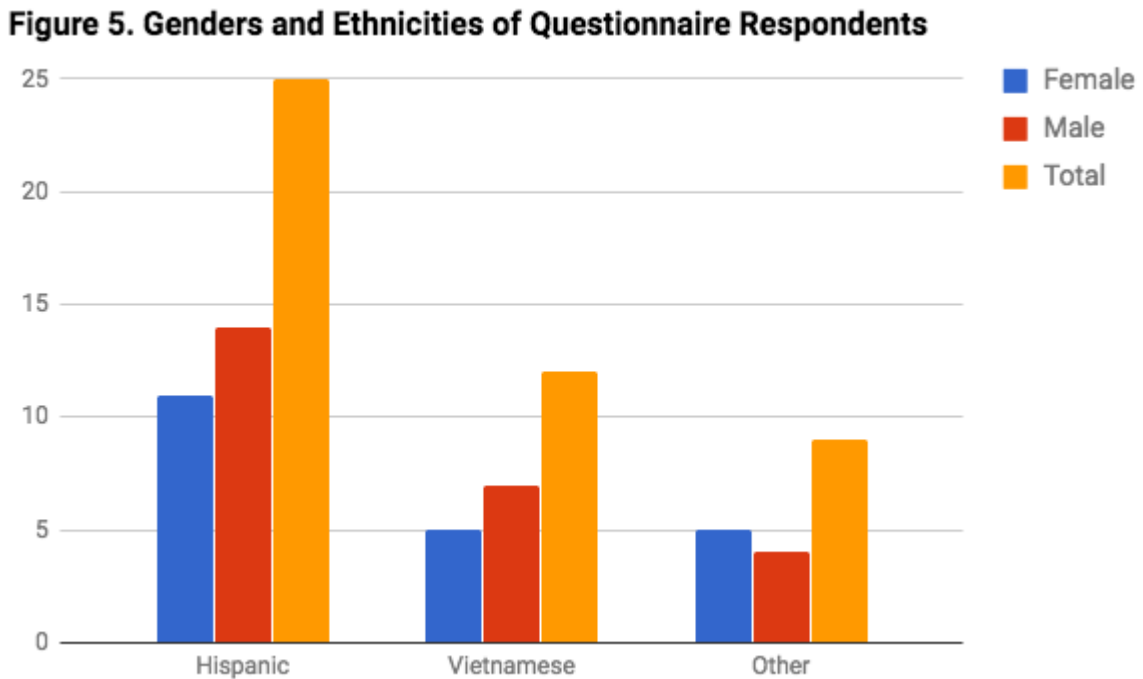


Only three Freshman English teachers responded to my e-mail request to make questionnaires available to their students, Therefore, while there were about 493 ninth grade students at the time of the study (dataquest), not all of them were exposed to the questionnaires.

Interview participants.

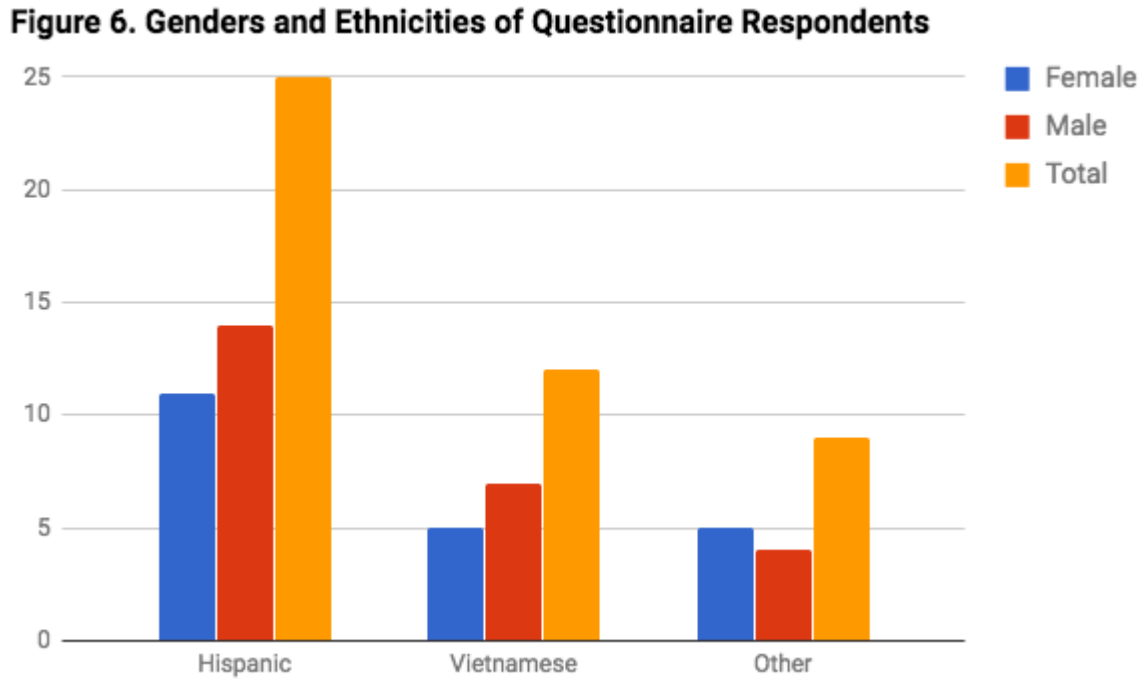
Interviews were conducted with 23 students, a high level district administrator, one of the school counselors (heretofore referred to as Mr. Clark), a former associate principal (heretofore referred to as Mr. Ludsberry), and a JROTC instructor (heretofore referred to as Major). During the 2014-15 school year, grade 12 enrollment was 421 students, grade 11 enrollment was 420, grade 10 enrollment was 448, and grade nine enrollment was 493 (California Department of Education, 2017). Interviews were conducted with 14 grade 12 students, four grade 11 students, and four grade nine students (Figure 6). Of the 23 students interviewed, seven were current or past JROTC cadets. Most of the students interviewed

were in grade twelve and had never taken JROTC. Two of the students in grade 11 had never taken JROTC, one was a current cadet, and one had been enrolled in the past. Of the students in grade nine, two had never been enrolled in JROTC, and three were currently enrolled. No students in grade 10 were interviewed.



While demographic information other than grade level was not part of the interview protocol, the researcher was able to make educated guesses as to the gender and ethnicities of the participants. The researcher identified these characteristics by sight and student accent, taking into account the major ethnicities of the CHS student population. Each participant was categorized by the researcher as one of the following: Latino/a, Asian (most likely Vietnamese), or *other* (could not be deciphered by the researcher). Of the 23 student participants, 13 are labeled Latino, five are Asian, and five are *other*. Two Latinos and two *others* were currently enrolled in JROTC. Three of those enrolled are in grade nine, and one is in grade 11. One of Asian males in grade 11 had been enrolled in JROTC in the past, and

one female *other* in grade 12 had been enrolled (Table 5).



Summary.

Out of approximately 1782 students in grades nine through 12 enrolled at CHS, 23 were interviewed and 46 completed questionnaires. It is possible some or all of the four students in grade nine who were interviewed also completed questionnaires. Of the total number of questionnaire respondents, eight reported being enrolled in JROTC. Of those eight, four reported that English was not their first language. All eight respondents came from three different middle schools: four from Main Middle School, and four from two other public middle schools in the area. Out of the 23 student interview participants, four were currently enrolled in JROTC, and three had been enrolled in the past. While Latinas in grade 12 comprised the majority of interview participants, none of them had ever been enrolled in JROTC. Conversely, of the four grade nine participants, three were currently enrolled in

JROTC. Three interview participants had taken JROTC in the past: one male and one female *other* and one male Asian.

Table 5. *Gender, Ethnicity, and JROTC status of interview participants by grade level*

Grade	Gender	Ethnicity	JROTC
9	Male	Hispanic	Never
9	Male	Hispanic	Never
9	Male	Hispanic	Current
9	Male	Hispanic	Current
9	Male	Other	Current
11	Male	Asian	Past
11	Male	Asian	Never
11	Male	Other	Current
11	Female	Hispanic	Never
12	Male	Asian	Never
12	Male	Other	Past
12	Female	Hispanic	Never
12	Female	Hispanic	Never
12	Female	Hispanic	Never
12	Female	Hispanic	Never
12	Female	Hispanic	Never
12	Female	Hispanic	Never
12	Female	Hispanic	Never

Overview of Data

As not all of the data gathered by the interviews and questionnaires are presented as findings, the following is a summary of all the data collected from the questionnaires and interviews.

Questionnaire data.

In addition to the participant data outlined above as a result of the demographic questions in section one, and the background information in section two, the questionnaire included questions about participants’ class schedule. This corresponds to section three of the questionnaire.

Course selection: question one.

For question one, participants were also asked: *Did representatives from CHS visit your middle school or junior high school in order to present different course options available to you at CHS?* Out of the 46 respondents, 30 answered *Yes* to this question. A total of ten participants marked *No*, and six marked *I do not remember*. Of the ten CHA students, four had marked *I don't know* to question one, three marked *No*, and three marked *Yes*.

Course selection: question two.

Participants were asked to circle their chosen focus area, and whether or not they were placed in their chosen focus area (question four). Seven students indicated that they had chosen STEM, seven students indicated that they had chosen humanities, and 32 students indicated that they do not remember which pathway they chose. Of the students who recall selecting STEM, six responded that yes, they were visited by CHS representatives; One participated indicated that they had not been present for this visit. Of the seven participants who had selected Humanities, five indicated that they representatives had visited their eighth grade class, one indicated that they had not, and one indicated that they did not remember. Both of these two students - the ones that marked *No* or *I do not remember*, attended middle schools other than Main Middle School. Of the 32 participants who did not remember selecting a pathway, 19 did receive a CHS visit, eight did not, and five did not remember. Of those four that indicated that they did not receive a visit, two were from Main Middle School and two were from another middle school. It is notable that none of the CHA students remembered selecting a focus area.

Course selection: Question four.

While none of the ten CHA students remember choosing a focus area, four marked *Yes* to question four: *Did you get placed in the focus area of your choice?* While three students left this question blank, two wrote in “IDK” and one selected *No*.

Out of the 22 students from Main Middle School, 15 marked *Yes*, they did get placed in the focus area of their choice, while six of those students had also marked that they did not remember which focus area they chose. While three students marked *No*, they also all indicated that they did not remember their focus area. The rest of the responses from Main Middle School were blank, with one student writing in “I forgot.”

Of the 14 participants from middle schools or junior highs other than CHA and Main, seven indicated that yes, they were placed in the focus area of their choice.

Course selection: question three.

The next question asked students to indicate why they selected the focus area that they did. The options were: *I wanted to be in classes with my friends*, *My parent(s) wanted me to take these classes*, *I thought these classes would be easier*, *I thought these classes would help me get into college*, and *other*. Of the 46 responses, nine students selected the first option: *I wanted to be in classes with my friends*. Two of these students, participants GG and HH, had also indicated that they did not remember their focus area and they responded *No* to question one, while the remaining three - participants D, E, and LL - responded yes to question one.

Two students indicated the second option: *My parents wanted me to take these classes*. Student I is one of these two students. He had indicated that he did not recall his focus area of choice, and he responded *No* to question one, possibly because he did not come from one of the feeder schools. Student LL, from Main Middle School, selected this option in

addition to options one and four.

The third option - *I thought these classes would be easier* - was selected by eight participants. One of those participants, three had also selected option four: *I thought these classes would help me get into college*. Including these three, a total of 17 students indicated that they made this selection because they thought those classes would help them get into college. Of these, five had selected STEM as their focus area, four had selected Humanities, and the remaining participants did not remember their selection.

Class schedule.

For question five, participants were asked to write down their class schedule. They were asked to also include all classes that they had been enrolled in for more than a week. Question six asked whether or not they had signed up for a class they did not get and question seven asked if they were placed in a class they did not sign up for. Providing a list of their current class schedule allowed for the researcher to identify any patterns. The following patterns were identified:

Crossroads High Academy.

None of the ten students from CHA were enrolled in JROTC, and all of them were enrolled in the following classes: AVID² and English 1A (this is the advanced freshman English course).

Main Middle School.

Of the 22 students from Main Middle School, seven were enrolled in AVID, four in English 1A, and two in both. Three participants listed JROTC.

Other feeder schools.

² AVID, or Advancement via Individual Determination, is a college preparatory elective class that provides college tutors and helps students with organization and transferable study skills.

Of the 13 participants from middle schools or junior high schools other than CHA or Main, two were enrolled in English 1A, and three were enrolled in AVID. None of these participants had JROTC written down on their class schedule.

JROTC enrollment.

Question eight asks: Have you ever been, or are you currently, enrolled in JROTC? The follow up question asks if they had requested to take JROTC. A total of eight indicated that yes, they had been enrolled in JROTC - either currently or at some point. However, only six had JROTC written down in their list of current classes. Therefore, it can be inferred that two of these respondents had been in JROTC at some point that year, but were no longer enrolled. All eight indicated that yes, they had requested JROTC. Student I indicated that while he requested JROTC, he has never been enrolled in it. However, he did not indicate in question six that he did not get all of the classes he had requested.

Perceptions of JROTC.

The final two questions reflect students' perceptions of JROTC. Question number ten asks: would you consider JROTC a positive experience? Five students responded *Yes*, two students responded *Maybe*, and one student responded *No*. All *Yes* answers derived from students A, B, C, G and F. Students H and E responded *Maybe*. Student H is currently enrolled in JROTC, and student E appears to no longer be enrolled in JROTC. Student D, who responded *No*, also appears to no longer be enrolled.

Question number eleven asks: Would you recommend JROTC to others? Students A and C indicated *Definitely Yes*; students B, H, F, and D indicated *Maybe*; student G indicated *No*, he would not recommend it; and student E indicated that he would *Definitely Not* recommend it. While student FF answered *No* to both questions number eight and nine, and

did not list JROTC on his list of classes, he answered these last two questions. He indicated that *No*, he would not consider JROTC a positive experience. He also indicated that he would *not* recommend JROTC to others. Similarly, while student I has never been enrolled in JROTC but indicated that he had requested it, he also answered these questions. Student I indicated that he would maybe consider JROTC a positive experience and that he would maybe recommend it to others.

Student interview data.

The student interview protocol was divided up into four main sections. Each of those sections is summarized below.

Section one: establishing rapport.

The first section in the student interview protocol solicited a participant's favorite class, explanation for why that class is his/her favorite, and whether or not it was their choice to attend CHS over other high schools. There was a wide selection of favorite classes named: Economics, AP Environmental Science, AP Biology, English, Psychology, Engineering, JROTC, Journalism, Creative Writing, Art, Math, and one student said he prefers the class he TAs for because he gets to "chill." A total of eight participants identified English as their favorite class; three students identified JROTC as their favorite class, two participants identified AP Environmental Science, and two participants identified Psychology. The rest of the classes were mentioned only once. One student - student I - identified both Engineering and English as his favorite classes. Student M said that he liked all his classes equally. Similarly, while student E selected Psychology, she mentioned that Animation was also her favorite, but that it was not a class she took at CHS.

The reasons participants provided for their favorite classes are listed in Table 2.

The final question in this first section of the interview protocol concerned participants' enrollment at CHS. While participants all attend CHS because it is their neighborhood school, Ten of them expressed regret on some level, or indicated that they hesitated to enroll in CHS. The responses that indicated some level of regret or hesitation range from student B's "it's whatever . . ." to student J's "I was forced to. I was terrified of this school." A few students indicated that they like CHS, and one even had the opportunity to transfer when she moved, but chose to stay.

Table 6: Reasons for favorite classes

Reason provided	Favorite class
engagement	Economics, AP Environmental Science
motivation	Economics
interactive environment	Economics AP Environmental Science
comfortable environment	AP Environmental Science English Art
the teacher	English Art
variation	English
fun	Creative Writing English
learn about the broader world	AP Environmental Science AP Biology Psychology
writing	English Math
Literature, books, and reading	English
design	Engineering
Military and the Army	JROTC
Leadership skills and confidence	JROTC

Section two: selection of JROTC.

The section second in the student interview protocol asked if students had ever taken JROTC, and their reasons either for taking it or for not taking it. Whether or not they had ever taken JROTC, they were asked how they first learned about JROTC. If they had taken it,

they were also asked whether they had discussed that decision with their parents and whether or not they have family in the military and if so, if they believe that influenced their decision to take JROTC. This data is explored in chapter six.

Section three: questions about JROTC.

The third section in the student interview protocol asked students who had or were currently enrolled in JROTC to describe a typical day in that class. Students currently enrolled were asked what they were learning, including how they were learning it, such as through lecture, textbook, and/or collaboration with peers. They were asked how they think knowing this information (what they are learning) is going to help them after high school, how they think they've changed since beginning JROTC, and if they feel connected to the military or not. Past cadets were asked to recall what they most remember learning in JROTC and if the overall experience changed them in any way. They were also asked if JROTC connected them to the military, and if it did, how that made them feel. Finally, they were asked why they stopped taking JROTC. Whether or not enrollment was past or current, they were asked if they considered JROTC to be good for everybody. This data is explored in chapter six.

Section four: future plans.

The fourth section in the student interview protocol asked students about their post-secondary plans. Students were asked whether they thought they would graduate on time and if they replied in the negative, why they thought that. They were also asked what their plans were after graduating high school, and if they ever discuss these plans with their parents, other family member, or friends.

Adult interview data.

The adult interview protocol was divided into four main sections. Not all sections applied to each interview. Each of those sections is described below.

Section one: Pathways.

This is the first section in the adult interview protocol. The first half of this section, questions one through three, applies to the following adult participants: Mr. Clark, Mr. Ludsberry, and Mr. Shoemaker. The remaining questions in this section apply only to Mr. Clark and Mr. Ludsberry. The Major was not asked any of these questions. In this section, participants were asked about the areas of study, or pathways, that the school had recently implemented. Participants were asked whether or not the pathways were similar across the schools in the district, if they foresee any challenges with the pathways, and how the two pathways were chosen. Participants were also asked how JROTC became a part of the Humanities pathway.

Implementing the pathways.

Mr. Shoemaker, Mr. Clark, and Mr. Ludsberry were asked about the newly implemented areas of study. Most of the schools in the district began the pathways implementation with incoming ninth graders this school year, and the schools have different pathways depending on the magnet program they do or do not offer. STEM and humanities are the most common pathways offered at the various high schools in the district, but the focus of the pathways vary according to schools and what those schools already offer. The Humanities pathways do vary greatly. At CHS, the pathways has a law and society focus, whereas at Sebastian High, the humanities pathway is media and digital arts.

Benefits of the pathways.

The responses to the second question about the benefits of the pathway model

produced mixed results. Mr. Shoemaker and Mr. Ludsberry's responses were positive, whereas Mr. Clark's expressed a reluctance to express anything positive about the pathways model. According to Mr. Shoemaker, the benefit is that "it makes the learning more meaningful" because their classes are more closely related to their chosen field of employment. Mr. Ludsberry's response was similar. The pathways provide "exposure to potential post graduate options" whether academic or occupational.

Mr. Clark's response was interesting. When directly asked what he saw as the benefits of students placing themselves in one of the two areas of study, he replied:

Well, you know - and it's really hard because as a young student you know especially if they don't have their parents, don't have much education, they don't know what to expect, maybe they go with their interests and so forth, but it's really difficult because you know they're given a choice and they're not sure, they'll talk with their friends and because their friends are doing this they'll want to do the same thing, maybe they start it then they don't like it. . . they have to just try it as a ninth grader and see if they like it and afterwards they can go into another field. . . if they don't have the guidance at home or uh any type of role model at home it's hard for them to um know what the right choice would be. . . .

Mr. Clark goes on to describe a program he is piloting - California Colleges Guidance Initiative - that would inventory students' interests and provide them with related colleges.

Drawbacks of the pathways.

Challenges and unintended consequences of the pathways involve students changing

their mind and being unable to switch. As Mr. Clark explains: “it’s one of those things that once a student chooses a class they can’t get out of it because we base our um master schedule on what the students select.”

STEM and humanities pathways.

This question asked How CHS decided on STEM and humanities. The question turned out to be redundant as the participants answered it earlier when describing the pathways. While the district mandated that CHS have STEM and humanities, it was based on the capacity of the school - it’s human resources and existing magnet program.

Required courses for each pathway.

For question six, Mr. Ludsberry was asked to explain whether the three courses listed under each pathway are indeed required for that pathway. Mr. Ludsberry confirmed that ye, students must choose from one of the three fields under the humanities or STEM pathway. As a sub question, the participants were asked to explain how JROTC and AVID became humanities courses. They explained that the courses are still considered electives, but that they fall under the humanities pathway because they are not considered science, technology, engineering, or math. Further, according to Mr. Ludsberry, because AVID involves “reading non-fiction articles” and “writing expository pieces” it “naturally fits into kind of more of a humanities.” And JROTC “has civics and a health component [as well as] a historical component,” which allows it to fit under the humanities umbrella. As the interview with Mr. Clark was running long, the interviewer skipped to question six b: what do you tell the student who wants to pursue a degree in the humanities or social sciences, but who does not want to take JROTC? Both participants stated that students could definitely still take JROTC, regardless of their pathway. They both emphasized, however, that students should be

cognizant of taking JROTC if they are in the STEM pathway because they would then have less time for core curriculum and college preparatory electives.

Section two: feelings about JROTC.

This is the second section in the adult interview protocol, and it applies to all of the adult participants. The interviewees were asked to describe the value placed on JROTC by district stakeholders, and, to their knowledge, whether or not they had always felt this way. They were asked for their opinion regarding the benefits and the downsides to JROTC, and if they considered the program to have affected student attitudes towards school.

Stakeholders in JROTC.

Participants were asked to describe the value placed on JROTC by district stakeholders. Probing questions identified district stakeholders as the school board, parents, and the teachers' union. Interview findings suggest that the school board demonstrates value of JROTC through ceremonies of recognition. Parents are generally viewed as supportive, and so is the teachers' union. Regarding the teachers' union the Major had this to say:

And as far as the union is concerned, well we're uh I don't think they um care either way about us, you know we're just another number to them as far as a member, but they support us in that you know we're doing what the principal and the school district is asking us to do, you know we're meeting the ed code standards, requirements and all that stuff, we go through the certifications just like the rest of the teachers do, and we pay our union dues, so as far as they're concerned, from my perspective, I think the union accepting us.

Benefits and downsides of JROTC.

Participants were asked about benefits of JROTC, as well as downsides. The

responses are presented in three different categories: benefits to students, benefits to the institution, and benefits to society.

The perceived benefits of JROTC to students are as follows: career goals, exploration/horizons broadened, leadership, academic achievement and school persistence, belonging, structure, and, surprisingly, as a buffer from military recruiters.

The perceived benefits to the institution can be placed into the categories of service to the school and service to the district in terms of the ceremonial function they provide. JROTC plays a ceremonial role in athletic events, school board meetings, student assemblies, and other functions.

The perceived benefits to society result from Mr. Ludsberry's interview in which he said the following: "It really reinforces the element of civic education, civic pride and citizenship."

Program effects on attitudes towards school.

The final question of this section asked participants if they felt JROTC affected students' attitudes towards school, and if so, how? While Mr. Clark was unsure how to answer this question, Mr. Ludsberry, the Major, and Mr. Shoemaker all expressed belief that participants in JROTC are more likely to be involved in school activities and are more likely to stay in school or have better attendance. Mr. Shoemaker and the Major also believe that participation in JROTC affects students' college and career goals in that they may be more focused on their chosen career path, even if it is the military.

Section three: enrollment in JROTC.

This is the third section in the adult interview protocol. This section applies only to Mr. Clark and Mr. Ludsberry, as they would be the only participants out of the four to have

this knowledge. This is by far the longest section of the protocol. These participants were asked about ninth grade placement in elective courses and their preferred focus area. They were also asked whether they noticed any trends in course popularity and if they noticed tendencies for certain students to take particular courses over others. They were asked about the frequency of course change requests from ninth grade students and whether or not they had received any feedback from these students on the new pathways. Further, participants were asked about any JROTC enrollment and disenrollment criteria, as well as the process by which student are enrolled in JROTC. Questions were posed as to the specifics of the disenrollment criteria, such as who determines whether a student meets the disenrollment criteria. Finally, participants were asked about how many ninth graders are enrolled in JROTC in comparison to the other grade levels, and if the new pathways affected this number.

Course selections.

Incoming ninth graders are placed in their first choice electives roughly 80 percent of the time. Counselors are unable to place a student in their first choice elective due to the following reasons: conflicts in schedule, individual academic needs, or deficiency in an academic area. A student who needs a support class in math or English, for instance, has less room in their schedule for electives. Conflicts in schedule happens when a student requests a class of which there is limited availability. Mr. Clark explains, “if there’s enough sections . . . we could usually honor the request.” Some electives are only offered once, like piano and guitar. Conversely, the school offered five sections of dance that year.

Trends in course popularity are influenced by “word of mouth” of other students, such as older siblings. This “community of knowledge” may influence students’ choices to

take one elective over another.

Course changes.

Ninth graders select their courses when CHS visits their eighth grade classes. During this visit, students fill out their course request form, and the counselors provide them with a course change request form. Out of an average of 400 in-coming ninth graders, counselors receive course change requests from between 50 and 70 of them. The reasons for this vary, and include requests based on: parental input, transportation issues (related to having an early start or a late start), what classes students' friends are in, and conflict in actual versus expected course content or workload. Counselors have thus far received no feedback from students on the new pathways.

JROTC enrollment criteria.

Prior to enrolling them in JROTC, counselors do not check the academic or discipline records of incoming ninth graders. If a student is a mid-year transfer, or in the tenth, eleventh, or twelfth grade, counselors will check a student's academic record if only to ensure the student is first passing their core academic classes. Mr Clark relates:

There's a few in which they were taking ROTC at another school and I'll ask them *do you want to continue* some of them will say *yes* and some of them will say *no*. But those that say *no* I can't - sometimes I can't get 'em out because there's no place to put 'em.

The counselors are aware that JROTC cadets can be disenrolled for certain reasons. This disenrollment process begins with the JROTC instructor. The instructor would notify the counseling office that a student needs to be disenrolled, and would then provide a reason. Mr. Clark details his experience, stating: "the Sergeant tells me *this student needs to be*

dropped because he's not doing anything or he's you know basically he's not doing anything or if he doesn't want to cut his hair. Those are- I know those are reasons.”

The instructor determines academic failure through grade checks whereby the instructor checks the students' grades in their other classes. The instructor determines ineptitude and poor attitude by a student's participation - whether they are “wearing the uniform when they're supposed to,” whether they are “attending regularly,” and whether they are “do[ing] what's asked of them.” Consequences of this, however, do not always lead to disenrollment from the class. Often, students with infractions will be “bumped down,” or “demoted kind of like in the U.S. military.” A few have been disenrolled, though. This is more difficult to do mid-year, because the counselors would need an open spot to place the student. Counselors prefer to wait until the end of the year, but will disenroll mid-year if the student's behavior does not improve.

JROTC enrollment numbers.

The current freshman class (during the 2014-15 school year) had about 130 out of 500 students enrolled in JROTC, or roughly 26 percent. CHS had three sections of JROTC 1 during the 2013-14 academic year; this year they have four sections.

This number increased from the previous year, possibly because of the presentation JROTC representatives gave at the feeder schools during eighth grade visitation. The electives that sent representatives did better with course requests than electives that did not send representatives. Another possibility, according to Mr. Clark, is that “many of the other classes were full, and some of these students, they came in late” JROTC 1 always has the highest enrollment. If there are four sections of JROTC 1, there may be two or three sections of JROTC level two.

Section four: District history of JROTC

This is the fourth section in the adult interview protocol, and it applies to Mr. Clark, Mr. Ludsberry, and the Major. The interviewees were asked about their knowledge of the history of JROTC in the school district, such as whether host schools implemented their individual JROTC program for different reasons and at different times. Participants were asked to recall any effects of the implementation of JROTC. They were then asked their opinion as to why only specific schools hosted JROTC. Only Mr. Clark was able to answer the last question about logistics, as the other interviews ran out of time.

The original implementation of JROTC at CHS.

Mr. Clark and Mr. Ludsberry were unable to provide definitive answers to the first three questions in this section. The Major, having been around since the program's implementation, explained that CHS was the second school in the district to host Army JROTC, and this was initiated by the principal at the time.

Question four asks why only six out of the 16 high schools in the district host JROTC. While Mr. Clark said that he did not know why this is, Mr. Ludsberry and the Major provided what they believed to be the reason. According to Mr. Ludsberry, "It's demographic. I'd almost guarantee that it's demographic." He goes on to explain:

The neighborhoods in and around them have sometimes uh had a preponderance of first and second generation immigrants, um that both people uh- pretty much um, there's been connections between former graduates and the uh U.S. Armed Services, and I think it's just been a- kind of a more traditional uh post-graduate option for students in some sections of [this district], whereas like a new school like E_ you're just not- you're not going

to find too many kids who are going to be trending towards that – almost all of those kids are going to be looking at a four year, uh- a four year option as will the north end of the campus and that’s just demographic. So Butler High and also Sebastian High to the south, you take a look at the surrounding neighborhoods uh there’s probably such a significantly lower percentage of community members and parents in those school attendance areas that are U.S. Military. At [CHS] I found not, not, well you know not surprisingly that a large number of the [J]ROTC um students had a uh had one or more family members who were active in the military. So they saw it as kind of a- as a logical extension to you know their own family experience .

The other reason may have to do with a perceived need for discipline. According to the Major, “the principal told [him] that he- he wanted some **discipline** in the- for the kids and he wanted something for the kids to get involved with that’s leading to something good.”

Hypothetical end of JROTC.

Mr. Clark was asked what would happen if JROTC were to end suddenly. He replied that the students would feel a loss of what he considers “a big family.” Also, the school would have to scramble to hire more teachers to teach the students affected by the cancellation.

Section five: Mr. Shoemaker portion.

This sixth and final section of the adult interview protocol applies only to the interview with Mr. Shoemaker.

Hypothetical question one. Mr. Shoemaker was asked the following hypothetical question: This district has Army JROTC at YBHS, AH, and OHS; three of the other schools

have other branches of the military. If you were to hire another principal for one of the schools with JROTC Army or otherwise, if you were to hire a new principal for one of those schools, would you want that principal to be someone who would support continuing the JROTC program on their campuses or not? He responded that he would “absolutely” hire a principal who “meets the needs of that location, . . . if that location has thriving programs” He goes on to explain that JROTC teaches leadership skills that are transferable to other sectors beyond the military.

Hypothetical question two. Mr. Shoemaker was asked what he predicts the reaction would be from parents if the principal of E_ (one of the more affluent schools in the district) were to decide to host JROTC on that campus. His response was:

. . . hmm. . . well [coughs] excuse me I think um I think there may be that potential of parents saying that’s not for our kids, but when you talk about uh a campus that has 2700 students, not all 2700 students are gonna go to college. Um not all 2700 students are gonna major in computer science and become engineers. Uh so I think the fact that we can expose student to different pathways and different options, I don’t think there’s anything wrong with that, and there’s nothing that says just because I’m gonna be part of the JROTC that I’m going into the military after high school; I don’t think there’s a strong enough correlation. Uh, I- I I mean my gut tells me that I don’t think 90 percent of the kids that are in a JROTC program ended up in the military- it would be interesting to find out. I think that they have just as high of a college rate going um as the mainstream does, if you look at the proportion. So I would advocate it, I’m not sure what that community would say.

Hypothetical question three. Like Mr. Clark, Mr. Shoemaker was also asked what would happen, logistically, if the Department of Defense were to end the JROTC program.

What might the effect be on students? How would you fill their schedules? He responded:

Well I think we would talk about um certainly the different pathways um and if you know I think part of the problem in our society with current high schools particularly on the east side is the size of our high schools, right, I mean uh Caesar High is 3100 students, uh Mountain High's 27, the average is around 22. That's a lot of students; it's easy to get lost. Um and – and that's why parent advocates that support charter schools is because for most charters they are up to 400 maybe 450. So it's easier for every staff member to know every child's name. Um and so uh without having the JROTC uh if that were to be gone I think you'd have to offer pathways where either you have a school within a school um or what used to be called the CCOC uh it's now the Silicon Valley Career and Technical Center uh that might be a natural pathway for kids that uh would be interested in that uh and um you know we have smaller alternative schools that are not charter they're just alternative to the comprehensive, basically because of the size and the service that we provide to the students there. So I think it would be a hit uh to those uh kids that are passionate about it but I think uh we could find different alternatives to still bring meaning to them and- and guidance and focus.

Financially, the district would suffer as well:

The Department of Defense pays for the employees, we just pay- and- and the ADA follows us so we actually gain funding when uh we have this program.

The program goes away and now we're putting students into the general population, [inaud]- it's less funding for us, so it would be a hit to us.

Gang affiliation and graduation rate.

When asked whether he noticed a correlation between JROTC and a reduction in gang affiliation, Mr. Shoemaker responded:

Well I think what you definitely notice is that uh kids early on that join they there is some retal- not retaliation- there is some pushback around the rules and the ethics and um there's really no leeway and I think kids that stick with it learn about the regiment, the training, uh the responsibility and so kids that may have started that would push wearing the colors or push um that affiliation uh, you know because gangs are looking- it's more of a family – they're looking to be identified- to identify with someone that supposedly will take care of you, um I'm not advocating that gangs take care of you, but it's that- that association – well JROTC that's kind of their new family, and that cohort goes uh together through high school and you create a new identity that is different from that identity that is on the streets. So I think it has a positive impact.

This response was followed up with an ad hoc probing question: “Do you know of incidents where there have been freshmen that rebelled against JROTC?” The response was:

Well I – I think just at Sepulveda High when I visited the campus the other day uh the Lt. Colonel there informed me of you know the challenges that some of the younger kids had coming in and it took most of the year to actually get them to convert from being um anti-um um uniformity, anti-

uh structure to the- they bought into the program.

Mr. Shoemaker was unaware of whether or not there was a correlation between JROTC and the graduation rate.

Documents

As part of the data collected in this qualitative case study, the researcher obtained and analyzed a student handbook for the level one JROTC class.

Leadership education and training core materials.

While the researcher was unable to observe an actual JROTC class, she did retrieve a copy of the book provided cadets in JROTC level one. The book, titled “LET 1 core Materials, 2nd Edition: Leadership Education and Training” is 290 pages of student handouts. The book is divided into three units; within each unit is a series of chapters ranging from one chapter in unit one, to 11 chapters in unit 3. Unit one is titled “citizenship in action.” Unit two is “being a leader,” and unit three is “foundations for success.”

Unit organization.

Each unit in the manual begins with a performance task. There is a brief description of the “skills, knowledge, and abilities” being assessed, and a brief description of the “linked core abilities.”

Chapter organization.

Each chapter contains a series of topics. Each topic is organized the same way. The elements of each chapter are as follows:

Why this is important.

This is a short explanation of the purpose of the chapter. It explains why a student should know the things presented in the chapter.

What you will learn to do.

This is divided into two sections: “competency” and “linked core abilities.” The “competency” is a phrase describing an action. The “linked core abilities” is a short list of action phrases that describe abilities.

How you will know when you are succeeding.

This section is also divided into two more sections. The first is a bullet point list describing the learning activities that will show the instructor the student has learned “target knowledge and skills.” The second is a bullet point list of assessment criteria for the learning criteria.

Knowledge and skills you will learn along the way.

These are more learning objectives that begin with verbs that appear to be derived from Webb’s Depth of Knowledge chart. This is also where key vocabulary and terms are listed.

Learning activities.

The learning activities section is a series of possible activities the instructor can choose from. The booklet states: “These learning activities are designed to help you learn the target skills and knowledge for this lesson.” Many of these activities reference videos or a student text; both of these materials must be supplementary texts the researcher does not have access to.

Assessment activities.

This is usually a checklist with one item on it which is to complete the assessment task included in the booklet. The assessment task is usually a list of tasks for the student to complete, depending on the contents of the chapter.

Unit one: Citizenship in action.

This unit contains one chapter, titled “Foundations of Army JROTC and getting involved.” It also contains eight topics within this chapter. It is roughly 50 pages long. This is an introductory unit to the JROTC program. The competency tasks are as follows: analyze the purpose of the Army JROTC program, illustrate the rank and structure of the Army JROTC, determine which signs of success you plan to accomplish within JROTC, demonstrate proper cadet appearance, demonstrate protocol to show respect for and handle the United States flag, demonstrate courtesies during the playing of the National Anthem, and explore the purpose of military traditions, customs, and courtesies (LET, 2010).

Unit two: Leadership theory and application.

The chapters in this unit are titled “Being a leader,” with five topics, and “leadership skills,” with three topics. It is roughly 30 pages long. The competency tasks are as follows: identify your leadership strengths and opportunities for improvement; compare leadership styles; develop a personal code of ethics, comparing the values it represents with the Army values; draft a plan for using the 11 principles of leadership to improve your leadership abilities; take action to prevent and/or stop sexual harassment and assault; explain the importance of drill in military discipline; demonstrate effectual command voice in drill; analyze personal strengths and weaknesses as a drill leader (LET, 2010).

Unit three: Foundations for success.

Unit three contains seven chapters and spans roughly 190 pages. The chapters are not complete, in that they jump from chapter five to chapter eight and then again to chapter 11. They are outlined below:

Chapter one: Know yourself - Socrates.

This chapter consists of five topics: Self awareness, appreciating diversity through winning colors, personal growth plan, becoming an active leader, and pathways to success (LET, 2010). The competency tasks for the topics in this chapter are as follows: determine your behavioral preferences; apply an appreciation of diversity to interpersonal situations; develop a plan for personal growth; determine the thinking/learning skills necessary for improving active learning; and explore the process for defining success in your life (LET, 2010).

Chapter two: Learning to learn.

Chapter two consists of the following topics: brain structure and function, left and right brain functions, learning style and processing preferences, and multiple intelligences (LET, 2010). The competence tasks for the topics in this chapter are as follows: relate the structure and function of the brain to the learning process; distinguish between the functions of left brain and right brain; explain how learning styles and preferences can impact learning; and use your intellectual strengths to improve academic performance (LET, 2010).

Chapter three: Study skills.

This chapter contains the following three topics: thinking maps, reading for meaning, and study habits that work for you (LET 1). The competency tasks for this chapter are: use Thinking Maps to enhance learning; select reading comprehension strategies to enhance learning; and develop personal study and test-taking strategies (LET, 2010).

Chapter four: Communication skills.

Chapter four contains two topics: the communication process and becoming a better listener. The competency tasks are: demonstrate how the communication process affects interaction between individuals, and use active learning strategies (LET, 2010).

Chapter five: Conflict resolution.

This chapter also contains two topics: causes of conflict and conflict resolution techniques. The competency tasks are: determine causes of conflict, and apply conflict resolution techniques (LET, 2010).

Chapter eight: Making a difference with service learning.

Chapter eight directly follows chapter five, presumably because the corresponding chapters in the other student text do not require student handouts. This chapter has three topics: orientation to service learning, plan and train for your exploratory project, and project reflection and integration. The competency tasks are as follows: identify the components of service learning; prepare for a service learning project; and evaluate the effectiveness of a service learning project (LET, 2010).

Chapter 11: NEFE high school financial planning program.

Similar to chapter eight, chapter 11 is anachronistic. The one topic in this chapter is titled NEFE introduction: setting financial goals. The competency task is to determine personal financial goals (LET, 2010).

Summary.

This student supplementary text illustrates a content focus on the military, leadership skills, and study study or metacognitive skills.

Looking at this student text by itself, the JROTC curriculum appears to provide multiple types of learning experiences, interaction and collaboration among students, and opportunities for critical thinking.

Chapter six: Answers to the Research Questions

Findings by Research Question

From the data presented in chapter five, we can, to an extent, determine the answers to the research questions. In this section, data relevant to the research questions will be examined. The researcher will draw upon the data from the questionnaire, the interviews, and the student text.

Research question one: Why do students choose to take JROTC?

The first research question asks: Why do students choose to take JROTC? Are there any responses that indicate awareness of social position? Do other responses have implications concerning social position that are not explicitly recognized?

Questionnaire data.

Questionnaire responses do not answer the question of why students take JROTC, specifically. However, the design of the questionnaire allowed for an inference to be made about students' reasons for choosing or not choosing JROTC.

Questionnaire data indicates that students who were enrolled in JROTC by choice selected their classes for the following reasons: to be with friends, to get into college, and perceived ease of classes. Of the eight respondents who were enrolled in JROTC – all by choice, four indicated that they want to go to college. Three of the respondents with enrollment in JROTC also have family in the military and four are ELs. Interestingly, four responses of those not enrolled in JROTC responded that they would not consider JROTC a positive experience. In summary, of this small and not statistically significant sample, ELs were more likely than non-ELs to enroll in JROTC in order to be with their friends and/or to take a class they perceived would be easy.

All eight respondents enrolled in JROTC attended one of three feeder middle schools: Main Middle School, Feeder School Number Two, and Feeder School Number Three; four of the eight attended Main Middle School. All three schools received visits from CHS representatives for eighth grade visitation course enrollment information.

Questionnaire data from the 38 students *not* enrolled in JROTC offered enlightening results. While none of the eight respondents in JROTC were AVID, English One Advanced, Construction Academy magnet, or CHA students, 28 students, or 74%, were enrolled in one of these college-bound tracks. This means that students enrolled in one of the four college-bound tracks were underrepresented in JROTC, according to the findings from this questionnaire (Figure 7).

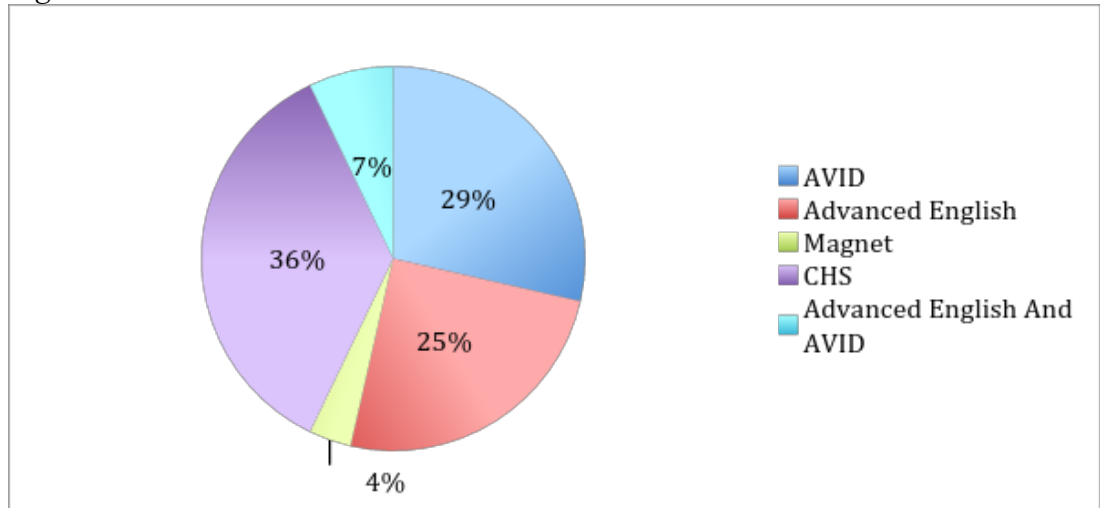
Further, of all the respondents combined – JROTC and non-JROTC, only two indicated that they chose their classes because of parental influence: one student in the Construction Magnet and the other in AVID. All but two students in JROTC indicated that representatives from CHS visited their middle school to present course options; the other two responded that they did not remember. Of the respondents not enrolled in JROTC, ten indicated that CHS representatives did not visit their middle school, and four responded that they did not remember. The four that indicated they did not remember are all CHA students, not Main Middle School.

Student interview data.

According to student interviews, the main reasons for selecting JROTC are as follows: leadership experience, recommendation by peers and/or siblings, and an interest in the military (Table 7). Two of the six participants with enrollment (at some point) in JROTC had planned on or currently planned on at the time of this study to join the military. Four of

these six participants plan on going to college after high school. Of these four who plan to go to college, two said they

Figure 7. Enrollment of non-JROTC students



chose to take JROTC because it was recommended to them. Among students who have taken JROTC in the past and students who have never taken JROTC, awareness of social position may be demonstrated through a hesitation to attend CHS. Among students who were currently enrolled in JROTC, awareness of social position may be demonstrated through their interest in the military and in the recommendations they received from others concerning their course selections.

Table 7. Reasons for Taking JROTC

Respondent	JROTC	GRADE	Ethnicity	Post-Secondary Plans	Reason Indicated
Student B	Past	11	Viet.	4-year college	Leadership Experience Recommendation
Student J	Past	11	Viet.	4-year college	Interest in Military
Student L	Current	9	Hisp.	Military	Interest in Military
Student M	Current	9	Hisp.	College	Recommendation
Student O	Current	9	Hisp.	4-year College	Interest in Military
Student P	Current	11	Unknwn.	Work	Interest in Military

Leadership experience.

Some informants who were either currently enrolled or previously enrolled in JROTC

indicated that their reason for taking the course was related to leadership. Responses include leadership tied to the military, confidence, managing others, and being a role model. Student B, an eleventh grade, college-bound student who was no longer enrolled in JROTC at the time of the interview, expressed his reason for wanting to be in JROTC when he was a ninth grader: “they told me it’s a good experience. . . if you want to be in leadership . . . they’re like just take the class if you want to be more confident in yourself and just so I know how to like lead people and all that stuff.” As an in-coming ninth grader, Student B correlated confidence with leadership.

Recommendation by peers or siblings.

While the interview protocol did not include a question specifically asking student whether or not JROTC was recommended to them by friends or family, some volunteered that others recommended this to them as part of their reason for selecting the course. Two JROTC students – one past and one current – informed me that this class was recommended to them. Student M’s plans for after high school are to “probably” go to college. He is a ninth grade Latino, and he signed up for JROTC in part because his brother recommended it. He selected it during an eighth grade visitation from CHS because his “brother told [him] it was a good experience.” A past student of JROTC, Student B said: “a lot of people recommend[ed] it to [him]” for “experience if you want to get into the Army or experience if you want to be in leadership.” It is unclear who recommended it to him, as the only description he provides is that it is those who had taken it themselves, and “alumni.”

Interest in the military.

Student P is an eleventh grade male who plans to begin working after graduation from high school. He recounts selecting JROTC as an eighth grade student after a presentation on

the elective course offerings. He said it caught his attention and he chose it because “they’re tough . . . you know the movie *American Sniper* like how they, they train . . . they make you tough.” Student P does not intend to join the military, but he was attracted to the idea of training like a member of the military.

Student O is a ninth grade Latino currently enrolled in JROTC. He also remembers selecting JROTC during an eighth grade visitation. Unlike the way most of his peers reported, he did in fact discuss his choice with his parents. While he plans on attending college after high school, his choice to take JROTC was based on an interest in the military: “It looked pretty interesting at first . . . you get like the chance to meet like general from the army or even soldiers, and they talk about how they was in the war and how they have to like follow orders . . .”

Student L is a ninth grade Latino who aspires to join the military. When asked why he selected JROTC, he said “well cause I wanna go to the army so . . . sometimes recruiters come to the school, and like I wanna do good so I can like get recruited.” Unlike student O, he did not discuss this decision with his family first.

Student J is a 12th grade female who plans on going to nursing school. She had been in JROTC but was disenrolled for reasons having to do with needing the room in her schedule for her vocational elective. During her tenth grade year, she learned that she would not be able to enlist in the military due to her asthma. Her interest in the military is what motivated her to enroll in JROTC: “I’ve always been passionate about the military since I was little. ‘Cause my grandfather was in the Air Force and his brother was in the Army.” She recounts the day she selected JROTC: “I was . . . sittin’ in an eighth grade classroom. Like OK well now it’s your turn to pick an elective. My eyes went straight to JROTC. That was

the only one I picked.” She did not discuss her selection with her parents.

Research question one: Responses that indicate an awareness of social position.

From the questionnaire data, responses that indicate an awareness of social position are from those who selected JROTC and also have family in the military.

Three respondents who indicated that their enrollment in JROTC was voluntary also have family in the military. This echoes Mr. Ludsberry’s statements about JROTC being a tradition at CHS school because of the population having a high number of military families. This tradition - of students in the community taking JROTC and then enrolling in the military - is a form of social reproduction. The school, via JROTC, perpetuates this cycle of students taking JROTC and enrolling in the military, ensuring that the community population continues to provide young men and women of low socioeconomic status for the Army.

From the interview data, responses that indicate an awareness of social position come from those who have an interest in the military, those who demonstrated a hesitation to attend CHS, and those who were advised to take JROTC.

Interest in the military.

Student L, a ninth grade Hispanic male, was currently enrolled in JROTC at the time of this study. He selected JROTC because he “want[s] to be in the army.” JROTC is his favorite class because he is learning what he needs to do to join the military, and “stuff they do in the army.” He also likes that recruiters visit his class at school. He says he wants to “do good” in the class so that he can get recruited.

Student P first selected JROTC during an eighth grade visitation as well. He was in eleventh grade at the time of this study, but he remembers selecting JROTC because the course caught his attention: “they’re tough and stuff like they do a lot – like they, you know

the movie the *American Sniper* like how they train? They make your tough.” His initial reason for joining JROTC appears to be an interest in the military.

Hesitation to attend CHS.

Student B, an eleventh grade Vietnamese male who had taken JROTC his freshman year, indicated that CHS was not his first choice of school. When asked if he has been a CHS student all three years, he responded “so far, yeah.” He was then asked why he chose CHS – was it his home school? He replied “uh . . . practically, I – I wouldn’t mind, yeah, it was probably ‘cause it’s my home school. If I lived near like –HS, -HS, I would probably would have went there either way so I guess its whatever I mean . . .” Student B is a high achieving student with college plans. As CHS has a reputation of being a “bad” school, it is likely that Student B responded the way he did because he was aware that because of his social position – the neighborhood in which he lives – he goes to a school that is less than well regarded.

In addition to Student B, student J also expressed hesitation to attend CHS. Student J is also no longer in JROTC, but not because she wanted it that way. While student B decided to not take JROTC again after his freshman year and instead opted for college preparatory courses, student J wishes she could join the Army. Due to a disability, she cannot join the military; she says she will go to nursing school instead. Student J says that it was not her choice to attend CHS. She explains that she “was forced to . . . [she] was terrified of [the] school.”

The other students who expressed hesitation to attend CHS – six total - never enrolled in JROTC. Conversely, none of the students currently enrolled in JROTC expressed hesitation at being a CHS student. This implies that there are students at CHS who are aware, to a certain degree, of their social status. They understand that because of where they

live, they do not have access to the quality of education they believe they deserve. Whether this is true or not is another study entirely, although it should be noted that some of the students interviewed expressed a change in attitude upon actually enrolling in CHS. They realized that their school was not as bad as its reputation, that it had improved with the new principal. This lends to an alternative explanation, however, to decrease in students demonstrating hesitation to attend CHS: it is possible that the school's reputation has improved, and therefore students do not view it as poorly as they used to.

Social capital.

Many students reported that others advised them to take JROTC, and many reported as well the lack of parental participation in the course selection process; both of these things may indicate an awareness of social position on behalf of the students. Receiving advice from members of their social network(s) about which courses to take can be seen as having social capital. According to Bourdieu, social capital is the benefit one receives from their involvement in social networks, or social groups (as cited in Biggart, 2002).

Student B revealed that he took JROTC because of input from "friends and relatives." He was told by many of his older peers to take JROTC for leadership experience. His parents also did not participate in this decision. Regarding this, student B says "I talk to more of the people who are experienced with it like teachers." It seems as if student B's parents defer academic decisions to the educators, possibly because they are aware of their own lack of social capital. Student B continues,

I really ask a lot of teachers for help, and a lot of people who are in college right now, I always ask them what to do . . . so I always ask them hey well *how do I get into this class? Or how do I get to this college? Or what do I*

need to do?

Student B's proactivity to seek out the experience and advice of institutional agents, or teachers and those that have experience, shows that he indeed has a substantial amount of social capital. His parents themselves may lack the social capital necessary to navigate the U.S. educational system, perhaps due to a language barrier. Nevertheless, Student B gained social capital through his relationships with his older peers and his teachers. The fact that student B is Vietnamese should not be overlooked; in fact, it could be an explanation for why he was able to navigate himself out of JROTC and into leadership class instead. Person and Rosenbaum (2006), found that Latino students - while they in particular would benefit from this - they lack social networks to help them navigate their way to and through college (as cited in Engberg and Wolniak 2010) . As a participant observer, the leadership class at CHS is mainly Vietnamese; the clubs and organizations are also mainly Vietnamese. The Hispanic students do not have a presence in these leadership activities, and therefore do not have the potential network of peers with which to align themselves academically. The leadership students not only have each other, but as the nature of the leadership classes go, communication with teachers outside of the classroom setting, and communication with administrators, is inherent.

In summary, student B demonstrated some sort of awareness of his social position. His awareness— or that of his parents – led him to seek advice from others. Student B does not appear to see himself as someone who wants to stay the course of his parents. He seems to be aware that CHS is not the top choice of schools in the area, and intends to, however politely, rise above the path that his relatives before him have taken.

Research question one: Implications concerning social position.

JROTC participants interviewed demonstrate a lack of awareness of their social position. Some of the interview participants indicated that they desire leadership experience, or that participation in JROTC would enable them to gain leadership experience. Similarly, some participants who indicated they wanted to go to college, were also enrolled - willingly - in JROTC. Their enrollment in JROTC can be explained in terms of Bourdieu's habitus.

Student M, a ninth grade Hispanic male who was also enrolled in JROTC at the time of this study, likes the connection to the military that being in JROTC offers him. When asked what his favorite class is, he says "Um, I don't know. I like JROTC [inaudible] because that class is pretty fun." He goes on to explain how the things they do in that class is helpful "if [they] wanted to join the military...." However, when asked what his post-secondary plans were, he said his plans were to go to college.

Similarly, student O, also a ninth grade Hispanic male in JROTC, plans to go to college after high school. His favorite class is also JROTC because, as he says, it gives him leadership skills and the confidence to talk to other people.

What is striking about the remarks of students M and O is that their goals are to go to college. They both expressed an interest in the military and they both knowingly signed up for JROTC because of this link to the military. However, if they are going to be prepared for college, they are most likely in the wrong program. JROTC is not a college-preparatory course because it does not fulfill A-G requirements; according to Mr. Clark, it may be a hindrance to students on the college track because of this.

Their selection of JROTC implies that despite their aspirations, their comfort zone is the JROTC program. In the JROTC classroom and related activities, they are surrounded by others like them – a group in which they have an automatic membership. Taking JROTC

might be their way of obtaining some form of social capital.

In student L's case, it is the lack of direct advice from others – namely his parents, that is relevant. His intentions are to join the military, and so he likes JROTC because “sometimes recruiters come to the school.” His older sister, who had already graduated from high school, had also taken JROTC. He says, though, that this did not influence his decision to take it himself. What is also interesting about this case is that Student L knew about JROTC because when he was in the seventh grade, his neighbor was in JROTC, and “he used to like dress up and all.” Also, his older sister took JROTC. His older neighbor used to take JROTC and he saw him in the uniform; his sister also took JROTC, and he most likely saw her in uniform. Then, CHS JROTC representatives advertised the course during their eighth grade visitation. His parents, meanwhile, did not ask him what classes he was signing up for. Taking a course such as JROTC did not strike anxiety in Student L, as it appeared to do in some of the other students interviewed. This can be explained by examining his choice through the lens of Bourdieu's habitus. This theory offers an explanation for the role of individual agency in the social reproduction cycle (Nash, 1990, p. 433). While a habitus may be the result of an individual's generational history, conditions, and practices (Nash, 1990, p. 433), Student L's habitus - and possibly students M and O's habitus - have continued to be reinforced through their experiences in the community.

So, JROTC may have seemed like a natural progression for student L. His sister took the course, so the idea of such a program became familiar to him. Further, he used to see his neighbor come home dressed in the uniform. Both his sister and his neighbor are people he most likely relates to – one lives with him and the other lives next to him. They both took JROTC; therefore, he would also take JROTC, and come home wearing the uniform, just like

his sister and his neighbor did before him. Further, as one's economic, social, and cultural capital make up one's habitus, it is likely that the absence of his parents' advice regarding course selection may translate into a lack of cultural capital.

It is arguable that student L selected JROTC over the other electives because it was the course that was familiar to him - it fit into his habitus. He may have felt that JROTC was the place for him, like it was the place for his sister and his neighbor. His parents had apparently not spoken to him about taking more academic electives, so when he saw that he had a choice to make – he went with the one he understood to be the correct selection for him.

Research question two.

The second research question asks: are students placed in JROTC without their or their families' expressed desire to be so placed?

Adult interview data.

According to adult interview data, in-coming ninth grade students do select JROTC without their parents' awareness. Due to the procedure whereby they are visited in their eighth grade classroom during the school day (when parents are not present), select their classes right then and there, and hand their selections over to the counselor from CHS, their parents are not an integral or required component to this process.

In his interview, Mr. Clark admits that asking students to place themselves in one of the areas of study may not be the best procedure. He explains:

It's really hard because as a young student you know especially if they don't have their parents, don't have much education, they don't know what to expect, maybe they go with their interests and so forth, but it's really difficult

because you know they're given a choice and they're not sure . . . if they don't have the guidance at home or uh any type of role model at home it's hard for them to um know what the right choice would be.

Mr. Clark's statements demonstrates his understanding that many of these incoming CHS students do not have the resources needed to make informed decisions about their course load, which includes whether or not to enroll in JROTC.

While the in-coming CHS eighth graders select their courses on their own - without parental involvement - they are provided with an avenue through which they can share their selections with their parents and make some changes. This avenue seems to be less than ideal, however. As Mr. Clark explains, "we also [give] them another paper if they needed to change it you know to uh to have their parent view um to verify and then if they wanted to change it they can." Of the approximately 400 course forms from these in-coming ninth graders, Mr. Clark received "50 or so" course change forms.

Parents of students that arrive to CHS mid-year appear to have even less involvement. Mr. Clark explains how JROTC is a convenient option for placement of students who arrive in the middle of the school year: "ROTC will constantly take in students during the school year whereas of course other classes you cannot put a person who wasn't learning Spanish because if they haven't taken it at the beginning of the school year you can't expect them to be learning it now." Mr. Clark runs into this issue often with students that enroll mid-year: "After our February vacation we got like six or seven new students coming in . . . we have uh- constant enrollment." The students who arrive mid-year, and therefore are most likely placed in JROTC, are oftentimes from juvenile centers, according to Mr. Clark. Others are immigrants from other countries, or students who have been expelled or forced to move due

to economic circumstances:

A couple of them came in from Samoa and from Asian a couple from Pakistan . . . a few of them did come from the Ranch- uh juvenile centers. . . and then of course students who get in trouble, um move ‘em to another school and then we get- they exchange. Uh students who uh who lose their homes- the parents have lost their home and they have to move out of the area, or they have to move into the area. . .

From this explanation it can be assumed that a commonality among these students who are placed into JROTC midyear is that they lack social capital. They lack those “social connections which can be mobilised for particular purposes” (Nash, 1990, p. 432) either due to moving from one country to another in a state of refugee or economic crisis, or they never had it in the first place, hence their incarceration in a juvenile detention center. While detainment in a detention center does not necessarily contain a causal link to a lack of social capital, it is a sign that these students lack the appropriate capital - cultural and social - that is associated may have prevented them from getting into trouble with the law.

Student interview data.

Many students reported an absence of parent participation in regards to course selection for their ninth grade year. Seven respondents specifically mentioned this lack of parent participation. Of those seven, four are current or past JROTC participants. Student L is one such student. He selected JROTC during the eighth grade visitation, and did not discuss this decision with his parents. When asked why he did not discuss his courses with his parents, he replied: “Well ‘cause, they – they never asked.”

Only two students interviewed reported having been placed in JROTC without their

own expressed desire to be so placed. Student V, a 12th grade male, was placed in JROTC even though he did not select it: “I didn’t really choose to take it. It’s just they were out of electives and they, just threw me in there . . . I selected art.” When asked about his decision to not select JROTC, student V explained that JROTC “just wasn’t really [his] kind of thing” as he “wouldn’t be a person to go into the marines or to the army.” Not only did he not choose to take JROTC, but he never felt that he belonged in the class once he was there: “I didn’t really learn anything in that class. They kind of just put me in that class. The class was full itself they didn’t have uniforms, so, I kind of just stayed in the back and kept to myself.” It is worth noting that student V did not appear to be an English learner of any classification; rather, he appeared to be a native English speaker. While he appeared to not be Vietnamese or Latino, this cannot be determined with certainty. A limitation of this study is that the interview protocol did not include questions about the student participants’ ethnicity - information that may have been illuminating in relation to which students demonstrated a hesitation to attend CHS. Similarly, asking about the length of student participants’ residence in the surrounding community may have helped strengthen the theory that certain students felt comfortable with JROTC, while others did not.

Student P, an 11th grade male who plans on going to work after high school, did choose JROTC when he was at a different school in the district. At that school, he was in Marine Corp JROTC as a ninth grade student, but when he transferred to YB a few months later, he “wasn’t planning to take it but they put [him] in it anyways, ‘cause they were like *there’s no room anywhere else.*” His tenth grade year he did not take JROTC, and then his 11th grade year, while he selected construction, he was again placed in JROTC because construction was full.

Participant observation.

Field notes from the observation at Main Middle School support the claim that students self-enroll in JROTC without their parents' knowledge or permission. Course enrollment forms were distributed to students and collected from them within one class period. Students were not required to first take the forms home and confer with their parents. The act of CHS advertising the course offerings directly to eighth grade students while they were in school speaks to the awareness, on the part of CHS, that these students and their parents do not already know what classes they should take. This action assumes a lack of social capital on the part of students and their parents in that they are not already aware of - either through acquaintances, family, or knowledge of the school - the course offerings and, of the possible offerings, which courses are appropriate for their goals. Further, this act implies an awareness on behalf of CHS that students are unlikely to submit a completed form should they be given the opportunity to take the forms home, discuss with their parents and receive their signature(s), and bring the form back by a specified due date. Regardless of whether or not this routine is more effective in obtaining students' choices, it does so at the cost of ignoring, or not valuing or anticipating, the social and cultural capital these students may have at home.

Research question three: Purposes of JROTC.

The third research question asks: according to school administrators, what purposes does JROTC serve at CHS? Do they view JROTC as a way to provide social capital to students whom they perceive to be lacking in it or not able to attain it otherwise? What other purposes do they attribute to JROTC, and are they phrased in terms of service to students or in terms of service to the needs of the institution?

According to the adults interviewed, JROTC serves the following purposes: tradition, discipline, gang prevention, leadership, school persistence, exploration, buffering, and funding. As seen in Table 8, this is not completely consistent with the students' perceptions of the purposes of JROTC. JROTC's purposes of upholding tradition and instilling discipline were phrased in terms of service to the institution. JROTC's purposes of gang prevention, leadership, and school persistence were phrased in terms of service to students.

Ceremony and tradition.

JROTC serves an integral role in ceremonies at CHS and the larger community. This purpose was phrased by the adult participants in terms of service to the institution, rather than service to the students. Ceremony and tradition will be discussed together in this section. According to both Mr. Shoemaker and the Major, the ceremonial purposes for which the institution utilizes JROTC include: Senior Honor Night, graduation, football games, and cultural events. The researcher's own participant observation confirms this. In fact, the JROTC color guard is part of every school assembly and home football game.

JROTC is used for ceremonial purposes in school events such as assemblies and athletic events. In his interview, Mr. Clark discussed how is training JROTC cadets to be a Civilian Emergency Readiness Team for CHS. District-wide, JROTC color guard represents the schools in community events such as parades.

All four adults interviewed discussed how JROTC provides some kind of service to the institution. In this case, "the institution" is the school itself - CHS- as well as community service agencies.

While not discussed during the interviews, the cadet uniform can be viewed as having ceremonial purposes as well. As a participant observer, the cadets wore their uniforms

religiously on specified days throughout the school year. While this is an underdeveloped topic in this research study, the ceremonial donning of the cadet uniform may well be an important topic of investigation.

The purpose of JROTC as being related to tradition was brought up frequently by Mr. Ludsberry, but also by the Major. Mr. Ludsberry stated that many CHS students come from families that have been active in the military. He explains that the military has been “a more traditional post-graduate option for students in some sections of [the district].” He contrasts this with the families surrounding some of the more affluent schools in the district, where there are fewer military families. The families of the students, according to Mr. Ludsberry, seem to be an indirect influence on students’ decisions to enroll in JROTC. This tradition of JROTC extends to the district office as well. The Major noted that since 1994, superintendents have been “very supportive” of JROTC. Similarly, Mr. Shoemaker was adamant that principals at schools such as CHS that host Army JROTC be supportive of continuing the JROTC program on their campuses.

Discipline and structure.

These two purposes were framed by the participants as benefits to the students. Discipline – or some form of discipline, arose as a purpose of JROTC. Mr. Ludsberry, the Major, and Mr. Shoemaker all mentioned this, but the Major had the most to say about it. Mr. Shoemaker made a passing remark about “bring[ing] meaning to [students] and guidance and focus.” Mr. Ludsberry states that JROTC “supplements” students with “self-discipline.” According to the Major, JROTC started at CHS because the principal “wanted some discipline for the kids.” He says that this discipline that JROTC provides changes students’ “attitude” about schooling, and that parents thank him for giving their kids discipline:

Several of the parents came in and . . . expressed happiness that we did show up cause they wanted the kids to get some more discipline and they thought that they were lacking it and they wanted to have something at the school site to uh instill some discipline in the kids.

This echoes what the Major said about the principal wanting to host JROTC for the purposes of instilling discipline in the students.

While cultural capital is an expression of habitus, self-discipline is an expression of being focused on a future plan and organized enough to achieve it. Mr. Shoemaker said that JROTC brings “meaning to [the cadets] and guidance and focus.” These are traits that, much like cultural capital, are part of someone’s habitus. It is a fallacy to assume that students can obtain this discipline, or self-discipline, simply by taking JROTC. A personality trait such as discipline as it is described by the adult informants reflects Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital in its embodied state. In this state, it is the habits of mind and the talents of someone on whom time has been spent and care has been taken in order to cultivate these traits (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu (1986) writes that the “functionalist definition of the functions of education ignores the contribution which the educational system makes to the reproduction of the social structure by sanctioning the hereditary transmission of cultural capital” (p. 83). In this context, CHS is guilty of “sanctioning” the concept of discipline as something that these students lack, and as a consequence, need. If the students at the other schools in the district that do not host JROTC are not in need of a dose of discipline a la JROTC, that it can be implied that this discipline is something that is expected of students - something that they bring with them when they come to school; it is something that they embody because of the way they were raised. When CHS assumes that their student body lacks this quality - they are

assuming they need it. In fact, this idea of discipline is something that, in actuality, they do not need. Similarly, the students at the more affluent schools should not be assumed to already have this discipline. The reproduction of the social structure is perpetuated by granting the more affluent students in the district with the bypassing of this remedial course in discipline, while not valuing the very different habitus of the students at the less affluent schools.

Group membership.

This purpose of JROTC - that of gang prevention - is framed in terms of benefit to the student. JROTC supposedly prevents or hinders students from joining gangs by providing them with a surrogate family. The CHS principal that started JROTC on the campus did so in part because of the gang problem, according to Major. Mr. Shoemaker corroborates this idea that JROTC is an antidote for gang activity. Regarding gangs, he says: “that cohort goes uh together through high school and creates a new identity that is different from that identity that is on the streets. So I think it has a positive impact.” Mr. Clark, the Major, and Mr. Shoemaker expressed the belief that JROTC is like a family. The Major and Mr. Shoemaker go further to express the idea that JROTC is a family for students who would otherwise try to find family in a gang. Mr. Shoemaker put it this way: “JROTC that’s kind of their new family . . . create a new identity that is different from that identity that is on the streets.” This idea of providing a surrogate family to students in JROTC lends itself to the idea of cultural capital, which, in its embodied state, is all of the benefits bestowed upon an individual by their family in terms of time and attention. However, one cannot gain embodied cultural capital quickly - the very nature of it implies time; as Bourdieu stated: “the accumulation of cultural capital in the embodied state . . . presupposes a process of em-bodiment,

incorporation, insofar as it implies a labor of inculcation and assimilation, costs time” (1986, p.283). Therefore, it may be a mistake to frame the camaraderie of the JROTC unit as a family. It is more likely that JROTC provides cadets with a form of social capital- a network of people through which goods and services can be gained.

Further, the Major explained how, by providing after school activities such as color guard and drill team, JROTC cadets have something to do other than join a gang. He notes: “[we] created them an atmosphere of something that the kids could do other than the sports which a lot of our kids are not good at but at least they can come in here and do the marching and that kind of stuff.” It is true that CHS students arrive to high school with little to no experience in the types of sports offered at the high school level. As a participant observer, I can attest that most of the time students were learning the sport for the first time: freshman football players were just learning how to play football; cheerleaders were just learning how to cheer. Unlike at more affluent schools, CHS students have not been practicing their sport since they were young children. Viewing JROTC as an alternative for these typical high school sports can be viewed as an attempt to substitute for the cultural capital they would otherwise be expected to embody. Unlike the administrator’s reporting of JROTC being a way to instill discipline, in this case, students are not being expected to have the same experience with sports; and they are not being punished for that.

The adults interviewed do appear to believe that JROTC offers benefits related to membership in a group. Group membership, when it is beneficial, may be viewed as social capital (Engberg & Wolniak, 2010). The adults in this study appear to believe that this benefit of a group membership takes the place of students’ membership in gangs –

Table 8: Adults and students perceptions of the purpose of JROTC

Adults	Students
leadership	leadership
military	military
tradition	
discipline	
gangs	
school persistence	
funding	

either current or potential. Therefore, they appear to believe JROTC offers a substitution for group membership that is not self-serving - that of membership in a gang. The group membership they perceive JROTC as offering is a substitution or replacement for this gang membership. From this perspective, JROTC offers social capital to its participants.

Leadership.

The idea that JROTC offers leadership training was framed in terms of a benefit to students. Mr. Clark tells students that JROTC is “leadership training,” and Mr. Shoemaker says that leadership skills that are taught in JROTC are transferable “wherever you go.” This purpose is phrased in terms of a benefit to students. According to Mr. Clark., Mr. Shoemaker, and the Major, Army JROTC may benefit students in terms of leadership. Mr. Shoemaker expressed this sentiment the strongest, stating that JROTC helps students develop “leadership skills [which] are not skills that are isolated just for the military.” According to Mr. Clark,

this aspect of JROTC is not really publicized:

I also see the value that they have the um good leadership skills, I mean the ones that have gone on . . . but they don't really publicize it so much.

Mr. Clark tells students that JROTC is “a leadership training,” an aspect of the program that he also believes is not widely touted. The only time leadership was brought up by the Major during the interview was when he noted: “leaders within his class . . . help other kids learn about [a] particular era that he was teaching.” Mr. Ludsberry did not mention leadership at all during the course of the interview.

Per my observation of the eighth grade visitation, the JROTC representatives leaned heavily on the military aspect of the program, rather than focusing on the leadership skills that may be gained from participation in the program. JROTC balances two contradicting purposes: that of leadership and that of military; two inherently contradictory ideas.

School persistence.

All adults interviewed either implied or directly stated that JROTC helps students persist in school. Mr. Shoemaker says that programs such as JROTC “are critical for keeping kids interested in school and providing them a focus.” The perception is that JROTC cadets learn civic responsibility and goal setting in JROTC, and these in turn help them to persist in school.

Mr. Ludsberry says JROTC

really reinforces the element of civic education, civic pride and citizenship . . .
[and] it serves as an enhancement for their behavior [and] their ability to see opportunities.

This attribution of civic responsibility and goal setting to JROTC demonstrates the

perception among administrators that students would otherwise not have these qualities. From this view, JROTC can be seen as providing cultural capital to student participants. If the opinion among administrators is that these students lack the ability to set academic and career goals, than providing them this opportunity to do so through the instruction they receive in JROTC can be seen as providing cultural capital, or a state of mind that they never developed because they come from families that struggle financially, that do not have the resources or the time that other families rich in cultural capital have.

Exploration.

JROTC can be perceived as a program that helps CHS students - who otherwise might not leave the area very often - expand their horizons. Mr. Clark had this to say about the effects of JROTC on students:

They [JROTC] they take ‘em on field trips and so some of these students haven’t been outside of the S- area and so it’s like that they get to see uh the ocean or uh other- other places that normally they wouldn’t go see.

In fact, according to the Major, the Army does fund a one-week camp for the physically fit cadets. This camp runs either during the summer or spring break and it is located at an Army base.

The JROTC representatives advertised this during their eighth grade visitation. They displayed large pictures in frames of JROTC students at a camp, and told the students that if they signed up for JROTC, they would get to go to this camp. The representatives mentioned this camp many times during their sell, telling students that it is “fun,” and it is “free.”

During interviews, two student informants brought up this camp. Student I, a ninth grade male who plans to go to college to be an Engineer, has never taken JROTC. He

explained that “the people that were in it were talkin’ about how like I guess you get to go to a camp and stuff like that, how you have to dress out, and like how they wake you up really early.” He goes on to say that “the cool parts” were getting to “hold a gun and stuff” but that he did not “really like wearing that type of uniform.”

Student J, the twelfth grade female who plans on going to nursing school, attended this camp her sophomore year, when she was enrolled in JROTC. When asked what camp was like, she said, smiling and laughing: “Oh gosh. It was fun but it was hot. And I was like *oh my gosh.*”

Like Mr. Clark said, for students who do not normally get to travel or go to camp, JROTC does provide that opportunity for some cadets. While a one-week trip to an Army base is hardly enough cultural capital to make a difference in a student’s habitus, it appears to function well as a lure into the program.

Buffering.

When discussing possible effects of JROTC on students’ attitudes towards school, the Major began to describe the buffering role he plays between his cadets and military recruiters:

So we talk to the recruiters and tell them *hey make sure you be up straight with the kids and give them what they- they want* otherwise I’m not gonna let them join. So that’s kind of the relationship I have with the recruiters, both Sargent P- and I, to make sure that the kids are being fairly treated and get pretty much what they want. At least with the Army. The only one that I don’t feel comfortable with is the Marine Corps. But the other services uh the recruiters are pretty good about helping our kids out.

The Major views himself as a buffer between aspects of the military recruiting process he deems harmful or unfair, and his cadets. Assuming that students enrolled in JROTC would be targeted by military recruiters regardless of their participation in the program, the Major could indeed be viewed as providing social capital to students. However, students in JROTC are most likely exposed to military recruiters at a more frequent rate than their peers who are not enrolled, as it appears to be a component of the program. Further, the placement of JROTC on a school campus increases the whole student body's chances of being approached by a recruiter. So, while the Major may act as a buffer to his cadets, they would not need this buffer had JROTC not been an option at their school to begin with.

Funding.

Funding was framed in terms of a benefit to the institution. It came up only once, and that was during the interview with Mr. Shoemaker, when asked what would happen to CHS if the JROTC program ended. His main concern was that it would mean less funding for the school, as "the Department of Defense pays for the employees." Thus, while students are often placed in JROTC because of a lack of course options available to them, so to can JROTC be viewed as a program schools implement to offset an otherwise underfunded educational program. In this sense, JROTC is economic capital. Quite literally, JROTC is as valuable as funding provided by the federal government to provide educational services to students. Schools are able to put this funding into use quite immediately, in the form of a teacher, pre-planned curriculum, and provided materials. And, in some form, this economic capital has translated into cultural capital for the school itself. This cultural capital, though, is not the kind associated with the elite class. Nevertheless, the institution of the school has transformed slowly, as a result of this program having been in place there for many years.

The school has adopted a pro-military tone, thanks to the JROTC program. The school has benefited from the continued funding provided it by the DoD which has allowed it to use its funds on other programs.

Finally, JROTC's role at CHS is certainly a financial one, as it offsets the costs of providing an elective course and full-time certificated teacher. Mostly, though, the purpose of JROTC at CHS is twofold: it provides ceremonial services that contribute to the perceived legitimacy of the school, and it serves as a mechanism through which students appear to emerge more disciplined and focused.

Further Findings

In addition to analyzing the data that directly and indirectly addressed the research questions, other portions of the findings should be addressed. The findings outlined below are themes, or commonalities, that the researcher noticed in the cross-section analysis phase of coding. There is also a section based on the manual provided to cadets in their first year of JROTC.

JROTC as preparation for college.

Student and adult interview responses, as well as survey responses, indicate a perception that JROTC is preparation for college. While JROTC is not a college preparatory course, as identified by the CSU and UC systems, both Mr. Clark and the Major discuss a link between participation in the program and admission into college. The Major made an explicit link between participation in JROTC and college preparedness. Mr. Clark reported that he tells students that JROTC "could look good on their resume" and that, as with any program, "if you're consistent, it shows the colleges that you know you have a passion for something."

The Major explains that participation in JROTC can “change [students’] whole . . . attitude[s] about . . . school that college [is] the way to go.” After administering the Army’s ASVAT, he prepares them for college by “mak[ing] the kids look up what colleges offer that particular career.”

The Major notes that he has had to convince teachers, as well, that the purpose of JROTC is to help students get into college:

We had to go through to convince them [teachers] that we’re not here to recruit, and that we’re here to kind of help encourage the kids to go on to college.

In their presentation at Main Middle School, JROTC student representatives implied that JROTC is a good class to take if you want to go to college. In one class observed by the researcher, the JROTC representatives who presented at the end - after AVID and other college-preparatory electives, said to the students: “I noticed a lot of you guys raised your hand to go to college.” They followed that up with: “We teach you so much leadership” and they teach “how to manage your time.” They appear to imply that students will be ready for college if they take JROTC.

During interviews, three different students who were currently enrolled in JROTC expressed an interest in college as a reason for enrolling in JROTC. Student P noted: “They pay for college for free.” All three students who were both currently enrolled in JROTC and expressed an intention of going to college were in the ninth grade.

Survey responses showed four students who were currently enrolled in JROTC also self-identified as wanting to go to college. Three of these students were male, and two of the males were Hispanic. The other two respondents were Vietnamese. Two of these four

students were also ELs.

This notion of JROTC as a college preparatory course, or course that will help students with getting into college or with making college their goal, is at odds with the stated goal of JROTC. Again, the goal of JROTC is : 1) Develop informed and responsible citizens (2) Develop leadership skills (3) Strengthen character (4) Promote an understanding of the basic elements and requirements for national security, and (5) Develop respect for, and an understanding of, the need for constituted authority in a democratic society (U.S. Marine Corps, n.d.).

It should be noted that at one point in his interview, Mr. Clark also acknowledges that JROTC is not a college preparatory class and therefore takes a spot in students' schedules that could, and possibly should, but used for a class that fulfills A-G requirements. Mr. Ludsberry also made connections between JROTC and post-graduate career options, implying that JROTC was exposure for students seeking a career after high school, not college. He explains that for students planning on pursuing a degree in science or math, but who also want to take JROTC, "they usually have to make a choice." While Mr. Shoemaker does say that he "bets" JROTC students go to college at the same rate as non-JROTC students, he also implied that JROTC was an option for career-bound students, not college-bound students: "not all 2700 students are going to go to college."

Perceived low academic expectations of JROTC.

After analysis of interview transcripts with both students and adults, a clear theme emerged of a perception that JROTC is not a rigorous course, that it is a course with low academic expectations of its students. Student P, an eleventh grade student and current JROTC participant, expressed a particularly negative attitude about the academic rigor of

JROTC. He said that while they are given tests, the teacher “doesn’t even grade [them].”

When asked about the way content is delivered during class, student P says: “Well yeah [the instructors lecture], but they make it – they make it up. So it’s not really legit like lectures.”

While not a JROTC participant, student A describes his perception of the activities involved in a JROTC course:

They do this rigorous, like they just jog around sometimes and do a mile, from what I’ve heard, or um they’re just doing some sort of exercises, that’s all I’ve seen.

Four interview participants provided examples of academic instruction or content in JROTC. These academic-related activities mainly include bookwork and reading quizzes.

Bookwork.

Three current JROTC participants indicated that bookwork is a component of the academic program of JROTC. Students L, M, and P indicated some form of bookwork when asked what they are learning in JROTC. Student L, also a ninth grade Hispanic male, describes JROTC bookwork this way:

We have like a book, and then we just like - he tells us the page and then he gives us instructions on what to do and we just read it and then we do it.

When asked what they are reading about in the book, he responded:

Right now we haven’t done much of that ‘cause we’ve been working on some drills ‘cause some people are gonna come inspect, so I’m not really sure what we’re doing in the book.

Student P, an eleventh grade male, referred to the book as “like a bible.” Based on the responses, the nature of bookwork in a JROTC course consists of basic reading

comprehension rather than critical thinking.

Reading quizzes.

Reading quizzes appear to be a component of the academic program of JROTC. Student M, a ninth grade Hispanic male who intends to go to college, explains, “they have like sometimes like quizzes on what we like read in the book. And then the work we put in the binders.” Student P says this of the reading assessment: “They just tell us to read and then we just take a test on it. But then he doesn’t even grade the test neither so.” Like the bookwork, the reading quizzes appear to assess basic comprehension. Further, it appears that the purpose of the assessment is not to gauge student learning, but to ensure students simply *do* the reading.

JROTC perceived as military recruitment.

While there were various reasons cited for students not desiring to enroll in JROTC, the military was the most common. Six different students noted JROTC’s connection to the military as a reason for not wanting to participate. Student T phrases it this way: “I wasn’t interested in like um, I don’t know what to call it like an Army type of future for myself.” Student H, a twelfth grade Hispanic female, explains why she “thought it wasn’t for [her]”:

It was just scary. ‘Cause I saw everybody marching and so, I was like oh maybe I have to go into the military or something . . . That was for people who wanted to go into the military, or something.

Student N also said that JROTC was not for her: “I think it’s involved with the Army . . . and it’s just not for me.” Student E, a twelfth grade Vietnamese female who is interested in animation, says that JROTC is “a way to lure students into the military.”

Students may also believe that JROTC is military recruitment because of the way it is

presented during the eighth grade visitation. JROTC student representatives sell the course as a military program. Student representatives tell students that they can hold guns, they ask them if they play the video game “Call of Duty” and they themselves wear a military uniform (Appendix C). Further, they toss Army lanyards to students who answer their questions. The connection between the Army and JROTC - at least during the eighth grade visitation when in-coming ninth graders select their courses.

This idea that JROTC is military recruitment also came up in the adult interviews. While discussing teacher resistance to JROTC when it first sprouted on the CHS campus, the Major stated:

A lot of the teachers here were part of the . . . they were in college during the sixties so they kind of remembered the Vietnam era so they kinda thought you know the Army’s here to recruit.

Similarly, Mr. Ludsberry described resistance to JROTC based on the premise that it is military recruitment:

This is Northern California so I think there’s a little bit of a liberal bias – you see it at more of the some of the higher performing schools where there – there’s more I’d say – there’s more stigma or there’s more bias against um military um simply because – especially you know during the uh most recent you know Iraq war I think there was suspicion that the military was you know mining the socioeconomically depressed [inaudible] for potential recruits . . .

Again, the conflicting advertised purposes of JROTC become apparent. There is a perception that JROTC is on campus to recruit or prepare students for the military. At the same time, the JROTC instructors, who are themselves retired military sergeants, feel responsible for

dispelling such notions - an image inherently dichotomous. Similarly, the school counselor, who is charged with the responsibility of ensuring students graduate and are eligible for a four-year university, also feels a responsibility to sell the JROTC program to students whether they want to go to college or not, and whether they want to enlist in the military, or not.

A lack of options.

CHS consistently enrolls students who have previously been in juvenile detention centers. Because of its community population, it also enrolls migrant students mid-year. For these students, JROTC is most often the only available elective course. Mr. Clark explains how he places students from juvenile centers into JROTC:

I enroll students especially from, um, you know juvenile centers . . . especially if it's in the middle of the school year because ROTC will constantly take in students during the school year . . .

Because of this mid-year influx of students, JROTC enrollment will sometimes increase from its numbers at the beginning of the year:

I think it was increased because um many of the other classes were full, and some of these students, they came in late, they didn't start at the beginning of the school year . . . if they come in September rather than the beginning of August then of course there's limited classes that's available so we'll say well the only class that's available is ROTC.

This is consistent with Student P's circumstances, who enrolled midyear upon transferring from another school in the district (described earlier in this chapter).

Conformity

Similar to the concept of discipline, is the concept of conformity. Some findings seem to suggest that JROTC promotes conformity among its student participants. According to Mr. Shoemaker, the JROTC instructor at another school in the district faces challenges “get[ting the students] to convert from being anti-uniformity.” Mr. Clark also discussed similar challenges the JROTC instructors at CHS face, such as students not wanting to cut their hair or wear their uniform when they are supposed to. While this data seems that the nature of conformity in this case is physical in nature. Students are instructed to look like each other in the image of the military.

Chapter Seven: Discussion

Summary of Findings

The findings presented in chapters five and six will be summarized below.

Summary of chapter five.

In this chapter, the interview participants were introduced, and data from the questionnaires were displayed. Questionnaires were received from 46 ninth grade students. Interviews were conducted with 23 students and four adult administrators. Questionnaire data indicates that most participants recalled the CHS eighth grade visitation, but not all ninth graders recalled selecting a pathway. Questionnaire participants' perceptions of JROTC were mixed, and of the eight that indicated they had been enrolled in JROTC, only six were currently taking JROTC. Students from Main Middle School as well as other feeder schools indicated an enrollment in JROTC, but none of the CHA students were enrolled in JROTC. Further, all of the CHA students were enrolled in an advanced English class.

Findings from the student and adult interviews was also displayed. Of these findings, the data relevant to the research questions was discussed in chapter six.

Summary of chapter six.

Questionnaire and interview data suggest that students largely select JROTC for its connection to the military, regardless of their post-secondary plans. They also select JROTC because of a perception that it provides leadership training. Students do not make this decision at home with their families, but in a classroom with their peers, after a colorful presentation by JROTC student representatives. Therefore, parent participation does not appear to be a part of this course selection process. Some students do, however, receive advice from members of their social networks prior to having to make this decision, so they may anticipate the JROTC course offering. Students who do not select JROTC demonstrate a discomfort with the relationship between JROTC and the military. One could potentially argue that these students demonstrate what may be a recognition of their social position that

those who select JROTC do not appear to have. The discomfort they expressed at the JROTC option could be connected to their initial hesitation to attend CHS in the first place - something that some non-JROTC interview participants expressed. Students draw on the information presented to them by the CHS representatives when making their course selections, but they also take into consideration what their friends are taking and what their older peers have recommended; parents do not seem to be a part of this equation. As all students at Main Middle School appear to go through the same course selection process, potential college-bound students are included in the population of students that are targeted by JROTC. A notable exception would be CHA students, who never receive the option to take it in the first place. The administrators perceive JROTC as a tradition in the community, and a necessary component of education at CHS and a few other select schools in the district. This component is viewed as beneficial to the institution of the school and district, and as beneficial to the students. They perceive it as both a logistical necessity and a positive influence on CHS students. Logistically, JROTC serves a ceremonial purpose to the school and district. It is also quite necessary in terms of funding. It is considered a positive influence on CHS students because it appears to teach them leadership skills and discipline, help them persist in school, provide them with group membership, and allow them an opportunity for exploration. According to the Major, JROTC also serves as a buffer between the cadets and gangs as well as between cadets and military recruiters.

Further, while some participants and stakeholders, and certainly facilitators of JROTC, express a view that links JROTC with preparation for college, some express that these two things may be at odds with each other. The program is not known for having a rigorous curriculum; in fact, quite the opposite. There is a prevailing belief that the academic

expectations of JROTC are low. While the student handbook provides opportunities for critical thinking and discussion, this does not seem to be the case for the way the class is actually run.

Discussion

Research question one.

Why do students choose to take JROTC? Within the reasons expressed, are there any responses that indicate an awareness of social position? Do other responses have implications concerning social position that are not explicitly recognized?

Many students appeared to choose JROTC because of its connection to the military, and this very same reason explained why some students did not choose JROTC. While all six interview participants who had enrolled in JROTC at some point, only one actually intended on joining the military. An exception could be made for student P, the eleventh grade female, who desired to join the military but could not due to her disability. That leaves four students who enrolled in JROTC despite plans to go to college after high school. One could argue that, in this case, JROTC is a mechanism for social reproduction whereby it intercepts students who may otherwise have potential to experience upward mobility through the attainment of cultural capital vis à vis college, and funnels them into JROTC. These students are likely of low socioeconomic status and non-white. More research would need to be done here, particularly visiting students participants their first year in JROTC, and then visiting them again their junior or senior year to find out if they are on track to go to college, as in the case of student B.

Furthermore, It would be of value to gain more insight into this process by which these students who plan on going to college become interested in a class such as JROTC.

Surveying eighth grade students before a class scheduling visitation by CHS, and then again afterwards, would perhaps shed insight into the effect, if any, the presentations by the JROTC representatives have on the students' decisions to take or not take JROTC.

While more research is needed to confirm this, there may be a connection between awareness of one's social position and one's decision to enroll in JROTC. Participants like Student B who indicated that he was not happy about attending CHS because of its reputation may have more awareness that, because of the neighborhood in which they live, they are offered less-than-desirable opportunities for upward mobility. Whether or not they view JROTC as a desirable or undesirable option may have some relevance to what social class they feel they belong to.

Part of this issue of awareness is parental involvement, or the lack of it. While confirmation is required from potential future research, the role of parental involvement in decision making may affect student enrollment in JROTC. The role of social networks is also of interest. Most students interviewed did not discuss their course selections with their parents, but many did discuss their selections with siblings or friends. Students' social networks appear to be important in their course selection processes. While social networks may sometimes lead someone to make a decision to enroll in JROTC, they may also lead someone to choose not to take JROTC. As in the case of student B, both of these things happened.

Research question two.

Within the target population of students from low socioeconomic backgrounds, does JROTC target those that would otherwise be college bound? Are students placed in JROTC without their or their families' expressed desire to be so placed?

As discussed above, while JROTC does not appear to specifically target college-bound students, it does not discriminate regarding who it targets. Students appear to first learn of JROTC in the eighth grade during the course scheduling visitation by CHS. Other students have known about JROTC through family members that have taken it. Within the school district, the placement of JROTC at schools serving predominantly students of low socioeconomic status seems to be purposeful. While the Major appears to advertise JROTC as a good class for students to take if they want to go to college, for the most part, the school administrators do not appear to make this link. Mr. Shoemaker and Mr. Ludsberry make the argument that JROTC is similar to a career technical education class or a leadership class (that does not offer college credit).

Findings indicate that CHS students may in fact be enrolled in JROTC without their or their parents' expressed desire to be so placed. While traditional in-coming ninth graders do appear to, for the most part, have some control over whether they are placed in JROTC or not, this does not appear to be the case for mid-year enrollees. As Mr. Clark explained, students who enroll in CHS mid-year, or at another time other than the traditional fall enrollment in August, are likely placed in JROTC because of a lack of options as to where else they may be placed. These students tend to be migrant and refugee students, as well as students from the nearby juvenile detention center. These mid-year enrollees, therefore, are members of society most vulnerable in regards to social reproduction. Their social positions tend to remain static and reproducible from generation to generation. These mid-year enrollees are those who likely lack many options; they are placed in JROTC and presented with a military option. While at the beginning of this study the researcher was concerned with those that would otherwise be college bound, this potential targeting of our society's

most vulnerable is of concern. Further research on this problem alone could prove valuable in illuminating one way in which JROTC assists in the propagation social reproduction.

Research question three.

According to school administrators, what purposes does JROTC serve? Do they view JROTC as a way to provide social capital to students whom they perceive to be lacking in it or not able to attain it otherwise? What other purposes do they attribute to JROTC, and are they phrased in terms of service to students or in terms of service to the needs of the institution?

There is some evidence that may indicate a perception, on the part of school administrators, that JROTC offers a substitution for social and/or cultural capital. It offers this substitution through teaching the students leadership skills and discipline.

Discipline.

Framing the components of the JROTC program in terms of discipline confuses academic discipline with military discipline. School administrators and students discuss the benefits of JROTC in instilling discipline in students, and that this discipline is helpful for them in school and preparing for college. However, it appears that the discipline provided by JROTC has more to do with behavior and the military than it does with academics. JROTC expects cadets to be disciplined in their appearance - an appearance that is military in nature. They must cut their hair, they must wear their uniform on specified dates. Ensuring students are disciplined in their appearance may have some symbolic effect on their behavior; if they look like a soldier, they may feel like a soldier. They are also expected to be disciplined in their behavior in a more obvious way, such as allowing orders to be shouted at them. Further, this underlying assumption that these students need discipline in the first place is

problematic. One could argue that this assumption lends itself to a deficit view of CHS students.

Discipline as behavior.

Framing the purpose of JROTC in this way obscures a deficit view of the students in this community and seems to ignore the contributions of the academic teachers on campus. First, assuming that students need to learn civic responsibility means that the students arriving to CHS are less citizens than other students. This point is important because it is unclear where this notion derived from. Why would students in the CHS community need to learn civic responsibility more than students in the other, more affluent communities? One could speculate that the administrators perceive JROTC to be providing capital to CHS students. While the desire to help students accrue cultural capital is noble, it comes at the cost of ignoring or negating the cultural capital they already have. They may not actually be aware of the possible symbolic violence that JROTC may be perpetrating.

Discipline as academic achievement.

In this study, one way in which JROTC discipline is linked with academic achievement is through the idea that cadets learn goal setting. The notion that JROTC teaches students discipline appears to be a product of a deficit view of economically depressed ethnic minorities. Students who are perceived to be lacking in cultural capital are instilled with the frames of mind that JROTC teaches, namely obedience and conformity. Incoming ninth graders are assumed to lack the inherent qualities needed to be successful. Lastly, hiding in this conversation about JROTC being necessary for students to learn goal setting is another assumption - that these students would not learn these things in their other classes, or that goal setting is not a part of other teachers' curriculum. One could argue that

when seen through the lens of social reproduction and Bourdieu's forms of capital, learning goal setting in AVID, or in another academic class is not the same as learning goal setting in JROTC because of the lack of a military component; the same goes for civic responsibility. Students who learn goal setting through an AVID class, for example, and civic responsibility through an Environmental Science class, as another example, may be on the receiving end of cultural capital. They may be learning how to do well in school - how to challenge themselves, ask for help, and take into consideration other viewpoints. On the other hand, students learning goal setting and civic responsibility in JROTC may not be receiving the cultural capital that is helpful for upward mobility. The difference is worth exploring, but it is not within the realm of this research study.

Leadership.

There is a prevailing perception that JROTC teaches leadership skills. Framing the components of the JROTC program in terms of leadership disguises obedience under the label of leadership skills, when in fact students could probably get much better leadership experience by participating in student government. The leadership skills provided by JROTC follow from military values, in which obedience is valued. While not a focus of this study, one could assume that the nature of leadership in a student government class would be quite different and more in line with the type of leadership skills belonging to people in the upper class, and desired by employers of high-powered careers.

One way school administrators may perceive JROTC to be a substitution for social capital is through the buffering role that the Major says he plays between his cadets and military recruiters. Participants are also said to benefit from membership in JROTC, as if the program provides them with social capital in the form of the instructors and fellow cadets. It

is likely that the perception is that JROTC community membership is much more advantageous to students than gang membership. While this may be true, providing students a social network related to the military is not the same thing as providing students with social capital. With social capital, agents can draw strategic benefits from their relationship(s) with institutional agents. In this case, the institutional agents the students are being connected to are Army recruiters. Should JROTC not exist on the campus of CHS, and students take AVID instead, for instance, than the relationships they create with institutional agents, if any, are related to academia. Therefore, this could be one of the mechanisms through which social reproduction may affect these students.

Conformity

Conformity appears to be a value of JROTC. Students march in unison, wear a uniform, and have the same hair cut. Students who do not wear their uniform, or who do not cut their hair, or who refuse to march, are recommended for disenrollment from the class. Further, student leaders are chosen from those who are most successful at this conformity. Conformity may be an aspect of JROTC that lends itself to social reproduction. For instance, the students of low socioeconomic status - students who are likely English learners - enroll in their neighborhood school, where they are offered JROTC as an elective. In order to be successful in this class - something they arguably want to be, they must alter their physical appearance in order to look like the model JROTC cadet. Some may have to cut their hair. They all have to wear a military uniform on specified days. They have to learn the marches and the chants and how to follow orders. From the findings in this study, it does not appear they are challenged to think for themselves, to think critically, or to have discussions. Then, they are rewarded for conforming. If they continue in this class, not only are they missing out

on college preparatory credits, but they are being gradually trained to think and behave a certain way. They are rewarded for not questioning authority. These students who entered high school, possibly without much economic, cultural, and social capital, become conditioned to not continue in their education, whereby they might gain some cultural and social capital, but to either join the workforce or the Army. Those that join the workforce are doing so without a college degree, so they likely become low-wage workers. And because they were trained to not think for themselves, and they likely lack the economic capital necessary, they are arguably not becoming entrepreneurs. Those that join the Army, as shown in Pema and Mehay's 2012 study, are not being promoted as high as those who did not take JROTC in high school. They are literally, in the words of Berlowitz and Long, becoming "cannon fodder" (2003, pg. 185).

Contradictory purposes.

Possible contradictions presented themselves, such as in how students view the purpose of JROTC as compared to how administrators view the purpose of JROTC. Another possible contradiction is between those that sell JROTC as preparing students for college, and those that do not believe that JROTC serves this purpose.

The purposes of JROTC.

There appears to be a contradiction in the way in which JROTC is sold to students. Based on the participant observation at Main Middle School, one can argue that JROTC representatives sell the program as a military program to students; on the other hand, this military component does not appear to be obvious to the school administrators, who do not make this link during their interviews. The Major, while he does make this link, also makes a point to explain how he went to great lengths to persuade the teaching staff, back at the

inception of the program on the CHS campus, that it was not a military recruitment tool but leadership training. However, many students point to the military connection when describing their reasons for choosing or not choosing JROTC as an elective.

Preparation for college.

Participants are sent mixed messages about JROTC as preparation for college. The course request form itself does not specify which course options are A-G requirements and which are not. Mr. Shoemaker does not appear to know whether participation in JROTC affects college-going rates, or not.

Participants may be connecting the supposed leadership skills that JROTC teaches to preparation for college. Another link that participants may be implicitly making between JROTC and college is discipline - which is perceived to be instilled via JROTC to those who lack it. It is possible that, as JROTC is supposed to instill discipline, that students will then become better students and this will help them to be qualified for college. This may be a tenuous link to make because, as explained earlier, discipline as a product of cultural capital is not something that can be transmitted so easily.

One could speculate that JROTC facilitators, such as the Major himself, propagate the notion that JROTC helps to prepare students for college. As it is such an embedded and valued part of the community and the institution, this notion is not openly challenged.

While not interviewed as part of this study, it is likely that the notion that JROTC is helpful for students who want to go to college is at odds with the CHA stakeholders' (the program administrators and parents) view of the link between JROTC and college.

Although future research would be required to confirm this, partial indications from this study suggest to what degree and through what specific mechanisms social reproduction

may or may not be operative in shaping the careers of JROTC students.

Limitations

The outcomes of this study were limited by methodological concerns. These concerns involve access to participants and the student interview protocol, the participant observation component of the study, as well as the research questions themselves. These limitations are outlined below.

Access to participants.

Because the student interview participants in this study were minors, there were inherent access limitations. First, in order to obtain maximum return on the questionnaires, the researcher designed the questionnaires in such a way as to allow for the students to complete these in school, without having to first receive consent from their parents or guardians. By making the questionnaires anonymous and completely optional, the minors did not have to submit a signed consent form. Therefore, the questionnaires did not ask for students' names or any other information for the purposes of identification. Further, the teachers hosting the questionnaires in their classrooms were instructed to not require or even ask their students to complete a questionnaire. The questionnaires were completely optional and anonymous. But because of this, the turnout was not statistically significant.

Next, parent or guardian consent was required before the students could be interviewed by the researcher. In order to be interviewed, students had to first obtain a consent form from one of the host classrooms, take it home to be signed, and bring it back on one of the days the researcher was holding interviews. This process was very restrictive, for many reasons. First, the majority of the parents and guardians spoke languages other than English. The consent forms were translated into Spanish, but for students whose parents did

not read English or Spanish, the student would have to have been relied upon to translate the form. Second, students had to be organized enough to remember to get their forms signed, and not lose it. This could explain why more senior students than those in the lower classes appeared for interviews - either they were already 18 or they were far enough along in high school to have the organizational skills necessary to obtain a consent form, take it home, get it signed, and take it back to school. Third, the researcher could not be on campus every day, and the days she was on campus, could not be there all day. Students would have to be interviewed during class time (in cases where they may not have had a class that period) or during brunch and lunch. This limitation also inhibited maximum variation or snowball sampling of student interview participants.

Further, because the questionnaires had to remain anonymous, the researcher could not make any connections between completed questionnaires and possible interview participants; there may have been overlap in these participants.

Student interview protocol.

The design of the student interview protocol was flawed. It did not include any questions intended to identify the socioeconomic status or the cultural identity of the individual participants. Failing to include a question about the participants' socioeconomic status significantly limited the researcher's ability to answer the second research question: Within the target population of students from low socioeconomic backgrounds, does JROTC target those that would otherwise be college-bound. While the researcher relied on a generalization that most if not all students at CHS were low socioeconomic status, this does not determine the actual status of individual participants. Further, a few of the student interviews were shorter and thus less informative than they could have been. This is due, in

part, to student responses that were not planned for. More probing questions in the interview protocol would have alleviated this issue.

Further, the focus area question on the student questionnaire proved to be unsuccessful. Many student respondents did not remember which focus area they had chosen. A solution may be to issue the questionnaires earlier in the school year, when this decision was more recently made.

Finally, of Khvale's (1996) six steps of analysis, step five – re-interview and triangulate by having interviewee check the transcript – was not performed. For the student interviews, this step was not a possibility due to the anonymous nature of the interviews.

Participant observation.

The participant observation component of the case study was not as thorough as would have benefited this study. The demands of teaching a full load of courses as well as other duties and responsibilities that accompany the public high school's teacher role proved to be more demanding than would have been ideal for a participant observer. Thus, this component of the study was largely limited to the one observation at Main Middle School. Further, and perhaps more important, the researcher did not perform any structured observation of the JROTC class itself. After her interview with the Major, the researcher requested an opportunity to observe the JROTC class. The Major denied the researcher's request. An observation of the class would have helped to triangulate the findings related to what cadets do while in a JROTC class, and it may have focused advertisement of the study on JROTC participants, thus possibly increasing the likelihood that more JROTC participants would agree to be interviewed. Very few JROTC participants were interviewed, and this limited the ability of the researcher to answer the first two research questions.

Research questions.

Research questions one and two were arguably too broad. Research question one, which asked why students choose to take JROTC, was followed up with the following two sub questions: a) within the reasons expressed are there any responses that indicate an awareness of social position, and b) do other responses have implications regarding social position that are not explicitly recognized. Some student responses were able to be understood in terms of these sub questions, such as the hesitation to attend CHS. The reasoning behind these sub questions, however, does not follow from the theoretical framework, but rather from theories of resistance. The researcher did not include theories of resistance to social reproduction in the theoretical framework; doing so would make the purpose of this study too broad. One possible replacement for these subquestions could have been: what does enrollment in JROTC have to do with academic expectations? A question such as this one supports the theoretical framework in that it seeks to understand how students view JROTC, and whether they view it as something that will provide them with capital, or not. It would also support any connections that could be made between students' perceptions of JROTC and habitus. Further, this type of sub question would more naturally lead into research question two: within the target of students from low socioeconomic backgrounds, does JROTC target those that would otherwise be college-bound? This research question is supported by the theoretical framework in that it allows for potential arguments concerning the social reproductive nature of the JROTC program. The final sub question under research question two, however, is also too broad. This question asks if placement in JROTC affects students' perceptions of themselves as scholars or their sense of cooperation with or opposition to schooling. Whether or not JROTC affects students' perceptions of

themselves as scholars may be interesting, but it is not relevant to the theoretical framework. Also, whether or not JROTC affects students' sense of cooperation with or opposition to schooling is again an issue that is best explored within a theoretical framework dealing with resistance to social reproduction.

Implications for Practice

While the lure of a federally funded program such as JROTC might be strong for schools with little parent resistance to it, attention should be paid to the effect of such a program. While JROTC may have monetary benefits for a school both in the cost offset by the DoD and in attendance numbers, there are some implications for the effects of this program on students' post-graduate goals. From the interviews with administrators, it appears that the very act of hosting a JROTC program is a way that the district feels it is answering the needs of the surrounding community. However, while JROTC is a tradition in the community, this does not mean that it is a tradition that must continue in order to appease the community. The members of this community appear to have a significant level of comfort with JROTC, but it is the role of the public school to provide opportunities for students who do not necessarily have them. Should it not then be the role of the public school to challenge tradition? Rather than sending a signal to the community that their children are not good enough as they are, or that the habits of mind they learn at home are somehow unacceptable, CHS could send another message. By dismantling the strongly ingrained JROTC program, CHS would be sending a signal to the community that their focus is on academic preparation, that they expect all students to go to college, and they do not need to put on a military uniform in order to be valued.

Further, administrators in districts that host JROTC should be aware of the mixed

messages they are sending students when they advertise preparing all students for college, while at the same time allowing, and even funneling, students into a program that hinders their chances of going to college. One way schools can be more transparent while still hosting a JROTC program is to ensure parents sign off on in-coming ninth grade students' class schedules. Also, if they are going to advertise specific pathways or electives, all should be given equal attention. Classes such as AVID and Leadership provide many of the same benefits JROTC is advertised to provide, such as leadership and study skills. Another way schools can add transparency is by making it clear that JROTC is not a college preparatory class; that students will not receive college credit for the class and therefore should avoid taking it if they plan on going to college, unless they are sure they will earn enough credits regardless. Finally, districts should consider JROTC an added bonus to the class selection they provide students, and should not depend upon it financially. There should always be adequate options for students who enter a school mid-year; they should not have to take JROTC because it is the only option.

Implications for Research

This study presents significant evidence that JROTC could be a mechanism for social reproduction, but more research is definitely needed. One area for future study is the nature of leadership in JROTC. Much of the discourse around JROTC at CHS is related to this supposed leadership training. From this research, it appears that students who conform appropriately to JROTC norms are allowed to move up in rank and become "leaders." How does this mimic the structure of the military and how does it compare to the nature of leadership in the private sector, or in government?

This study also presents some implications for the nature of discipline in JROTC. At

CHS, discipline appears to be a driving force behind hosting a JROTC program. This study does not explore what administrators think discipline means, but there are serious implications for this in relation to social reproduction. Schools that host Army JROTC have in common a tendency to enroll students of low socioeconomic status and cultural ethnicities other than white. What about these students make administrators believe they need to be disciplined? How, in turn, does JROTC provide this discipline?

Lastly, how does enrollment in JROTC interact with students' future plans? While there have been large-scale, quantitative studies done on this topic, it is important to explore in depth the process of this interaction. Longitudinal, qualitative studies using observations and interviews would shed light on how students' future plans are altered - or not - by participation in JROTC.

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APPENDIX A

Observation Field Notes

Main Middle School, Room B-2

March 4th

I. Period 4

10:34 PM. Two classes walk in: one Algebra 1 and one ELD 4. When students walk in they

get three papers, one pink and two white. The pink one is their course selection form that they turn into the counselors today. The white one is a duplicate. The other white one is a titled: *Description of Courses: Students will choose at least one of the following.* The courses listed and described are: Introduction to Engineering; ARMY JROTC, AVID 1, Physical Geography, and Biomedical Science. Not enough desks so some students sit on the floor, including a group of ELD Asian girls. As he sits down, one male student says to his peers: “Have you guys heard about ROTC? Everybody’s talking about it.” Mr. Clark introduces himself and purpose for visit. He instructs students how to fill out the forms. 1st white paper gets collected after presentations. 9th graders’ required classes are English, Math, Science, and P.E. The first group to present is JROTC. They are represented by an Asian female and a black male (Sophomore and Junior, respectively) wearing uniforms. They display large frames filled with pictures. They discuss earning community service hours through JROTC and how fun camp is. They point to the pictures. They ask: “Who plays Call of Duty?” After hands go up: “You guys will be able to wear those kinds of uniforms.” They continue to describe camp and go into color guard, drill team, marching unit, and participation in community parades. “Really fun program.” Learn “leadership abilities.” The ladies have choice of skirts. You “earn your promotions.” Representative asks the class if they know how to salute. A male student answers and is thrown a t-shirt. “What is drill team” male student answers and is thrown a candy bar.

10:43. The AVID group presents, represented by one female student. Her only visual is her AVID binder. She starts by asking: “Does anyone want to go to college?” She explains that AVID teaches organization and how that relates to her binder. She says that, as a sophomore, she’s considered for seven colleges.

10:45. The engineering and construction program presents, represented by one male student. He brought no visuals. He explains the process for getting into the program and says it's a "pretty good class." This is a very quick presentation.

10:46. The Fine Art program presents, represented by one female student. She brought a large poster. She explains to the students what you learn in that class. She adds: "you can't slack off" and "it's pretty fun." Another very quick presentation

10:47. Two students present for the business program. They say what they learn and the class progression through the program. One student asks: "Who does Snapchat?" A couple of students raise their hands. "You get to learn all those cool things about Apps." The representatives then offer brief descriptions of the teachers and add: "It's an easy A class."

10:50. Two Asian male students present for French. They start off with: "Who wants to go to college?" They then ask: "Who speaks two languages?" They follow-up, "If you're trilingual it's even better." They talk about what they learn in French and how they watch films, play games, and have parties. They asked the students to identify an Eiffel Tower statue and a beret. Gives students a cookie who answer correctly. They said "French is really fun" three times.

10:53. Mr. Clark tells the class they have one required elective they have to take, and their choices are: Introduction to Engineering, Ethnic Studies / Geography, ROTC, or AVID. (These are the specialized field courses within the two Areas of Study). The student representatives for JROTC, AVID, and Fine Arts leave the classroom. Mr. Clark then lists their other elective choices: Advisory - "but you don't have to worry about that yet," Art, Choir - "We might have a choir class this year we didn't have enough people sign up for it last year," Computer info. tech. - "if you want business you have to start with this class,"

Dance (he briefly explains that class), French, Guitar, Journalism (brief explanation), and Vietnamese for Vietnamese speakers. They are told to choose an area of study and select three and then rank them. They are also to select their school start time. This is a bit confusing to some students because there is no place on their course selection form to mark their selection for school start time. Students are told there is no opportunity to change their classes once they've selected them, not until next year. Mr. Clark takes questions individually. I overhear students ask "Is there ASB?" The teacher tells the student representatives: "I think the ELD kids might need help." I notice four males choose ROTC - one was the candy bar winner. two are Asian and two are Hispanic. Many students ask me questions and I refer them to the other representatives in the room. A group of at least four ELD girls who are sitting on the floor all choose ROTC. Of the ELD class in the room, ten of 17 choose ROTC. of the Algebra One class, seven out of 20 choose ROTC; six are Hispanic males, one is a Hispanic female.

II. Period 5

12:05. An Algebra One class walks in.

12:06. Mr. Clark introduces himself and begins the same presentation as before. They are told they have one required elective for each focus area, and one other required elective.

12:12. AVID presents. Most students raise their hands when the representative asks how many want to go to college. She discusses how it teaches organization, provides mentors, and leads to college which leads to having nice things. She says: "Take AVID if you're serious about your education."

12:13. The business representatives present. He describes the first required class as Computer Info. Tech 1, but mumble it so it may be unclear which elective students need to choose on

paper. He describes the second class, Webtech: “Who likes Apps?” Describes classes after Webtech and how it addresses the basics for being in business or being an accountant. The next class in the series is Economics for business. Representative says: “You get to boss people around.” They say other perks are free use of the computer lab and printer.

12:17. The Fine Arts presentation. Student mostly faces the poster. Mr. Clark prompts the representative to tell more.

12:18: The Pre-Engineering and Construction group.

12:19: JROTC. They introduce themselves by providing their names and their ranks. “I noticed a lot of you guys raised your hand to go to college.” They also say “We teach you so much leadership” and they teach “how to manage your time.” Their implications are that they will be ready for college if they take JROTC. Once again they bring up Call of Duty and the uniform. Talk about the camp and how it is on an Army base. Just like before, they say that “marching is a lot of discipline” and “when you guys go to go MPHS Marines. OHS is Army, SCHS is Navy. We’re Army.” They say they have to earn ribbons and medals. Medals for color guard and drill team. They get promoted. “You come out a different person. You respect yourself and respect your community.” The uniform and the camp is free. “Any questions? You guys want free things any questions? Anything?”

12:22. French presentation. There are three female Asian representatives this time. They are “educated culturally” and have fun. It is “beyond a classroom.” Mr. Clark asks if they have any questions.

12:24. Mr. Clark instructs the students to fill out the course selection form. He briefly explains the classes in the focus areas and the electives that were not represented.

“Journalism is a relatively new class.” They are told to “transfer the information” onto the

pink paper so they can show their parents. They are collecting the white paper. “If your parents don’t agree, what you have to do is return the pink paper back to M_ so that we know.” He does not explain the English 1A or Physics option. He asks if there are questions and checks for understanding regarding the pink form. Someone asks about MESA and he explains that it’s not an academic class, that it’s during lunch.

12:31. Students are working on their schedules. The French representatives circulate the room offering help and handing out cookies. Other representatives hang out in back. JROTC has a bag of ARMY lanyards to hand out.

12:40. ROTC observes the French representatives trying to persuade a student to take French. He tries to dissuade them and briefly promotes ROTC. He answers a question from a white male about saluting and tosses him a lanyard. Others ask: “Can I get one?” as he walks away.

12:44. Mr. Clark starts winding things up. He says: “The thing is, we don’t know what’s going to happen with all your elective classes.” He asks for a show of hands from those who want to go to college. “Stanford that’s my school.” He stresses the importance of connecting with the counselors at CHS. There are only two counselors. “850 students each.” He stresses the importance of talking to counselors and other teachers so they know them, for letters of rec for college. “Over 70,000 people applied to UC Berkeley . . . they only have space for 4,000 people.” Show of hands of those who have older siblings at CHS: many. Mr. Clark says he was the youngest and the only one to go to college. Says they are the “last hope” for their parents. “You have the whole world in front of you.” He says it’s not easy living in [the Silicon Valley] - you need qualifications for good jobs. “Robbers” can’t steal your education. “The more education you have . . . is directly proportional to how much money you’re going to make . . . more education more money.” He recounts how he saw a former student who

didn't graduate homeless on the streets. He asks for general questions about CHS. No one raises their hands. He ends: "Get involved" I. e. community service, sports, clubs. I observe 10 of the 28 students choose JROTC.

III. Period 6.

12:58. A class walks in, more rambunctious than the previous classes. The teacher introduces Mr. Clark. Mr. Clark asks for a show of hands of students who are going to CHS, and then students who are not going to CHS. "Which school are you going to?" Black male student: "I don't know - not CHS." laughter.

1:03. The french reps present, same as previous. "It's not only in France where they speak French." Talks about how they eat French food, watch French movies, and have fun. The teacher "makes it fun." The other program representatives are still presenting in another classroom.

1:05. Mr. Clark tells the French reps to get others and tell them they can't speak too long because there's four sessions. He talks to the class about foreign language requirement and electives offered for that.

1:07. The business program reps enter and present. "Guaranteed an easy A."

1:10. Pro-tech (Engineering) and construction presents.

1:11. Mr. Clark talks more about the engineering program. "It's called a magnet program." The Fine Arts representative starts her presentation. "Art is not for everyone." One student asks a question about one of the pictures on the poster. She explains it was done using Photoshop.

1:14. Mr. Clark briefly talks to the class until the JROTC reps walk in. The JROTC reps say: "basically we get in tanks and we drive around blowing up buildings. No I'm just kidding"

laughter. They give the Call of Duty spiel. “You won’t get the guns . . . “ Laughter. They say the benefits are you learn how to be leaders and take control of groups. “It’s not like you guys have to go right into the Army. You can go to college.” They add: “I heard a lot of you guys ‘o look at all his medals’ . . . these are mind . . . you’ve go to earn yours.” One student asks if they can keep the uniform. No, they can’t. Another student asks a question about the color guard decoration and asks a question about the “arcs” on his uniform. There is another question about the types of meets and another question about earning medals. The female representative tosses lanyards out to students who asked questions. There is another question about the events when they compete. Many more hands go up. Boys and girls asking questions. “Is it hard?” “The class is not hard it’s easy.”

1:21: The Major walks in apparently to signal that the representatives had to leave for their next presentation. There is a question about ranks. The black male from earlier asks if ROTC helps rank when in the army. “Yes.” The Major leaves the room after saying to the class: “GoArmy.com.”

1:22. The AVID representative presents. She talks about how teachers check up on your and “Bug you” while other teachers don’t have time to do that. She got a really good score on her PSAT and received letters from many colleges.

1:24. Mr. Clark briefly reviews the electives and how to sign up for classes. A student asks a French student representative about JROTC. He responds:it’s like an Army class. He ran out to try to find help but returned alone and continued to try to explain. Three boys who got lanyards sign up for JROTC. An Asian male with a lanyard who signed up for AVID explains to his friends: “I want to go to ROTC but at the same time my mom wants me to do [ineligible].” Eleven out of 25 students choose JROTC.

APPENDIX B

Crossroads High School Student Experiences Questionnaire

****Please Complete Only Once****

I. PERSONAL INFORMATION

- 1) Please indicate your gender by circling one: Male Female

- 2) What ethnicity or ethnicities do you identify with? Please circle all that apply:

American Indian or Alaska Native
Black or African American
Filipino
Hispanic or Latina/o
Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander

Puerto Rican
Vietnamese
White
Other: _____

3) Is English your first language? Yes No

II. BACKGROUND

1) What middle school or junior high school did you attend prior to 9th grade at Yerba Buena High School?

Bridges Academy College Connection Academy

Other: _____

2) Is anyone in your household a current or former member of the U.S. military? If so, who? What branch of the service have they been associated with and for how many years? Are they currently active?

III. COURSES

1) Did representatives from Yerba Buena High School visit your middle or junior High school in order to present different course options available to you at Yerba Buena? Please circle your selection:

Yes No I don't know

2) Which focus area did you choose?

STEM Humanities I do not remember

3) Why did you choose this focus area? Circle all that apply:

I wanted to be in classes with my friends

APPENDIX C

Interview Protocol (Adults)

Part One: Questions about Required Areas of Study [Mr. Clark, Mr. Ludsberry, the Superintendent]

1. This is the first year that ___ HS is doing required *areas of study*. Is this a recommendation from the superintendent?

a. Are other schools requiring in-coming 9th graders to choose an *area of study*?

Which schools?

b. Are the *areas of study* similar at the other schools?

i. Does STHS have the same two options as YBHS: STEM and Humanities?

ii. What do the Humanities courses look like at STHS?

2. What do you see as the benefits of placing students in one of the two *areas of study*?

3. Do you foresee any challenges or negative consequences of this?

4. How did YBHS decide on STEM and Humanities?

5. JROTC used to be an elective at YBHS. With the new required areas of study, it is a course in the Humanities *area of study*. How was the decision made to exclude JROTC as an elective?

6. On the Freshman Course Selections for YBHS, three courses are listed under *each area of study*. Are these required courses for that *area of study*?

a. Can you explain how JROTC and AVID became Humanities courses rather than electives?

b. What do you tell the student who wants to pursue a degree in the Humanities or Social Sciences, but who does not want to take JROTC?

Part 2: Questions about general feelings regarding about JROTC [All]

1. Describe the value placed on the program by district stakeholders?

a. How does the school board seem to feel about it?

b. How do parents seem to feel about it? At all schools?

- c. How does the teachers' union seem to feel about it?
- 2. Have they always felt this way?
- 3. What do you believe are the benefits to the program?
 - a. Any downsides?
- 4. Do you feel the program has affected student attitudes toward school? How so?
 - a. Student retention
 - b. College and career goals

Part 3: Questions about Student Enrollment in JROTC [Mr. Clark, Mr. Ludsberry]

- 1) How often would you say you get to place in-coming 9th graders into their first choice elective courses? How about into their preferred focus area?
 - a) What usually prevents you from placing these students into their preferred courses
- 2) Have you noticed any trends in course popularity?
 - a) Any tendencies for certain students to take particular electives over others?
 - b) Any tendencies for certain students to choose one focus area over the other?
- 3) About how often would you say you receive course change requests for electives from 9th graders?
 - a) This is the first year ___HS is doing focus areas. Have you received any feedback from students about their assigned focus area? Any complaints?
 - b) Do these students ever request course changes from courses they had initially requested?
 - i) Can you recall some of these courses?
- 4) What is the process that happens once a student requests to change their focus area?

- 5) I've read in the Marine Corps JROTC cadet handbook that there are enrollment criteria, such as "good moral character." Are you aware of any enrollment criteria for JROTC at -----HS?
 - a) What enrollment criteria are you aware of?
- 6) Please explain the process by which you enroll students into JROTC.
 - a) Do you check the discipline and academic records of each student that requests JROTC?
- 7) The cadet handbook also states that cadets can be dis-enrolled for certain reasons. Are you aware of these dis-enrollment criteria?
 - a) The criteria include academic failure, ineptitude, and poor attitude. How do these issues come to your attention, or the attention of the person responsible for dis-enrolling them?
 - b) How would this person determine "ineptitude?"
 - c) How would this person determine "poor attitude?"
- 8) Have you ever been aware of a cadet being disenrolled from JROTC?
 - a) About how many cadets are dis-enrolled each year?
 - b) What were the reasons for their dis-enrollments?
 - c) Can they be dis-enrolled mid-semester or must it wait until the end of the semester?
- 9) On average, not including this year, about what percentage of 9th graders at YRBS were enrolled in JROTC?
 - a) What grade level has the highest JROTC enrollment?
 - b) Do you think this number increased or decreased this year with focus areas?

Part 4: Questions about the History of JROTC in the district [Mr. Clark, Mr. Ludsberry, the Major - #5 only Mr. Clark]

- 1) The district has Army JROTC at three different schools (YBHS, Andrew Hill, and Overfelt). Were they all instituted simultaneously, or did the district start off with just one school?
- 2) *Mount Pleasant hosts the Marine Corps JROTC. Do you know why they chose this program instead of the Army program?*
- 3) Can you recall any effects the program had when it was first instituted?
- 4) There are 16 traditional and alternative high schools in the district. Why do only these three schools host JROTC?
- 5) If the program ended, what effect do you think that would have on the students?
 - a) How would you fill the class schedules of the students now enrolled in it?
 - b) What would the effect be on the individual host schools?
 - i) Financially?

Part 5: Superintendent Only

- 1) *Mount Pleasant hosts the Marine Corps JROTC. Do you know why they chose this program instead of the Army program?*
- 2) This district has Army JROTC at YBHS, AH, and OHS; three of the other schools have other branches of the military. If you were to hire another principal for one of the schools with JROTC Army or otherwise, if you were to hire a new principal for one of those schools, would you want that principal to be someone who would support continuing the JROTC program on their campuses or not?

- 3) JROTC advocates have said that JROTC reduces gang affiliation. Have you noticed a correlation such as this, in your experience?
- 4) What do you predict the reaction would be from parents if the principal of Evergreen were to decide to host JROTC on that campus?
- 5) JROTC advocates have said that just the presence of JROTC on a campus increases the graduation rate- or I'm sorry- back to something you said originally- just the presence increases enrollment rate in the military-Do you think this is the case?
- 6) If the program ended, what effect do you think that would have on the students?
 - a) How would you fill the class schedules of the students now enrolled in it?
 - b) What would the effect be on the individual host schools?
 - i) Financially?

APPENDIX D

Interview Protocol (students)

Request signed parent permission form and student consent form and give them the gift card.

Thank them for participating.

I. Greeting questions to establish rapport

- a. *9th graders only* - How do you like YB so far?
- b. *9th – 11th graders* - Are you looking forward to being a [sophomore, junior, senior] next year?
- c. *12th graders* – Are you graduating this year?
- d. Do you have a favorite class? What about that class makes it your favorite?
- e. Was it your choice to attend YB? Why did you choose YB over other high schools?

II. Questions students' decisions to take JROTC

- a. Are you taking JROTC? Have you ever? *If No, skip to letter g.*
- b. Why did you choose to take JROTC?
 - i. Can you remember selecting it?
 - ii. Did you select it during an 8th grade visitation from YB?
- c. Did you discuss this decision with your parents? Why or why not?
- d. Do you have older siblings or other family members in the military? Did that influence your decision to take JROTC?
- e. How did you first learn about JROTC?
- f. I hear some other schools in this district don't have JROTC. Sebastian High, for example. Would you recommend they have it? Why or why not?

- g. Do you remember being given the option to take JROTC? If yes, why didn't you choose to take it? Who gave you the option? When?
- h. Tell me about your decision to not take it. Can you remember what your reason was? Did you want to take another class instead?

III. Questions about JROTC – *current or past cadets only*

- a. Can you take me through a typical day in JROTC? How does the class begin?
 - i. What happens next?

- ii. How does the class end?
 - iii. Is there homework?
- b. *Current cadets*: What are you learning in JROTC?
- i. How are you learning that? Is the instructor lecturing? Are you reading it in a textbook?
 - ii. Do you and the other cadets ever have opportunities to talk about what you are learning? i.e. group discussions or Socratic seminars?
 - iii. How do you think knowing this is going to help you after high school?
 - iv. How do you think you've changed since you've entered the program?
 - v. Being a cadet, do you feel connected to the military? How so? How does that make you feel?
- c. *Past cadets*: What do you most remember learning about in JROTC?
- i. Do you think that will be helpful for you to know once you are graduated from high school?
 - ii. Did being in JROTC change you in any way? How so?
1. Did being in JROTC change the way you think about anything?
- iii. Did being in JROTC connect you to the military in anyway? How so? How did that make you feel?
 - iv. Why did you stop taking JROTC?
- d. *All*: Do you think JROTC is good for everybody?

IV. Questions about students' future plans/aspirations

- a. Do you think you will graduate on time? *If no*, ask why they think this.
- b. What are your plans after high school?
- c. Do you ever discuss these plans with your parents? What about with other family members? Do you discuss these plans with friends?