Critical Discourse Analysis and the Language of Social Justice in Elite High Schools

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CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND THE LANGUAGE

OF SOCIAL JUSTICE IN ELITE HIGH SCHOOLS

Dissertation
By

BRIAN W. HERRMANN

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By Brian W. Herrmann

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Abstract

This dissertation investigates the discursive practices of elite high schools and the ways these practices create and preclude opportunities for social justice education. To conduct this critical discourse analysis I drew on the theoretical work of Khan (2011) and Howard (2008) to understand the role of language in the production and maintenance of power and privilege in elite private schools. Furthermore, the literature review on the discourse of social justice informed the selection of initial typologies, which shaped the primary reading of the data. Methodologically, I used Norman Fairclough and James Gee's tools of critical discourse analyses for the data synthesis and analysis. One overarching questions was considered in this dissertation: As revealed through institutional documents, what are the discursive challenges and opportunities for enacting socially just education within elite high schools?

A detailed Systemic Functional Linguistic analysis revealed three major findings. First, students are centered in the text samples and over time students become a larger focus of the discourse. Second, the discourse presents ethical values and knowledge as innate within students. Finally, the language among sample texts conforms over time, becoming less linguistically complex in both topic and construction and thus shifts from a traditionally academic tone to a more familiar tone.

Using these findings as a focusing lens, a broader reading and analysis of the complete data set revealed that as discourse associated with discussions of diversity

becomes more rigid, formalized, and prevalent in the text samples, institutional questioning and direct calls for social action become less frequent. Furthermore, over time, the discourse is less likely to engage in reflexive questioning and is more likely to engage in self-congratulation.

Combined, the detailed linguistic analysis and the broader reading of the collected documents, suggest that the "discourse of social justice" is intertwined with counter discourses of privilege, entitlement, and individualism. Although institutions may currently talk more about issues of diversity and justice, this language functions as yet another measure of student privilege.

Acknowledgements

I sit down to write these acknowledgments two weeks before the final version of this dissertation is scheduled for submission. Although every hour seems precious in order to complete this work by the ever-encroaching deadline, I feel compelled, at this time, to dedicate an appropriate amount of energy towards the writing of these acknowledgments. Without the help of so many people, I would not be this close to completing such a massive project. If I stumble in these final weeks, I will still revel in the knowledge that so many good people have extended their time, support, love, and expertise in getting me this far.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Studying Up

In 1974 Laura Nader wrote: "the consequences of not studying up as well as down are serious in terms of developing adequate theory and description." Nader's call to refocus the analytic gaze on the "study of the colonizers rather than the colonized, the culture of power rather than the culture of the powerless" has, with few exceptions, gone unheard over the last four decades (as cited in Gaztambide-Fernandez & Howard, 2010, p. 1). Clearly, attention must be given to "the colonized" and "the powerless"; however, the preeminence of the downward gaze leads to three troubling scenarios: 1) Contestable and often times damaging power relations between "researchers" and "subjects" become reified into normative positions in which researchers possess all of the knowledge and thus all of the solutions. 2) The individual, institutional, and social mechanisms that "work explicitly for the relatively privileged" (Weis, 2010, p. vii) avoid critical analysis and can reproduce themselves with little opposition. 3) The ways in which the "'culture of affluence' is related to and perhaps implicated in the 'culture of poverty'" (Gaztambide-Fernandez & Howard, 2010, p. 2) remains invisible, leading to the continued focus on historically disenfranchised populations.

In this dissertation I shift the research focus onto elite high schools. Using critical discourse analysis, I investigate the sanctioned institutional documents such as mission statements, diversity policies, and recruitment materials of elite high schools with a particular focus on the interplay between the *discourse of new capitalism* (or the *discourse of neoliberalism*) and the *discourse of social justice*. The following overarching question and five sub-questions guide my research:

As revealed through institutional documents, what are the discursive challenges and opportunities for enacting socially just education within elite high schools?

    i.   What is the discourse of social justice in elite schools?

    ii.   What are the counter or competing discourses to the discourse of social justice in elite schools?

    iii.   How has the discourse of social justice shifted over time in elite schools?

    iv.   What are the functional language processes that constitute the discourse of social justice in elite schools and how have they changed over time?

    v.   How does the discourse of social justice interact with counter or competing discourses in elite schools?

In this chapter I first ground these questions in my personal history. I then discuss data that describe increasing global and national inequality. I then investigate the common conceptual metaphor *inequality is a gap* used in phrases such as *income gap, technology gap, opportunity gap,* and *achievement gap*. These sections introduce two foundational assumptions undergirding this work. First, that inequality—in many forms—is a growing and dangerous reality both within our nation and beyond our borders. And second, that discourse plays a fundamental role in the creation of inequalities, the maintenance of inequalities, the explanation for inequalities, and the suggested solutions to inequalities. I then argue that the study of privileged populations and privileged schools-in particular the discourses produced by and within these privileged institutions-is an important step towards creating successful social movements that disrupt inequitable resource distribution, including, but not limited to, economic capital and cultural capital.

Personal Context For the Study

My time spent on the Martial Friends varsity basketball team was short lived: one game. Martial Friends was hosting an early season tournament, and, for reasons I can no longer remember, a number of the varsity players were unable to attend the first round game. Coach Bennett found me in the hallway on a Thursday afternoon and asked if I had plans for the weekend. "No," I said. He responded: "Great! We need you to play." Flattered to be considered the best option even during a time when few options existed, I strutted into the gym on Saturday ready to do my part for the team. I did not score the game-winning basket or rouse the team to victory through my relentless and scrappy play. In fact, we lost by more than thirty points and I never set foot on the court. It was a humiliating loss.

I was not the only mercenary on the bench. The team was missing four of its better players. Everyone in the gym knew from the outset that we were going to lose. John Carroll, a perennial basketball powerhouse, would have easily beaten the full squad. Martial Friends, a small private school in an affluent corner of the city, rarely played teams outside of the Independent Schools League (ISL), composed entirely of small, preparatory schools in the greater DC area. Even against the relatively weak ISL competition, losing and losing badly, was something that happened so many times that nobody ever felt too threatened by the school's uninspiring athletic performances. Losing to John Carroll, a Catholic school with a much wider span of racial and class diversity than Martial Friends had a different impact.

The final minutes of a game in which one team has undeniably sealed their victory often play out painfully for both sides. The "slaughter" rule in little league

graciously provides relief for both the slaughtered and the slaughtering. The trailing team must consider how long they wish to maintain the charade of hope. How many times must the coach implore the team to keep trying? How many timeouts will the losing team take just to make it look like they still believe? The winning team must maintain a precarious balance between "running up the score" and insultingly limping to an early victory. With how much time left on the clock should the coach put in the "end of the bench"? When does the coach urge his team to stop trying to score? During the game against John Carroll, the entire second half played out under these strained conditions. Only in the final minute of the game, however, did the underlying subtext of racial and class conflict (a tension that was present for the entire game as Archbishop's predominantly black team outmatched Martial's entirely white team) percolate to the surface.

The fifty or so Martial Friends students in attendance sat together in one corner. The student section had little to cheer, but in the final minutes they all, in somewhat bewildering unison, began to chant "SAT Scores! SAT Scores!" As if this were not sufficiently spiteful and condescending, the curt phrase morphed quickly into the more rhythmic chant: "It's all right. It's O.K. You're going to work for us someday!" It was a humiliating defeat.

According to its statement on diversity, "Martial Friends believes that diverse perspectives and meaningful inquiry fuel academic excellence and promote personal growth. Each of its three [schools] stresses empathy, equity, and social justice in age appropriate ways." In recognition of the school's work towards these goals, the National Association of Independent Schools (NAIS) presented Martial Friends with the 2005

"Leading Edge Award for Equity and Justice." One must wonder how the school whose students so proudly shook their car keys while chanting, "It's all right. It's O.K. You're going to work for us someday!" can earn a national award for "equity and justice"? However, I must temper my initial urge to characterize Martial's acceptance of the Leading Edge Award as hypocritical because I believe the school's social mission and commitment to ethics and justice impacted my own ethical development (and I presume the development of many of my peers) – if it were not for my Martial Friends' education I may not have experienced such a visceral feeling of disgust and betrayal as that chant rang down from the stands. Furthermore, the same education that helped me identify the injustice in the gym has continued to impact my life. Although it is difficult to identify causal relationships when considering issues of human motivation, emotion, and action, I believe that my education at the Martial Friends school has influenced the trajectory of my life towards a vocation, lifestyle, and political world-view that are foremost concerned with economic and social equality. It is very possible that my Martial Friends education set me on a life course that has led to this dissertation.

The object of this dissertation is not to arrive at a definitive conclusion, branding elite private schools as either villains or saviors. Instead, by focusing on a very small aspect of elite education – the discourse of social justice within these institutions – I aim to elucidate the contradiction I felt in that moment on the basketball court. And, through an analysis of discourse practices I hope to identify spaces where elite private schools may shift their institutional discourse practices to support better the social development of their students and, hopefully, impact the creation of a more equitable world.

The Haves and the Have Nots: A Global and Local Problem

As I began drafting this investigation on the discourse of social justice in elite private schools, two of the world's most powerful leaders were delivering speeches on the perils of economic inequality. In his message for the celebration of the 2014 World Day of Peace (January 1, 2014), Pope Francis wrote:

> We cannot fail to recognize that there is a serious rise in
> *relative poverty*, that is, instances of inequality between
> people and groups who live together in particular regions or
> in a determined historical-cultural context. In this sense,
> effective policies are needed to promote the principle of
> *fraternity*, securing for people – who are equal in dignity
> and in fundamental rights – access to capital, services,
> educational resources, healthcare and technology so that
> every person has the opportunity to express and realize his
> or her life project and can develop fully as a person.

Just six days later in a speech to the Center for American Progress, President Obama described "growing inequality and lack of upward mobility" as a "relentless decades long" problem. President Obama, referencing the Pope's earlier remarks, continued:

> This trend towards growing inequality is not unique to
> America's market economy; across the developed world,
> inequality has increased. Some – some of you may have
> seen just last week, the Pope himself spoke about this at
> eloquent length. How could it be, he wrote, that it's not a

news item when an elderly homeless person dies of

exposure, but it is news when the stock market loses two

points?

President Obama and Pope Francis are certainly correct: growing economic inequality is

a global reality and not just an American problem. According to a 2008 report by the

Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), "since the mid-

1980's income inequality [has] increased in two thirds of the twenty-four OECD

countries for which data were available, which includes most of the world's leading

industrial democracies" (Noah, 2012, p. 3). Although income inequality is rising

globally, the OECD data do not suggest that growing inequality is unavoidable – income

inequality increased in two thirds of the OECD countries, meaning that rates of income

inequality plateaued or fell in one-third of the OECD countries. Even given these pockets

of stagnating or decreasing inequality, many nations are experiencing steady increases in

economic inequality.

There are many methods for calculating economic inequality, but no matter how it

is measured, America ranks as one of the world's worst offenders. President Obama may

be correct in naming inequality as a global issue, but America is still a "world leader"

when it comes to inequality! According to the 2008 OECD data, America's top 1% of

earners account for a larger percentage of national wealth than any other OECD nation.

In 2010, America's richest 1% accounted for 20% of the nation's pre-tax income. This

percentage has fallen slightly since the pre-recession high of 23.5% in 2007, but has

increased drastically from the 1976 low of 8.9% (Florio, 2011). Popularized by the

"occupy movement," the 1% index has become a common statistic for representing

income inequality, but a focus on just the one percent obscures how income is distributed among the entire population (the other 99%). To make this point more clear, imagine a "we are the 99%" bumper sticker on the back of a shiny new Volvo. Owning a new Volvo may not be the same as owning a new Bentley, but certainly the Volvo's owner – even if he is not a member of nation's richest one percent – is a member of the upper class. Driving a Volvo is more akin to driving a Bentley than it is to waiting on a street corner for the city bus! Another common statistic for representing income distribution is the S90/S10 pretax income ratio. The ratio is calculated by dividing the mean pre-tax income of a country's wealthiest 10% by the mean pre-tax income of the country's poorest 10%, so it represents a larger proportion of the population than the 1% index. For example, a S90/S10 ratio of ten means that a nation's wealthiest 10% earns ten times more than the same nation's poorest 10%. In 2010, America's S90/S10 ratio was 16, the third highest ratio among OECD countries. Only Mexico and Chile have worse income distributions according to this measure.

The 1% index and S90/S10 ratio are particularly useful because they highlight how the increased earnings of the nation's wealthiest families have propelled the rise in overall inequality. From 1967 to 2008 middle class American households enjoyed a 25% earnings increase compared with a 68% increase by the nation's wealthiest 5% and a 323% increase taken in by the nation's wealthiest 1% (Kahn, 2011). Simultaneously America's poorest 20% of households saw their earnings decrease (Florio, 2011). Slight decrease in earning by the nation's poor coupled with a rapid accumulation of wealth by the nation's wealthiest 10% has resulted in the drastic economic inequality that currently polarizes America.

A final method for representing distribution, and the most commonly used by statisticians, is the Gini coefficient or index. Unlike the 1% index and the S90/S10 ratio, the Gini coefficient, represents *total distribution*. The Gini coefficient uses a scale of 0 (representing total equality) to 1 (representing total inequality). For example, a grandmother has 100 dollars and wants to distribute the money to her 10 grandchildren as a gift. If she gives each child a ten-dollar bill, then the Gini coefficient for the distribution would be 0 – total equality. If, however, the grandmother is particularly fond of one child and gives her all of the money, the Gini coefficient for this distribution would be 1 - total inequality. America's disposable income Gini coefficient is up from .32 in 1995 to .38 in 2010 – the third worst ranking of OECD countries (OECD, 2013). To put this figure in perspective, in 2010 Mexico's disposable income Gini coefficient was .5 (by far the most unequal distribution of OECD countries), while the five most equal distributions (Iceland, Slovenia, Norway, Denmark, and the Czech Republic) had Gini coefficients slightly below .25 (OECD, 2013). The 1 percent index, the S90/S10 ratio, and the Gini coefficient all represent the data in slightly different ways. Still, each measure tells a familiar American story: America is woefully inequitable.

While economic inequality has increased locally, regionally, and globally, rates of upward social mobility have fallen. As the distance between the rich and poor increases, it becomes harder for the individual to advance from one economic position to the next. There are two common ways of measuring economic mobility: absolute mobility and relative mobility. Like the difference among the three measures of distribution, the two measures of mobility reveal slight differences, but tell the same general story: mobility is on the decline.

Absolute mobility measures income mobility relative to a single data point. Most commonly, absolute mobility is used to measure intragenerational mobility. Absolute mobility can describe if an entire society's economy has grown or decreased from one generation to the next or it can describe if a single individual's economic prospects have improved or decreased compared to her parents. Relative mobility, the more nuanced statistic, measures income mobility by comparing one segment of a population (That segment could be a single individual.) against the economic mobility of the entire population. For example, comparing a child's economic standing to her parent's economic standing (absolute mobility) does not take into account the economic growth occurring elsewhere in the system. Imagine a thirty-year old woman who earns 10% more in adjusted income than her mother did a generation ago. This is an increase in intragenerational absolute mobility. That 10% increase sounds positive, but what if, while the woman's absolute mobility increased 10%, the average wage earner in the society enjoyed a 20% increase during the same time period? In this case, the woman's *absolute mobility* would have increased, while her *relative mobility* would have decreased. Measuring intragenerational relative mobility instead of intragenerational absolute mobility reveals a flaw in one of the most common tenets of the American Dream: that a child will do better economically than her parents. Many children in the lower economic quintiles have done better, i.e. earned more than their parents; however, the majority of earners above them (especially in the top 10%) increased their earnings at a much greater rate, translating absolute "gains" by the lower classes into relative losses. In his remarks to the Center for American Progress, President Obama refers to relative mobility in his remarks saying, "A child born in the top 20 percent has about a 2-in-3 chance of staying

at or near the top. A child born into the bottom 20 percent has a less than 1-in-20 shot at making it to the top. He's 10 times likelier to stay where he is (Obama, 2013)."

In this same speech Obama calls "[*income inequality*] the defining challenge of our time," (Obama, 2013), but it may be more accurate to say, *inequality* is the defining challenge of our time. As Pope Francis stated, "effective policies are needed to promote the principle of *fraternity*, securing for people – who are equal in dignity and in fundamental rights – access to capital, services, educational resources, healthcare and technology." Pope Francis begins his list with "capital," but he also references the inequitable distribution of "educational resources, healthcare, and technology." It is easy to add to the list: housing, clean water, nourishing food, etc. Economic prosperity is correlated with access to each of these resources, but more than just capital influences access to resources, access to opportunity, and access to "dignity and…fundamental rights." Race, gender, sexual orientation, language, age, and ability continue to influence access to resources, including wealth. Moreover, non-dominant cultural markers, independent of social class, continue to limit access to human "dignity and…fundamental rights." As recently revealed by Donald Sterling's tirade against Magic Johnson, one of the most generally revered black men in the country and one of the richest, no black man is immune to the indignity of racist vitriol. Chapter 2 includes further discussion of the intersections of economic, social, and cultural capital and how these intersections name who is and is not privileged.

The Gap Metaphor

Although the statistics described above fundamentally represent size (as in portions) or speed (as in rate of change), they are most commonly made meaningful

through language that evokes physical distance. This should not be surprising since inequality is a concept rooted in difference, and difference is most easily conceptualized as the difference, or space, between two points. The numbers according to a Gini coefficient, obscure this concept by reducing multiple data points into a single unit. Although the equation used to calculate a Gini coefficient and the graphic rendering of this equation capture the distance between a population's actual distribution and the theoretical distribution of total equality, the actual statistic is still a single decimal. A single decimal does not evoke distance. Possibly, this explains why the Gini coefficient is so often used in economic reports and scholarly articles, but is never used in the popular press. Instead of using a single data point like a Gini coefficient or even the 1% index to represent inequality, political and media discourse communities typically use metaphors to evoke the concept of distance and thus the concept of inequality.

Metaphor is commonly understood as a direct comparison between two unlike things or as a substitution of one thing for another; often the substitution or comparison is between something difficult to understand, like a concept, and something more easily understood, like a tangible object. This understanding of metaphor, the understanding propagated in most high school English classes, aligns metaphor with other types of figurative or poetic language, suggesting, as Aristotle did over two-thousand years ago, that metaphors are embellishments of speech. Rejecting Aristotle's substitution theory of metaphor, Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By* presents a more nuanced conception of metaphor and its powers. Similarly, Lakoff and Johnson move beyond the interaction theory presented by philosopher Max Black (1962). Black argued that metaphors create relationships instead of merely identifying relationships already present

between the two metaphorical elements. Each element, according to Black, is actually a larger idea composed of many possible parts. A metaphor acts to transfer some of these parts from the "subsidiary subject" to the "principal subject" (p. 41). In this way the abstract subject inherits the more concrete attributes of the subsidiary subject, as in a metaphor such as *love is a work of art*. Such a theory is consistent with Lakoff and Johnson's central premise that metaphors are a necessary tool to organize thinking and not just a rhetorical flourish. Moreover, Lakoff and Johnson argue that metaphors structure our thinking in expansive systems and not just through individual speech acts.

In order to further understand Lakoff and Johnson's metaphoric theory it is helpful to consider the conventional distinction between living and dead metaphors. Conventionally described, a living metaphor involves an original comparison. These are the rhetorical devices that catch an audience's attention, infuse a presentation with vitality, and possibly help present an idea with a new perspective. Conversely, a dead metaphor has ceased to exude any figurative power – the overuse of the metaphor has caused it to stagnate with only one literal meaning. David Aspin (1984) argues in *Metaphor and Meaning in Educational Discourse* that metaphors such as "education according to nature," "education as growth," and "education as initiation" were all initially powerful, emotive metaphors (living metaphors) that transformed into "educational slogans" and then "to all intents and purposes, became 'dead': they have actually become adopted as the 'standard' terms, asserted in and open to employment in any form of educational discussion" (p. 22). Lakoff and Johnson contend that dead metaphors such as those listed by Aspin actually function in powerful metaphoric systems. These metaphors, according to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), are the "metaphors

we live by," in that they structure how we conceive of the world and thus how we act in the world.

Inequality is a gap is becoming a metaphor we live by. President Obama used the gap metaphor in the conclusion of his speech at the Center for American Progress: "We're going to need targeted initiatives to close those gaps. So the fact is this: The opportunity gap in America…is growing." In his remarks on The World Day of Peace, Pope Francis used the same spatial metaphor: "We need, then, to find ways by which all may benefit from the fruits of the earth, not only to avoid the widening gap between those who have more and those who must be content with the crumbs, but above all because it is a question of justice, equality and respect for every human being." As mentioned above, Francis provides a list of resources – "capital, services, educational resources, healthcare and technology" – that he argues must be more equally allotted if every person is to have "the opportunity to express and realize his or her life project." Francis's list evokes a litany of riffs off of the inequality is a gap metaphor: achievement gap, income gap, wealth gap, technology gap, opportunity gap, resource gap, healthcare gap, and housing gap. Using this list of gap metaphors as search terms, Factiva's database of "Major News and Business Publications – U.S." returned 169 hits between March 25, 2014 and April 2, 2014 (a single week of print news). Headlines ranged from "The Wealth Gap in America is Growing, Too" from the New York Times on April 2, 2014 to "Duran Would Tackle Common Core, Achievement Gap" from The Capital on March 30, 2014. The gap metaphor is certainly prolific.

Metaphors we live by are not only prolific, but also central in the organization of large, complex concepts. The gap metaphor serves as this conceptual lynchpin in that it

suggests other common usages such as *closing the gap*, *bridging the gap*, and even the occasional spoof off of the London Tube's catch phrase, *Minding the Gap*. Conceptual metaphors suggest related verbal utterances like closing the gap, but the metaphors also suggest interpretation based on the characteristics of their constituent elements. In the case of the gap metaphor, the *gap* is the more tangible and easily understood element (the "subsidiary subject") as compared to its counter element inequality ("the principal subject"). *Gap*, then, does much of the work in suggesting meaning and interpretation of the inequality is a gap metaphor. So, what is a gap? 1) A gap is small. 2) A gap can be crossed or bridged. 3) A gap can be closed. 4) A gap is natural. The gap metaphor evokes the necessary spatial distance to understand the concept of inequality, but the specific components of a gap evoke a *certain type* of spatial distance. It evokes a natural gap, a small gap, one that can be easily bridged or possibly closed: not surprising then that a search for the phrase *income gap* on Google images reveals a host of political cartoons depicting a Wall St. executive on one side of a small ravine with a collection of the working poor on the other. But the inequality gap is not small, and it certainly is not natural. The gap metaphor is both pervasive and misleading!

Metaphors we live by have important social consequences. By shaping social understanding of complex concepts, the metaphors we live by influence real action or inaction in the world. The small distance suggested in the *inequality is a gap* metaphor suggests that inequality is not a particularly large problem and thus has the potential to influence social understanding and action (or inaction).

Metaphors work in two directions. As described above, the "subsidiary subject" (gap) gives meaning to the "principal subject" (inequality) and thus lays the foundation

for a web of interpretation. However, the "principal subject" also impacts any

understanding of the "subsidiary subject." The influence between principal and

subsidiary subject in the *inequality is a gap* metaphor has serious implications when

considering proposals for navigating the inequality gap. There are two obvious methods

for navigating a gap. You can *bridge* the gap or you can *close* the gap. Either way, the

most logical solution would be to meet in the middle. If a bridge is built the Wall Street

fat cat walks toward the oncoming crowd of working poor and, if the gap is to be closed,

as a dentist might close the gap between front teeth, force should be equally applied to

both sides. However, discourse on closing the gap or bridging the gap rarely, if ever,

describes an equal distribution of force from both sides; the wealthy may build the

bridge, but the poor are expected to traverse the entire span. If the gap is to be closed,

one side (the have not side) is pulled or pushed or enticed to move in one direction, but

the other side (the haves side) does not move. Although logic and the definition of a gap

suggest that the most efficient way to close a gap is to move inward from both sides,

political and ideological power trump logic and suggest that movement should follow

only one vector – a vector that points directly towards the powerful and their comfortable

positions. Political and economic power have created a social milieu in which inequality

is conceived of as an unfortunate but natural result of the hard work and moral standing

of the prosperous and the ineptitude or moral failings of the poor. This meritocratic

explanation of inequality influences the interpretation of the *inequality is a gap* metaphor

because the concept of meritocracy, which is subsumed into the concept of inequality,

shapes the understanding of the concept of a gap – no longer is a gap most rationally

closed by meeting in the middle, instead a gap is best surmounted by one side moving

completely over to the other side. This is an example of the dialogic power of metaphor as well as the dialogic interaction of language and political power.

The Power of Language

Importantly, many people *do not* find the gap metaphor to be misleading. In fact, many would argue that the inequality gap *is* natural, or at least necessary, and that current levels of inequality are not too large. The vast majority of Americans believes in, or at least wants to believe, that merit is a more powerful predictor of success than class or race. It would be overly dramatic, and completely preposterous, to argue that such thinkers are a slave to the gap metaphor and simply need to free their minds from its linguistic shackles. Language is powerful, but it is not the only power. Instead, it is important to recognize that our environment, our beliefs, and our ideologies shape our language usage, which in turn works to reinforce those beliefs and ideologies. Language and environment, language and beliefs, and language and ideologies cannot be disassociated from each other. These are, like metaphors, dialogic pairs that continually function in tandem to produce meaning. The label "misleading" is subjective. The inequality-as-gap metaphor cannot be objectively proven to be "misleading" or "wrong" through an analysis of its constituent parts because these parts are themselves concepts that interact with other metaphoric concepts. However, as David Aspin (1984) explains, metaphors "gain currency in proportion" to their use and "encapsulate particular conceptions…in a form of such attractiveness that their appropriateness is immediately judged by all to be beyond question" (p. 28).

It would be impossible to do away with the inequality-as-gap metaphor. It would be even more difficult to do away with all metaphors as some have suggested in the past.

Plato's argument against poetry is probably the best-known example. Besides, as Kliebart (1982) argues, we need metaphors: "While distortions and misrepresentations are clearly possible through metaphors, especially when they begin to lose their *as if* quality, metaphor still represents our most potent instrument for seeing things beyond our world of everyday reality" (p. 17). The gap metaphor will certainly evolve and shift as language, culture, and the environment evolve and shift. Possibly a different metaphor for inequality will come to replace the gap metaphor or the gap metaphor will simply fall out of the lexicon. We do not, however, have to simply wait for the slow progress of time to do the work for us, nor must we let chance determine the next "metaphor we live by." As producers of language, all individuals have the power to participate in the evolution of language. However, some have more power than others. Powerful institutions, such as elite high schools, can have significant impact on the evolution of language practices. For this reason it is particularly important to investigate the types of language produced by elite institutions since the institutional discourse practices of these spaces have a disproportionate amount of power. Of course, the gap metaphor is but one small slice of the discursive network that gives meaning to the world. When considering the vastness of this discursive network it is possible to consider any detailed analysis, such as the previous discussion of gap metaphors, as useless since any single aspect of the network is rendered so small and possibly insignificant in relation to the network as a whole. Or, the vastness of the network can be viewed as providing infinite avenues for entry into the meaning-making web of discourse. As I begin this dissertation I choose to take the latter perspective.

Why Study The Language of Social Justice in Elite Schools?

The previous two sections argued that inequality is a growing and dangerous reality in America and that language or discourse is implicated in this growth. Given these assumptions, it makes sense to study the discourse practices of the upper class and the language produced by elite institutions. More attention must be given to the upper class in order to better understand how social, political, and economic movements "at the top" might slow and eventually reverse the trend of ever-greater resource consumption by the country's wealthiest ten percent. More attention must also be given to the ways discourse practices could be best aligned to support these social, political, and economic movements. Why, though, given limited time and resources should one 'study up' given the immediate and pressing needs of so many people and groups at the bottom of hierarchies? Let me pause here to make a more general argument for studying the upper class before I move on to the particular argument for studying the discourse of social justice in elite schools.

Why Study Up?

Hierarchies are interrelated systems and the lower rungs of a hierarchy can only be fully understood in relation to the upper rungs. The lives of the poor and the lives of the wealthy are connected through macro-systems of wealth dispersion even if these two broad categories of people rarely interact physically with each other. Economic capital is a finite resource, so research and policy that only considers ways to "raise people up" fails to acknowledge that advancement up a hierarchical ladder can only happen if those at the top are willing to descend – there is not room at the top for everyone. Although possibly less obvious, cultural and social capital is also a finite resource. White privilege is only maintained through the marginalization of others. If equality is a goal, then those

with social and cultural privilege, like those with economic privilege, will have to loosen their grips. A failure to adequately study those at the top allows the privileged to remain the "unstudied but positively imagined control group against whom 'Others' are unfavorably compared" (Brantlinger, 2003, p. 10). Also, those who occupy privileged positions are well off in many ways, but systemic injustice touches every member of an unjust society. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2011) only Native American men have higher rates of suicide, drug-induced deaths, and binge drinking along with rates of anxiety and depression than do privileged youth. And even if privileged populations do not show these symptoms, living in an unjust society is fundamentally dehumanizing for every member. For all of these reasons it is important to research the upper class. Why though, is it important to research the discourse of social justice education in elite schools?

Elite private schools often brand themselves as *builders of tomorrow's leaders.* The motto of the prestigious Valley School of San Francisco is "Challenging and building the leaders of tomorrow…60 years ago and today." Considering the vast inequalities today, it is appropriate to question what types of education elite schools provided "60 years ago" and what kind of leaders they are producing "today." Our current economic climate makes this question even more pressing since the shrinking middle class increases the educational arms race as families position their children for a shot at achieving leadership and by proxy economic stability in a destabilized world. William Deresiewicz (2008) makes a similar argument while questioning the purposes of elite education:

As globalization sharpens economic insecurity, we are

increasingly committing ourselves—as students, as parents,

as a society—to a vast apparatus of educational advantage.

With so many resources devoted to the business of elite

academics and so many people scrambling for the limited

space at the top of the ladder, it is worth asking what

exactly it is you get in the end—what it is we all get,

because the elite students of today, as their institutions

never tire of reminding them, are the leaders of tomorrow.

(p. 21)

As institutions, elite private schools have begun asking themselves, at least to a degree, "what exactly it is you get in the end – what it is we all get?" Whereas the Andovers and Exeters of old were easily described as vehicles of upper class reproduction, the elite schools of today are a bit more difficult to characterize. For starters, they are much more open and egalitarian institutions (Khan, 2011). Likewise, elite schools are more and more invested in social justice education. The National Association of Independent Schools (NAIS) lists twenty-five members in Massachusetts. Of these twenty-five schools, seven require all students to take a semester long course on social issues or ethics. Five others offer similar courses as electives. Nineteen of the schools require students to take at least one English or History course that focuses on non-western perspectives. Fourteen employ a fulltime diversity or equity coordinator, and three fund expansive justice oriented centers. (All findings tallied from school websites on 11/17/2012.) Justice-minded education is clearly on the rise in elite schools. Elite private schools have transformed themselves from the "old boys" clubs by recruiting student bodies that better reflect the

ever-growing diversity of the nation and have supplemented a historically elitist curriculum and extra-curricular activities with socially conscious coursework and learning opportunities. At the same time the acceptance rate for these schools has decreased, making elite private schools more exclusive today than they were thirty years ago and the average tuition has grown at a rate that far outpaces inflation. Are these two trends (increased price/exclusivity on one side and increased egalitarianism and a focus on social values on the other) compatible? Critical discourse analysis is one of many ways to begin considering these questions.

Discourse analysis is of particular importance when researching elite schools for the following three reasons: 1) Elite schools are closely linked to new capitalism's social transformations and these transformations are, more so than at any other time in history, discursively driven. Furthermore, as enclaves of elitism, these schools influence the continual evolution of new capitalist discourse because many of their students will become powerful actors within the regime of new capitalism. 2) Elite private schools have historically adopted a constructivist theory of education and the resulting pedagogy, such as the popular Socratic Seminar, are discursively driven (Gaztambide-Fernández, 2011); in many ways, learning "elite discourses" (Van Dyke, 1993) is a necessary prelude to achieving elite status. 3) As will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2, social reproduction in today's private schools is based more on learning and enacting privileged identities than it is about direct, structural transmission of privilege from one generation to the next. Discourse drives much of this particular type of identity formation. For these three reasons, studying the institutional discourse practices of elite schools will lead to better theories for describing modern elite high schools "as mechanism[s] for upper-class

cultural transmission" (Gaztambide-Fernandez & DiAquoi, 2010, p. 59).

For educators concerned with privilege and the social and economic inequality that so often emerges from concentrated privilege, the institutional discourse of elite schools is an appropriate topic of study. Although policy documents such as mission statements, diversity policies and curriculum guides as well as publicly disseminated documents such as alumni magazines and recruitment materials are only made meaningful through the interpretation and action of administrators, teachers, and students, these documents do impact the daily happening within schools and one must thus assume the education of the privileged students attending these schools. Critical discourse analysis of institutionally sanctioned documents cannot reveal "the truth" of an institution, but it can be used to make arguments about how officially sanctioned language impacts the lived experience of all members of that institution.

Although many would like to believe that the world and America, in particular, have become more egalitarian and open, allowing for increased rates of mobility and more equitable distribution of resources, the truth is far from this imagined ideal. In fact, the world is more divided as hierarchies become entrenched and "gaps" grow wider. Schooling has historically played a part (sometimes small and sometimes large) in these social movements and has the potential to play a part in reversing these trends. Graduates of the country's elite schools will soon be in positions of power be it on a national or local stage. What are these students learning today about inequality, justice, ethics, and their role in shaping a better world? How are their schools talking about these issues? What historical powers have shaped the discussion and how might the discourse of social justice be best used in elite settings to shape a more just and equitable world? This

dissertation begins to answer these questions.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

What would make a group of young, mostly white, mostly wealthy, mostly male, academically successful, privileged students rattle their car keys and rain down a chant of "It's all right! It's okay! You're going to work for us some day!" on the heads of a group of young, black, working/middle-class, and academically successful basketball players? I will start answering this question by stating two assumptions. 1) If you were to go back in time and question those Martial Friends School students about their comments, many of them would recognize the *inappropriateness* of their language. 2) If, however, you were to ask them if and why they believed themselves to be the "leaders of the future" and if and why they believed the John Carroll basketball players to be destined for a lower station in life, those same students would have credited their own intellect, hard work, and education for making them uniquely qualified to lead. Importantly, in my original question, I included *academically successful* in both descriptions because John Carroll has a history and reputation for academic excellence, matriculating 98% of its 2013 senior class into two and four year colleges, including many of the most prestigious colleges in the country – the same colleges that many Martial Friends graduates attend. Although intelligence and academic talent are loaded terms and can only be accurately described within specific contexts, I believe it fair to state that "smarts" were not the only difference between the Martial Friends students and the John Carroll players on that day. It is also important to state that the chant contained a good deal of truth; now in their mid thirties, it is very likely that those Martial Friends students are in positions of power and, it is also likely, that the John Carroll players are not.

This literature review aims to unpack and deconstruct the many assumptions embedded in the opening paragraph. What is privilege and how is it constructed? Specifically, what is the role of schooling in the construction of privilege? How do the privileged justify their positions? Specifically, what is the role of language in the process of justification? What might be done to disrupt privilege? Specifically, what might be done in elite schools to disrupt privilege?

Creating Privilege – An Overview

Many scholars have identified factors implicit within the "culture of privilege" that can inhibit privileged youths' exposure to and consideration of inequity. Giroux (1992) noted that factors such as race and class create borders that separate and distance groups from one another. Stuber (2006) added that individuals typically reflect upon their own class status by comparing their lives to those "standing above them in the status hierarch" rather than to those "standing below" (p.311). McIntosh (1997) recounts her observation that men may be willing to "grant that women are disadvantaged…but they can't or won't support the idea of lessening men's [advantage]" (p. 1). Additionally, Casper and Schultz (1999) found that discussions of sexual orientation in middle class spaces are preempted through self-censoring. The previous studies consider ideologies (modes of being/thinking) that operate *within* privileged communities and work (consciously and unconsciously) to solidify privilege while simultaneously masking its very existence.

A similar body of research considers how ideologies work systemically (reaching far beyond privileged spaces), further contributing to the consolidation of privilege. For example Tye (2000) found that the majority of Americans believe that all students have

an equal opportunity to achieve success by participation in free public education and by living in an essentially fair and non-discriminatory country. Students at the most prestigious schools benefit from meritocratic ideology - students are made to feel deserving of their privilege; students benefit from competitive college admissions practices; and students see in tangible ways the products of their hard work. Whereas the brunt of punitive "correctives" negatively influence the students at "failing" schools– students are made to feel deserving of their "failure"; students receive test-prep and an uninspiring curriculum as a result of competitive graduation and college admissions requirements; and hard work does not, necessarily, result in tangible rewards. The pervasiveness of this meritocratic ideology results in a national consciousness in which privilege is inherently viewed as being earned and well deserved. Conversely, individuals or social groups who have not gained entrance into the culture of privilege are, within this larger social space, considered undeserving. Meritocracy, color blindness, and liberal individualism shape the dominant ideological modes of American society, causing the ideologies of "the masses" to mirror the ideologies of the privileged.

These ideological modes find much of their power as they are operationalized through political movements and economic policy. All ideological positions exist within a matrix of social, political, moral, and cultural understandings; however, it is helpful to distinguish between theory that foregrounds social ideology, from theory that foregrounds political ideology. The previous discussion of meritocracy is an example of social ideology. An example of political ideology is what Apple (2006) describes as "rightward turns," by which formally competing strands of the conservative movement – neo-liberalism, neo-conservatism, and the Christian-right – have begun to coalesce into a

broader, political patchwork that finds ways to reinforce formally disparate political ideologies. As America makes this dramatic shift toward the conservative right, political and economic positions become viewed as inherently "correct" or, at least, undeserving of serious political and public debate. These rightward turns are very much aligned with neoliberalism and influence the objectives and process of American and international education in dramatic ways by reifying concepts such as "knowledge-society," "human capital," and "high-standards" into uncontestable virtues or commandments. These political and economic movements further serve the interests of the privileged by creating an educational system for which they are uniquely qualified and an economic marketplace in which only those who posses "21st century skills" and the right "credentials" are materially rewarded.

The three domains discussed thus far–social ideologies *within* the culture of privilege, social ideologies within the larger national culture, and national political and economic ideologies–perpetuate privilege, wielding widespread and diffuse influence over all aspects of social, political, and economic life in the U.S. The coalescence of these diffuse systems socialize privileged students into both macro and micro systems in which privileged students learn to enact and protect privileged identities and participate within and protect privileged social systems.

As this study is primarily focused on education, I draw specifically from research on education to pose these arguments. It is important, however, to state that this discussion is not intended to describe education systems as the only (or even primary) cause of privilege nor is it intended to point to education as the only (or primary) means of disrupting privilege.

Although schools are not the only institutions responsible for the creation, maintenance or transmission of privilege they are clearly powerful players in any analysis of privilege, and any scholar who is concerned with inequality must critically consider how education and its many connected enterprises protect and, in many instances, intensify privilege. Thus for scholars truly interested in not just identifying and explaining, but also reducing inequality, social justice education in general and social justice education for the privileged should be important topics of study. However, available research on social justice initiatives in private school settings is limited and, although the last five years has seen a slight increase, little literature is available on elite high school education in general. This chapter reviews the literature on four broad topics: 1) Schooling as a mechanism of social reproduction; 2) Elite high schools as a specific location for social reproduction; 3) Social Justice education as a mechanism of intervention *against* social reproduction; and 4) Social justice education within elite high schools. This review is organized to expand on the fundamental argument posed in chapter 1: social and economic stratification is a problem and education in general, elite education in particular, and the role of discourse in educational settings are part of the complex process that has and continues to create inequality.

Social Reproduction

Since the publication of Bowles and Gintis' (1976) *Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life*, the role of schooling in reproducing the status quo has influenced education research and theory. In particular, Bowles and Gintis looked beyond the explicit curriculum of schools to investigate the socializing processes that are built into school structures. Published just

one year later, Willis's (1977) *Learning to Labor* continued this focus on socialization processes that occur beyond the cognitive domain. Moving slightly away from Bowles and Gintis's structural analysis, Willis documented how interactions between individual identity and economic structures reproduce class status and hierarchies. Similarly, studies on elite education have highlighted how elite schools transfer upper-class status from one generation to the next as "students are explicitly acculturated with the dispositions that define them as part of the elite" (Gaztambibe-Fernandez & DiAquoi, 2010, p. 59). In this section I discuss social reproduction theories and their critics. First, I describe reproduction of class hierarchies and then racial hierarchies. Finally, I argue that discourse and ideology are important contributors in the reproduction of class and racial hierarchies.

Reproducing class and racial hierarchies

As argued in chapter 1, America is a woefully inequitable society. Social reproduction theory is fundamentally concerned with what causes and maintains this inequality. In this chapter I focus on two hierarchies: race and class. Although other forms of inequality are clearly important in determining "life chances," race and class remain salient markers of group membership in America and thus are powerful social constructs that work to determine privileged status.

Although it is always a challenge to pinpoint explicit causes when considering social events such as growing inequality, it is possible to identify correlations. Race and class continue to be significant predictors of school success (Coleman, 1988; Nieto, 2005), and those who succeed in school are much more likely to succeed in America's marketplace. A powerful myth exists that justifies these correlations. The myth states

that race and class are predictors of school and future economic success, but over time America has become more egalitarian and thus the correlation has become less powerful. In fact, the opposite has occurred. Race and class do more today to predict school and economic success than they did fifty years ago (Reardon & Bischoff, 2011).

The logic of this argument suggests that wealthy, white children usually thrive in school, and are rewarded with economically sustaining careers while poor and non-white children fail. The correlations suggest a simplicity and logic that clearly do not exist. Social reproduction theory helps fill in the massive gaps represented by these statistical correlations.

Not only do Americans continue to believe in the myth of egalitarianism, but they also continue to believe that schools are the primary institutions that drive social mobility. Social reproduction theory claims the opposite: schools work to transfer class and racial advantage from one generation to another, working against social mobility. There are a number of different explanations for how this transfer occurs.

The power of funding

The first theory follows the money. Locally-based spending formulae in public high schools result in inequitable resource distribution among schools (Ingersoll, 1999, Kozol, 1991, Oakes, 1985). Money can pay for a lot: experienced teachers, extracurricular activities, well-maintained facilities, diverse curricular offerings, college preparation programs, and healthy food. The list goes on. Many sociological studies have explored the differences between the schools that have and the schools that have not in order to argue that money does matter when it comes to the quality of schools (Anyon, 1981; Burton, 1999; Kozol, 1983; Lareau, 1989). Since these spending formulae are

based on geography, and because race is a strong predictor of where someone lives, per pupil spending also breaks down along racial lines (Barndt & McNally, 2001). Although possibly less visible, economic and racial spending disparities also exist within individual schools. Policies such as tracking work within schools to delineate academic hierarchies, determining resource distribution and predicting students' success (Southworth, & Mickelson, 2007; Varenne & McDermott, 1998). Since race is a strong predictor of who is enrolled in high tracks versus low tracks, white students consume more resources in individual schools.

Clearly, money matters; however, money only explains so much. Money can fund materials, facilities, extracurricular activities, and experienced teachers, but money cannot predict how students will *experience* these commodities. Schools cannot be understood as just a ledger with inputs on one side and desired outputs on the other. More nuanced theories are necessary to understand how, beyond expenditures, the process of socialization sort students into class and race based "adult roles and circumstances" (Brantlinger, 2003, p. 2).

Correspondence theory

In *Schooling in Capitalist America: Educational Reform and the Contradictions of Economic Life,* Bowles and Gintis (1976) argue that the structures, norms, and values of schools *correspond* with the structures, values, and norms of capitalism. The correspondence principal describes "the close correspondence between the social relationships which govern personal interaction in the work place and the social relationships of the educational system" (p. 12). Schools that serve the wealthy allow for student autonomy in preparation for positions of power. Schools that serve the poor are

more controlling and hierarchies between teachers and students correspond with hierarchies between managers and workers. According to correspondence theory, money is still the primary factor determining a child's education. Money will determine if a student attends a mostly poor or a mostly affluent school. Money still buys some kids better materials, more teachers, and nicer facilities, but more importantly it buys some students an *experience* that corresponds with positions of leadership and management while buying other students an *experience* that corresponds with positions of subservience.

Identity formation

Critiques of correspondence theory argue that its underlying structural explanation for class disparity is overly deterministic and lacks sufficient consideration for human agency (Apple & Weis, 1983; Brantlinger, 2003; Giroux, 1992). Brantlinger (2003) argues that correspondence theorists "document the 'way things are' rather than 'why they are that way'; that is, little attention is paid to understanding human intentions or actions in school hierarchy creation" (p.2). Drawing on the Marxist tradition, a number of scholars (Apple, 1993, Bourdieu, 1977) have built upon the structural base of correspondence theory by "examining implications of the view that social stratification is not a benign, chance occurrence but the result of people's intentions and informed agency" (Brantlinger, 2003, p. 3). According to Brantlinger's (2003) argument, hierarchies are maintained in modern America primarily through the ideological and discursive practices of the powerful: "Force can be used to establish and maintain power – as it has been historically – but it is nicer and more efficient to convince those in low positions of the legitimacy of hierarchy and disparity" (p. 5). The discourse of school is a

powerful mechanism for teaching the powerless that they deserve their position while teaching the powerful that they too deserve their position. Howard (2008) similarly argues that, "dominant groups use ideologies much more effectively than physical force or violence to keep subordinate group members in their place, and to rebuff any attempts at resisting the status quo" (p. 27). Drawing on the work of Bakhtin (1981), Howard (2008) explains that schools socialize students into dominant or subordinate positions by creating a context in which students undergo a "process of 'ideological becoming', whereby one appropriates the words and language of others, and in so doing struggles to strike a balance between 'authoritative' and 'internally persuasive' forms of discourse (see Tappan, 2005)" (p. 26). This intentionality is manifested in the discourse of schooling and educational policy and presents in numerous ways: school mission statements, the language of high stakes assessments, course descriptions and catalogues, legislative documents, political rhetoric, etc.

Although correspondence theory is primarily concerned with class, the underlying structural arguments inform popular explanations of racial privilege. Peggy McIntosh's (1990) essay on white privilege describes whiteness in fundamentally structuralist terms. McIntosh describes two types of privilege. "Unearned advantages" are rights that all members of society should posses, but are restricted to dominant groups. "Conferred dominance" can only occur when one group has direct control over another and is "entrenched in cultural assumptions that establish patterns of control and maintain hierarchies in our society" (Howard, 2008, p. 22). McIntosh's ideas on privilege represent a well-established tradition that conceives of privilege as "a set of unearned advantages based upon socially constructed categories" (Swalwell, 2013, p. 13). Classifying race or

gender as a social category as opposed to a biological category represents an important

and discursive practice in the theoretical understanding of race. However, like

correspondence theory, the traditional theory of privilege places a great deal of emphasis

on larger social and structural phenomena and thus obscures the micro-level relationships

and processes that initiate individuals into privileged positions. As Howard (2008) notes,

McIntosh's metaphor of a knapsack suggests an extrinsic "commodified notion of

privilege…rather than as something more intrinsic, as something that reveals who they

are or who they have become in a fundamental sense" (p. 23). Given Howard's argument,

privileged social positions such as Whiteness do not directly correspond with being white

since privilege is not conferred upon the body by some external, socially deterministic

reality. Instead, privileged positions like Whiteness must be learned as a process of

"socio-culturally mediated identity formation" (Swalwell, 2013. p. 6).

Elite Schools, Social Reproduction, and Privileged Identity Formation

The literature on elite schooling is sparse. In this review I consider only the

literature that uses a critical perspective to study elite schooling. To be clear, I use the

word *critical* to suggest a theoretical lens that is broadly concerned with power dynamics.

I do not use the word to suggest negative judgments, although most of the works included

in this review do include negative judgments of elite private schools. This section is

divided into three parts. First I describe the characteristics of an elite private school.

Then, I review studies that use structuralism, in particular correspondence theories, to

describe social reproduction in elite schools. Next, I look at studies that describe social

reproduction with a focus on identity formation. In this review I provide a brief history

of elite private schools and argue that the changing nature of elite schooling (who they

serve, for what purpose, under what larger social conditions) explains the need to shift

from structural theory to a socially mediated theory to best understand private schools in

the present. In other words, theoretical shifts are not necessarily *improvements*; rather,

these shifts are responses to the changing nature of the domain (elite schools).

What is an Elite School?

Gaztambide-Fernandez (2009, 2011) delineates five categories to define an elite-

boarding school. Although this investigation considers both day and boarding schools,

Gaztambide-Fernandez's categories are a reasonable place to begin. In fact, I return to

these categories in chapter 3 where I describe the sample criteria for this research. Elite

Schools are:

1. typologically elite, by virtue of their identification as

   'independent schools';

2. scholastically elite, by virtue of the extensive and

   sophisticated curriculum they offer;

3. historically elite, by virtue of the role that elite social

   networks have played in their historical development;

4. demographically elite, by virtue of the population that

   attends elite boarding schools; and

5. geographically elite, by virtue of their physical character

   and location.   (Gaztambide-Fernandez, 2009, p. 26)

Gaztambibe-Fernandez's also provides a more circular definition of elite space; he argues

that elite schools are "deemed to have high status among social groups that have the

power to make such judgments" (2009b, p. 1092). Given this definition, elite schools are

not only mechanisms through which elite status is transferred to students, but are also places in which the very notion of "elite" status is continuously reshaped, refined, and rebranded. Elites have the power and resources to create a social world that recognizes their elite status. An elite private school prepares students for elite social position as well as the power and authority to recreate elitism in ways that continue to serve those at the top. How, exactly, elite status is forged is contestable and has certainly shifted over the years. In this review I examine the literature along a historical arc most simply divided between the 'old' elite and the 'new' elite.

The 'Old' Elite

Rapid economic expansion marked the final three decades of the nineteenth century, often called the Gilded Age. Industrial workers enjoyed huge wage gains, and the opportunity for economic growth attracted a massive influx of European immigrants, but by the end of the century the "shine of possibility had faded for many, the dream of America dimmed by the constant toil required in factories and shipyards" (Khan, 2011, p. 35). That toil supported a small and well established elite class, many of whom controlled the corporate trusts, or monopolies, that had acquired concentrated power and wealth through vertical integration. Of this upper class, only the country's 2,000 most established and powerful families were included in the original, 1887 edition of the *Social Register.* By 1977 the yearly volume included more than 20,000 entries. The *Social Register* and competing publications such as regional "blue books" represent the well established, well connected, and self-policed social aristocracy that is associated with American elitism and elite private schools.

The *Social Register* was a product of inclusion and exclusion. The book listed all of the families lucky enough to be part of the elite ranks, but the selectivity of the process made inclusion that much more desirable. Inclusion required power and wealth, but it also required lineage, personal connections, and membership in the right civic, club, and even athletic associations. In order to keep the number of members down and thus the status of membership up, (much like college acceptance rates and prestigious position in *U.S. News and World Report*) the elite establishment protected its position through exclusionary processes such as elite schooling.

Racial, ethnic, and religious discrimination and admissions policies provided manageable barriers before the turn of the nineteenth century, cloistering white Presbyterians and Episcopalians, but the boom years of the Gilded Age had allowed a number of Catholics, Jews, and eastern Europeans to accumulate enough wealth and power, that keeping them out of the country's most elite schools and colleges became more difficult. In 1907 Byron S. Hurlbut, Dean of Harvard College from 1902 to 1916, wrote his concerns about the encroaching "foreigners, and especially the Russian Jews" and his sympathy for "the old-fashioned College cases – sons of families that have been American for generations, -farmers and ministers, and most of all those of families with traditions of refinement and liberal education" (As quoted in Synnott, 1979, p. xvii). As ethnic and religious minorities began to knock at the door, elite schools became even more concerned with family tradition and connections as a means of exclusivity. Boarding schools were:

> Protectionist institutions aimed at providing not only the
>
> knowledge required to be successful but the culture,

morality, and social ties that were essential to the American

elite. The fact that the mere accumulation of capital was not

the overwhelming interest of this old American elite is also

a nod to an older, more aristocratic version of an elite who

seeks to create barriers that prevent others from joining

their rolls.   (Khan, 2011, p. 33)

Elite schools insulated, protected, and cultivated elitism, and not surprisingly became a

proxy for elite status. The rise of the social register corresponded with the rise of the

boarding school. In 1908 the *Social Register* began including college and prep school

attendance in its member profiles, demonstrating the strong link between elite schooling

and social standing. Baltzell (1989) argues that the growth of the *Social Register* and elite

high schools represented,

[the rise of a national] associational, inter-city, aristocracy.

For the first time upper-class associations other than the

family played an important role in socializing the young.

The New England boarding school and the fashionable

Eastern university became upper-class surrogate families

on almost a national scale. J.P. Holand, the symbol of

economic centralization in America, for example, joined

his contemporaries as trustees and benefactors of these

exclusive educational associations, where they all, in turn,

sent their sons to be educated together. Of the eighty-seven

family-founders, no less than sixty-five had one or more

descendants who had attended either Groton, St. Mark's, or

St. Paul's schools in the period between 1890 and 1940.

(p. 21)

Entry in the *Social Register* helped young members of the American aristocracy enter

elite schools. Elite schools then ushered their students into positions of power and

influence, securing graduates and then their children entry into the *Social Register*. In *The*

Power Elite Mills (1956) argues that elite schooling is the "one deep experience that

distinguishes the social rich from the merely rich and the those below" (p. 63). The New

England prep school more so than even attendance at an Ivy League College was the true

mark of elitism:

Harvard or Yale or Princeton is not enough. It is the really

exclusive prep school that counts, for that determines

which of the 'two Harvards' one attends. The clubs and

cliques of college are usually composed of carry-overs of

association and name made in the lower levels at the proper

schools; one's friends at Harvard are friends made at prep

school. That is why in the upper social classes it does not

by itself mean much merely to have a degree from an Ivy

league college. That is assumed: the point is not Harvard,

but which Harvard? By Harvard, one means Porcellian,

Fly, or A.D.: by Yale, one means Zeta Psi or Fence or Delta

Kappa Epsilon; by Princeton, Cottage, Tiger, Cap and

Gown, or Ivy. It is the prestige of a properly certified

secondary education that is the standard admission

ticket…for that experience is a major clue to the

nationwide upper class that is homogeneous and self-

conscious.   (Mills, 1956, p. 67)

The prep school functions to maintain elite status through exclusion, but it also molds

students into a "homogeneous and self-conscious" class that understand the need to take

care of their own in order to take care of themselves. In *Preparing for Power* Cookson

and Persell (1985) write: "To be accepted into a private school is to be accepted into a

social club, or more generally speaking, a status group that is defined as a group of

people who feel a sense of social similarity. People sharing the same status have similar

life-styles, common education backgrounds, and pursue similar types of occupations."

(p. 22) But once accepted, like a crucible, the prep school "melts down the refractory

material of individualism into the solid metal of elite collectivism" (Cookson & Persell,

1985, p. 124) The elite collective, according to Cookson and Persell, is best assessed

through membership in the *Social Register*. Cookson and Persell found that at one school

in 1985 40 percent of the 1982 graduating class was drawn from families listed in the

Social Register" (p. 3) and "an analysis of available data on 538 trustees from 22 schools

indicated that 41 percent of the trustees of these schools are listed in either the *Social

Register*, *Who's Who*, or both" (p. 110).

The prep schools described in these studies acted as conduits of class advantage

and "crucibles" that further refined the privilege students brought with them to school.

Schools were less a mechanism of creating privilege and more a symbolic placeholder as

upper class families ushered their children into the adult aristocracy. The *Social Register*

is an important and powerful symbol of this structural transmission as cycles of class advantage can be easily followed from generation to generation. The *Social Register* and elite schools worked in tandem as a system of exclusion. Those who didn't belong in the register didn't belong in elite schools and thus had little opportunity to ascend the social and cultural latter. This, however, is a dated vision of elite private schools and their students: boys in blazers accepted on lineage, who go yachting with their family friends on the weekends as they pass the time until they ascend to positions of power. This image doesn't fit the elite schools of today and structural theory that understands elite cultural transmission as a function of exclusionary practices and a "crucible" of upper class formation fails to explain what is happening in these schools today. Elite schools are still a powerful mechanism of social reproduction, but they are a different type of mechanism.

The New Elite

In *Privilege: The Making of and Adolescent Elite at St. Paul's School* Shamus Khan (2011) proclaims, "the *Social Register* is dead." In fact, it is not quite dead, but it has certainly lost its luster. In 2002 the *Register* started printing advertisements in its summer addition to cover costs and, although a slimmed down print version still appears once a year, today the *Register* is primarily maintained as a drab-looking website. The most recent "Note Worthy Event" on the site is an invitation to a December, 2013 art opening in Rome: "All who appreciate fine art are invited to visit, whether they are Italian, expatriates, or just passing through Rome." The language may still connote the aristocracy, but nobody is listening.

Khan argues that the decline of the *Social Register* corresponds with a "cultural restructuring of the American elite – from exclusion to omnivorousness" (p. 36). Elite

schools are still exclusive. The majority of attendees at elite private schools still pay full tuition, which can accede 30,000 dollars for day students and 50,000 dollars for boarding students. Most students still come from privilege and have this privilege reinforced through the process of schooling. However, exclusivity functions differently today. No longer does membership in the *Social Register* hold the keys to success. Yes, some students at elite schools still have recognizable lineage, but lineage does not guarantee social standing and success at an elite school. In fact, the well heeled "aristocratic classmates are sequestered" as schools "work hard to frame themselves as intentional communities of racial, ethnic, and economic diversity. Rather than discriminatory fortresses, they purport to provide a model for what the rest of the world should aspire to be" (Khan, 2011, p. 37).

The most prestigious schools are now the most economically and racially diverse. Phillips Andover awarded over 17 million dollars in financial aid in 2013 and enrolled a student body that was only 60% white. Instead of framing elite status based on lineage, class, and social connections the elite schools of today frame exclusivity "on the basis of talent – accepting the best of the best. These best might be found anywhere in society and so the elite work to find and include them" (Khan, p. 37). Once accepted, the elite schools of today no longer function as a crucible, refining privileged students down to a unified cultural ideal and forging elite collectivism. Instead, today's elite schools preach a doctrine of omnivorous consumption. Students participate in high culture and pop culture. They study Latin and feminism. They eat pan-seared tuna and pop-tarts. They travel in Europe and volunteer at the urban soup kitchen. Khan (2011) argues that the move to more "open" admission policies and the adoption of an omnivorous orientation

to the activity of schooling socializes students into a new type of privilege. The modern version of elite schooling teaches students three lessons of privilege. 1) Students learn to emphasize the importance of an open society and to explain success in this open society by hard work and talent. Although society is open, students also learn that hierarchies are an "enduring, natural presence…[and] Within the open society there are winners and losers. But unlike the past where these positions were ascribed through inheritance, today they are achieved." 2) Students learn that "experiences matter." Students "who act as if they already hold the keys to success are rejected as entitled…privilege is not something you are born with; it is something you learn to develop and cultivate." 3) Students learn that privilege means being at ease: "being comfortable in just about any social situation" (Khan, 2011, p. 15).

Privilege is no longer conferred onto a student by the elite school simply through attendance. Instead, students must learn to cultivate privileged identities. In particular elite education teaches students that success is the result of talent and work, that hierarchies are natural, that experience (not lineage or wealth) matter most, and that social ease is required to navigate and control an "open" society. The modern elite school forms privileged identities. This is not to say that cultural, economic, and racial advantages are not important. Instead, as Howard (2008) argues:

> We can extend, in other words, beyond commodified
> notions that divert attention from, and protect, the
> concealed and sophisticated processes involved in the
> cultural production of privilege. By mapping out and
> exposing the contours of privileged, we can begin to

imagine the possibilities for interrupting the processes that

reinforce and regenerate privilege.   (p. 31)

The world and elite schools have become more open, more egalitarian. "High" and

"Low" cultures blend where they once were starkly divided. Yet, inequality is at an all

time high. The modern version of elite schools, elite status, and privilege shape this new

growth in inequality and must be further explored and better understood to find durable

solutions.

What is Social Justice? A Brief Historical Inquiry

Much has been written about justice-oriented education. In this section I describe

several of the major traditions of social justice education, present a framework for

understanding the similarities and differences among these traditions, and, most

importantly, describe my own conception of social justice education.

Simply listing the major terminology used to describe social justice education is

daunting: anti-oppressive education (Kumashiro, 2000; 2004), democratic schooling

(Westheimer & Kahne, 1998; Apple & Beane, 2007), multicultural and anti-racist

education (Nieto, 2008; Sleeter & Grant, 2006; Pollock, 2008), teaching for social action

(Schultz, 2008) and critical pedagogy (Freire, 2000). What these models have in

common is an emphasis on explicit curricular content related to social injustice such as

racism, sexism, classism, homophobia and the ways these injustices impact students'

lives. For example, Adam, Bell and Griffin (1997) state that social justice education

involves an interdisciplinary approach that analyzes "multiple forms of oppression (such

as racism and sexism), and a set of interactive, experiential pedagogical principles that

help students understand the meaning of social difference and oppression in their

personal lives and the social system" (p. xv). According to these theories, education for social justice includes both a curricular and a pedagogic axis.

Beyond curriculum and pedagogy, the varying strands of social justice education are united through their evolution as voices against the status quo. As described earlier in this chapter, social reproduction theory argues that schools play a central role in the perpetuation of multiple hierarchies. Social justice education has evolved as a counter movement that aims to reorient the purposes of education from establishing and maintaining hierarchies to challenging and disabling hierarchies.

Although there is consensus about the inclusion of specific content on social injustice (racism, sexism, etc.) as components of social justice education, what should constitute the other requisite curricula, i.e., what "knowledge" should be included, what pedagogic philosophies should be applied, and what degree of student action should be required, are all contested questions in the literature. Furthermore, in her review of social justice education, Dover (2010) found that four historic educational reform approaches have informed the developing field of teaching for social justice: democratic education, critical (Freirian) pedagogy, multicultural education, and culturally responsive education. I use these four historical categories to organize discussion of social justice antecedents.

Four social education antecedents

Democratic education draws heavily upon the scholarship of John Dewey. Dewey summarizes his theory as follows:

> They are first that the pupil have a genuine situation of
>
> experience -- that there be a continuous activity in which he
>
> is interested for its own sake; secondly, that a genuine

problem develop within this situation as a stimulus to

thought; third, that he possess the information and make the

observations needed to deal with it; fourth, that suggested

solutions occur to him which he shall be responsible for

developing in an orderly way; fifth, that he have

opportunity and occasion to test his ideas by application, to

make their meaning clear and to discover for himself their

validity.   (2007, p. 133)

Dewey is often credited as the founder of the "child-centered" movement of education.

Modern critics often contend that child-centered education coddles students or overly

emphasizes personal experience at the exclusion of broadening student acquisition of new

knowledge. These criticisms could be challenged in their own right, but they can

certainly be challenged due to their misguided analysis of Dewey's primary thinking. In

the quotation above, the child becomes the center through his active participation in

"genuine" learning experiences – experiences that have direct meaning beyond the

classroom. The child does not become the center of the curriculum; the child becomes

the primary actor in the execution of genuine learning experiences. Student participation

and voice, then, are the bedrock of democratic education. Variance, however, exists

among objectives for democratic participation. Westheimer and Kahne (2004) describe

these differences in terms of political ideology: a conservative and individualistic focus

on personal responsibility, a progressive focus on participation in civic duties, or a leftist

justice orientation focused on social critique and change (pp. 239-240) – blurring the

lines between democratic schooling and critical education.

Critical Pedagogy draws from the work of Paulo Freire. Using the "banking" metaphor, Freire argues that traditional pedagogy replicates social stratification by creating a dominating class (educators) and an oppressed class (students). In banking education the teacher holds all of the power, knowledge, authority, and choice. The students have nothing, but the "illusion of acting through the teacher" (Freire, 1970, p. 73). To counter this disparate allocation of power, Freire suggests, "problem posing" education in which educators, along with students, engage in critical dialogue about the "generative themes" culled from their own lives. The objective of this dialogue is to develop students' "critical consciousness" as they "develop their power to perceive critically *the way they exist* in the world *with which* and *in which* they find themselves; they come to see the world not as a static reality, but as a reality in process, in transformation" (1970, p. 83, emphasis in original).

Multicultural education, possibly the most recognized form of equity-based education, "emerged from the Black civil rights movement of the 1960's" (Dover, p. 19). Multicultural education aims to reform both teaching method and curricula. Similar to perceptions and/or conceptualizations of democratic education, large variance exists among perspectives on multicultural curricula. Banks (1998) identified four tiers of multicultural curriculum reform: the contributions approach, the additive approach, the transformative approach, and the social action approach. The contributions and additive approaches are very similar. A contributions curriculum highlights the contributions of famous multicultural figures to mainstream society. In the additive approach a multicultural book, or even unit, may be "added" to the preexisting curriculum, but the multicultural content still remains highly marginalized in comparison to the "real" or

traditional curriculum or canon. Banks further argues that when the contributions and additive approaches "are used to integrate cultural content into the curriculum, people, events, and interpretations related to ethnic groups and women often reflect the norms and values of the dominant culture rather than those of cultural communities" (p. 30). The transformative approach infuses multicultural content into the entirety of the curriculum and invokes teaching methods similar to critical pedagogy. Banks (1998) states, "important aims of the transformative approach are to teach students to think critically and to develop the skills to formulate, document, and justify their conclusions and generalizations" (p. 32). An extension of the transformative approach, the social action approach includes action-oriented projects and activities that lead students "to know, to care, and to act" (p. 32). Many scholars have critiqued the implementation of multicultural education in schools by pointing out the tendency for teachers, administrators, and students to operate only within the first two tiers.

Culturally responsive education further blurs the distinction between these four strands. Culturally responsive education integrates critical pedagogy's conception of schools as political institutions and teachers and students as political agents with multicultural education's emphasis on cultural representation within all aspects of the curriculum. According to Villegas and Lucas (2002), culturally responsive education requires teachers to analyze their own cultural positions (their own racial, ethnic, political, linguistic, and cultural identities) as well as the "cultural knowledge, prior experiences, frames of reference, and performance styles of ethnically diverse students" (Gay, 2000, p. 29). Furthermore, Murrell (2001) argues that culturally responsive teachers also possess understanding of more than just their students; the "community

teacher" seeks out "contextualized knowledge" of students as well as the school, community, and students' families (p. 52). Culturally responsive educators then draw upon this knowledge to "create the core teaching practices necessary for effectiveness in diverse settings" (p. 52).

Social justice education draws from all four of these categories. For the purposes of this review I will employ North's (2008) theoretical framework that highlights three interconnected "spheres," which "address the relationships between the following major concepts: redistribution and recognition, macro- and micro – level processes, and knowledge and action" (p. 1184). Tensions exist between and within each relationship, and, North notes by citing Kumashiro (2002): "every purported answer to our problems 'makes possible some antioppressive changes while closing off others'" (Kumashiro, 2002, p. 9 as cited by North, 2008, p. 1198). In her discussion North moves beyond simply "glossing over the inherent tensions" and complexity of competing social justice theories, by "understanding and managing them [tensions] concretely" (Cochran-Smith, 2008, p. 13).

North's framework

Distributive models of social justice are based on the principle that individuals are entitled to equal distribution of resources. This is predominantly a socioeconomic model that aims to achieve justice by providing individuals with equal resources. An example of a distributive education policy is the Harlem Children's Zone, a project that aims to provide urban children and families with the same material advantages possessed by their suburban peers - prenatal care, pediatric medicine, job-security – and similar access to high quality schools and their implicit advantages - private tutors, after school activities,

college preparatory classes, small class size, etc. As a largely privately funded venture, the Harlem Children's Zone collects material resources from wealthy patrons and *redistributes* these resources to the urban poor.

In contrast to the distributive model, a recognition model of social justice emphasizes the social processes, institutional structures, and cultural politics that create disadvantages, while securing the power and privilege of dominant sectors. Tucson Arizona's La Raza studies program is an example of an education program built from a recognition model. This program, before local officials shut it down, recognized the collective rights of Hispanic students, supported indigenous ways of knowing, and promoted a curriculum tailored to a historically marginalized student group, while actively engaging students in progressive political movements.

The macro/micro level process model considers "who holds power and in what locations" (North, 2008, p. 1189). Macro-level processes involve the enactment of power by large-scale social and political institutions as well as economic actors. Such processes include the enactment of government policies, the ever-growing movement toward globalization spurred by multi-national corporations, and the media's recapitulation and solidification of normalized cultural and social narratives. Micro level processes "address the complex, diffuse ways that power flows within and through individual subjects who do not always behave in rational, predictable ways" (p. 1192) as well as the ways power flows within smaller systems such as individual schools and classrooms. Examples of micro level processes include the daily interactions between students and teachers, the degree to which individuals believe themselves to be autonomous actors, and the commodification of power and its subsequent exchange between individuals.

The knowledge and action models of social justice education highlight the degree to which social justice education should highlight the study of social justice (knowledge) versus the participation in active movements to enact social justice objectives (action). Traditional forms of schooling often emphasize the intellectual growth of students as the only important outcome whereas almost all social justice scholars "suggest that education for social change requires that students and teachers actively transform social injustices, not just study them. An emphasis on action in social justice education, then, challenges the notion that education is limited to developing knowledge, academic or otherwise" (p. 1194). Debated, however, is the amount of explicit justice-oriented action relative to the amount of social justice knowledge within education programs. Moreover, what constitutes action is questionable. For example, does actively questioning and critically examining the production of knowledge and the actors involved in its production constitute explicit justice-oriented action? Or, as Anyon (2005) argues is participation "in transgressive politics" the only valid form of justice-oriented action (p. 141)?

The key to North's framework is her dual perspective on the importance of viewing each of the models as dichotomous while simultaneously recognizing the multiple ways the dichotomies break down. For example, in her discussion of the distribution and recognition models she notes, "All these forms of redistribution overlap with issues of recognition because obstacles to obtaining economic resources, building strong social networks, and developing the cultural know-how, skills, and behavior prized by those with power and wealth often lead to a lower social status (and therefore less recognition) in the United States" (p. 1186). However, even while acknowledging the places in which the models "overlap," North pointedly demonstrates how pedagogic,

curricular, and policy decisions built upon any given model inherently preclude certain objectives while including others.

In North's framework, one model is not necessarily better, more progressive, or more radical than another. Instead, she presents the models as a means of exploring how particular actions may achieve certain social justice objectives while simultaneously preventing the achievement of other important social justice objectives. In this way, North emphasizes the importance of situating theory in specific contexts. This is of essential importance for considering social justice initiatives in elite schools since the majority of social justice research, theorizing, and action has occurred in marginalized communities, and the lessons learned through this work may not transfer to elite settings. For example, Cochran-Smith's framework (2004) states that teachers for social justice "enable significant work within communities of learners…build on what students bring to school with them - knowledge and interests, cultural and linguistic resources - …teach skills, bridge gaps…work with (not against) individuals, families and communities…diversify forms of assessment…and make inequity, power, and activism explicit parts of the curriculum" (pp. 66-67). Although not explicitly stated here, or in much of the writing on social justice education, the implicit message is that social justice education, as it is currently conceived, is intended for historically marginalized populations. Within Cochran-Smith's framework, only the final benchmark - "make inequity, power, and activism explicit parts of the curriculum" - can be easily translated into an elite school context. The other benchmarks are already being met in elite schools; furthermore, elite schools are doing such a good job of building upon *the majority* of students' "cultural and linguistic resources" and working "with (not against) individuals,

families and communities" that these practices greatly contribute to producing the schools' elite status! It is important to note that this statement is most true for students who self-identify as belonging to the school norm (upper class, white, male, and Christian). It has been well documented that students that deviate from this norm have more challenges operating within these elite spaces (Gaztambide-Fernandez & Raygine DiAquoi, 2011; Howard, 2008; Proweller, 1999; Tatum, 1987).

What then does social-justice education look like in an elite school? In recent years a small number of researchers have investigated movements within elite schools intended to disrupt, question or challenge privilege. I review this small sample of research in the following section. Also, I write briefly about research on teacher preparation for social justice – a related and more fully developed field of inquiry.

Disrupting Privilege in Elite Schools

The research base on social justice initiatives within high school communities of privilege is extremely thin. As Swalwal (2013) notes, most research that does exist critiques the value of service learning with privileged students. Howard (1981) and Wessinger (1994) describe the need to develop multiethnic curricula for rural schools. Derman-Sparks and Ramsey's 2006 book, *What If All the Kids are White* uses vignettes to frame their guide for anti-biased elementary school education. Although none of this literature can be directly applied to social justice education in privileged high schools, Swalwell (2013) notes that this very limited literature base does identify…

> three common reactions of privileged children when
>
> exposed to social justice pedagogy. First, though they may
>
> well learn of injustices in the world, privileged students are

likely to frame these issues as abstract and demonstrate a

deep unawareness of their root causes. Second, whereas

marginalized students may come to feel empowered by

learning about systemic oppression, privileged students are

likely to feel overwhelmed by guilt or anger and resist this

pedagogy. Third, if students choose to participate in social

action as a result of their exposure to social justice

pedagogy, privileged students are more likely to act in

ways that frame themselves as savior figures who help a

deficit "Other" in a patronizing or superior way. (p. 24)

These findings are consistent with the more extensive body of research on preservice

teacher resistance to social justice education. For example, some preservice teachers

resist challenges to meritocratic world-views (Solomon, Portelli, Daniel, & Campbell,

2005) and are uncomfortable with discussions about institutional inequality (Weisman &

Garza, 2002; Huerta & Flemmer, 2005). When discussing issues of race, some preservice

teachers remain silent (Hill, Phelp, & Friedland, 2007), engage in color-blind rhetoric

(Case & Hemmings, 2005), or reframe the conversation in terms of culture (Buehler,

Gere, Dallavis, & Haviland, 2009). Despite course work and field placements, student

teachers often operate from deficit perspectives (Hill, Phelps, & Friedland, 2007; Marx,

2004), leading them to pity urban students (Weisman & Garza, 2002; Marx & Pennington

2003), to underestimate their academic potential (Riley & Ungerleider, 2009) or to enact

a savior mentality. The three studies that do investigate social justice education for

privileged high school students come to similar conclusions (DiPardo & Fehn, 2000; Seider, 2008; Swalwell, 2013).

Seider (2008) investigated the efficacy of a one-semester social justice course on affluent high school seniors' attitudes towards issues of social justice. Using pre- and post-tests, Seider found that participants in "the social justice course experienced a decline over the course of the semester in their support for educational equity between wealthy and poor communities." Follow-up interviews with participants revealed that the curriculum increased student awareness about critical issues such as homelessness and poverty, but that this awareness did not translate into increased civic empathy. In fact, greater awareness "opened their eyes" to the reality of financial insecurity, making them more protective of their privileged status. Seider (2008) concludes:

> [The] Literature and Justice curriculum paradoxically
>
> served to strengthen its participants' reliance on
>
> individualistic explanations for poverty and affluence. In so
>
> doing, Literature and Justice also decreased students'
>
> concerns about educational equity between affluent and
>
> poor communities. Since Glennview students believed that
>
> individuals in wealthier communities had earned better
>
> educations for their children, they saw little cause for
>
> concern in the disparate educational opportunities afforded
>
> children from wealthy and poor communities. (p. 663)

DiPardo and Fehn (2000) researched the development and implementation of a required "cultural issues" course in an affluent, predominantly white public school. The

course was the centerpiece of a school wide initiative to promote "multicultural/non-sexist education," which had been identified by faculty and staff as the "number one priority for the school year" (p. 174). DiPardo and Fehn found that the course failed to address issues of localized racism and privilege and depoliticized classroom discourse by employing a binary lens for interpretation: "ethnocentrism is bad, acceptance good" (p. 171).

Swalwell conducted a year-long ethnographic study that included two school settings. The first was a nationally recognized public school in an affluent suburb. The second was a private day school in a gentrified urban neighborhood. Within each school Swalwell imbedded herself within a justice-oriented civics class taught by teachers committed to social change. She found that even though the school demographics were very similar – mostly white, affluent, scholastically successful students with plans to attend well regarded colleges, the setting was very important in determining the student's views on justice oriented issues and the pedagogy employed by the teachers.

Swalwell uses the metaphor of "the bubble" to describe suburban 'West Town.' She takes the metaphor from the words of west town students who, during interviews, routinely referred to their town and school as a bubble. Swalwell notes: "what was perhaps most striking in their descriptions was how articulate the students were about the ways in which the bubble combined utopian and dystopian elements." (p. 40). Ultimately, though, the bubble metaphor shielded students from seeing how their privileged lives were connected in "historical, political, cultural, and economic ways to the rest of humanity." Instead, students understood the bubble to be a separate "apolitical haven from the 'real world'" (p. 41). Social justice education at West High was designed

to "burst the bubble" in order to show how the suburbs and the privilege cultivated there were connected to the rest of the world and the injustices suffered within it.

Just over the city line from West Town, the students at the private 'Kent School' "described themselves as 'open' to the 'real world' in ways the suburban kids were not simply by nature of their living within the city" (p. 45). Kent School students "were well versed in the tenets of progressive education and saw their schooling as a key factor distinguishing them in positive ways from other privileged students in that they were more aware and more concerned about the rest of the world" (p. 48). The social justice education at Kent was designed to "challenge the perception that they [Kent students] are above issues of injustice, however aware of them they may be in an abstract or analytical way." (p. 51).

Through her ethnographic research Swalwell identified four "modes of thinking that emerged…the Meritocratic, the Benevolent Benefactor, the Resigned, and the Activist Ally." Having identified the Activist Ally as the preferred "mode of thinking," Swalwell:

> Tried to tease apart the common criteria among lessons that
> elicited more of an Activist Ally mode of thinking from
> those that did not. What I found was that those activities
> emphasizing personal connections to injustice, critical self-
> reflection, listening, and relationship-building over time
> with people from marginalized groups tended to elicit more
> Activist Ally thinking than did those activities that
> emphasized abstract knowledge, emotional disconnection,

> intellectual opining, and unidirectional service projects or
>
> short term field trips.

Social justice initiatives are on the rise in elite schools, but the majority of research on

elite schools, privilege, and, in particular, research on social justice courses in elite

schools suggest that challenges exist and may even preclude the actualization of robust

social justice initiatives in elite schools. As Khan (2011) argues, the idea that "inequality

is a product of closure and exclusion" is "not up to the challenges we face today" (p. 36).

In order to intervene in systems of privileging and oppression, it is important to

understand how privilege is produced and reproduced, particularly the role of discourse

practices in producing privilege, so that institutional advancement toward social justice

goals can align with these new theoretical understandings.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

This dissertation investigated the discursive practices of elite high schools and the ways these practices create and preclude opportunities for social justice education. Using critical discourse analysis, I investigated the institutional discourse practices of elite, private high schools with a particular focus on the interplay between the discourse of social justice and counter discourses. To conduct this critical discourse analysis I drew on the theoretical work of Khan (2011) and Howard (2008) to understand the role of language in the production and maintenance of power and privilege in elite private schools. Furthermore, the literature review on the discourse of social justice and counter discourses informed the selection of initial typologies. Methodologically, I used Norman Fairclough and James Gee's tools of critical discourse analyses for the data synthesis and analysis. One overarching questions was considered in this dissertation: As revealed through institutional documents, what are the discursive challenges and opportunities for enacting socially just education within elite high schools? In order to approach this complicated question, five sub-questions were developed:

    vi.   What is the discourse of social justice in elite schools?

    vii.   What are the counter or competing discourses to the discourse of social justice in elite schools?

    viii.   How has the discourse of social justice shifted over time in elite schools?

ix. What are the functional language processes that constitute the

discourse of social justice in elite schools and how have they

changed over time?

x. How does the discourse of social justice interact with counter or

competing discourses in elite schools?

In this chapter I first answer the question *why use critical discourse analysis to research elite* schools? Then I define and describe the research sample and selection criteria. Then I outline the specific methodology, data collection techniques and research procedures for the study.

Why Use Critical Discourse Analysis to Investigate Elite Schools?

As Creswell (2003) states, "qualitative research is emergent rather than tightly preconfigured" (p. 181) and is thus appropriate for the study of complex phenomena about which little is known. Since little is known about the domain of elite schools, and no research has been conducted on the discourse of social justice within elite schools, critical discourse analysis is an appropriate research methodology because of its exploratory functions.

In general terms, discourse can be defined as practices of speaking and writing. For the purposes of this work, however, discourse is defined as the scaffolds that confine, produce, define, reify, and order reality in particular ways. This definition is broad in two ways. First the definition names a number of discursive affects (confine, produce, etc.) beyond simple representation – a discourse does more than *describe* a preexisting reality. In fact, according to this definition, discourses influence the creation of perceived reality. The definition is also broad in that it allows for a number of different types of scaffolds.

Discursive scaffolds include broad concepts such as metanarratives that can order

interpretations of macro-level historical events, but they also include specific

grammatical structures that order micro-level linguistic functions. A discourse then can

be understood as a very large scaffold or a very specific scaffold. Regardless, all

discourses both enable and constrain particular social effects such as the

construction/production of knowledge, reality, and truth and the interpretation of this

produced/constructed knowledge, reality, and truth.

Critical discourse analysis, as is the case with all research methodologies, is not

value neutral. However, unlike research emerging from the positivist paradigm, critical

discourse analysis openly signals its social and political investments. Critical discourse

analysis emphasizes the "relationship between discourse and other elements of social

practices" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 205). Critical discourse analysis does more than just

describe this relationship; critical discourse analysis blends critical social theory with

linguistic analysis in order to explain the nexus of linguistic and social practices "in terms

of their implications for things like status, solidarity, distribution of social goods, and

power" (Gee, 2004, p. 33). Gee (1999) also explains that critical discourse researchers

possess two motivations beyond discursive description:

> illuminating and gaining evidence for our theory of the
>
> domain, a theory that helps to explain how and why
>
> language works the way it does when it is put into action;
>
> and contributing, in terms of understanding and
>
> intervention, to important issues and problems in some
>
> "applied" area (e.g. education) that interests and motivates

the researcher. (p.8)

Studying the institutional discourse practices of elite schools allows for the development

of nuanced theories that move beyond the traditional use of structuralism to explain elite

schools "as mechanism[s] for upper-class cultural transmission" (Gaztambide-Fernandez

& DiAquoi, 2010, p. 59). As discussed in the literature review, researchers such as

Gaztambide-Fernandez (2009), Khan (2011), and Howard (2008) have blended structural

determinism, individual agency, and socio-cultural identity development to articulate a

new set of theories that explain privilege and social reproduction. Critical discourse

analysis also embraces a theoretical position at the intersection of structuralism (the

power of linguistic signification) and socio-cultural theory, thus making it a logical

methodology to use in the continuation of this new direction of privilege studies.

Furthermore, the work of Howard (2008), Kahn (2011), and Gaztambide-Fernandez

(2009) all specifically name discourse as a salient factor in the development of privilege

and the maintenance of social hierarchies. Since this study seeks specifically to

investigate the discursive practice of elite schools and researchers have begun to identify

discourse as a salient factor in the development of privilege and the maintenance of social

hierarchies, this study clearly meets Gee's (1999) first requirement for the use of critical

discourse analysis: "gaining evidence for our theory of the domain." This study also

meets Gee's second requirement: "contributing, in terms of understanding and

intervention, to important issues and problems in some "applied" area (e.g. education)."

The overarching research question for this study is: *As revealed through institutional*

documents, what are the discursive challenges and opportunities for enacting socially

just education within elite high schools? The question signals action beyond theoretical

exploration or description of the domain. Identifying specific challenges and opportunities for enacting socially just education contributes in terms of both "understanding and intervention." Below I explore this point in more detail by arguing that critical discourse analysis offers a particularly compelling theory of change because it provides both a mechanism for understanding and intervening into the domain of elite private education.

Emerging from the literature on critical discourse analysis and learning (see Gee, 2004) is a theory of change that highlights learning as a social practice, moving away from traditional change theory that views learning as a predominantly cognitive endeavor. Although education scholars have proposed a number of frameworks for social justice education, few intervention studies have been carried out in high school classrooms (North, 2007). There is, however, a larger body of research concerning the implementation of justice-oriented education for privileged populations within college courses, specifically in the field of teacher education. I turn quickly to this body of research in order to describe the theory of change most commonly employed in this research.

Speaking broadly, the research on preparing preservice teachers to enact socially just pedagogy, finds that most preservice teachers possess a limited understanding of institutional racism, believe in the myth of meritocracy, consider culture and race as innate attributes of people instead of socially constructed identities, and view multicultural students through a deficit lens (Cochran-Smith, Davis, & Fries, 2003; Trent, 2008; Sleeter, 2001; 2008). These four themes coalesce around preservice teacher *knowledge* and preservice teacher *beliefs*. It thus logically follows that pedagogy is

predominantly designed to increase *knowledge* or change *beliefs*. The often-cited article

by Villegas and Lucas (2002) on culturally responsive teacher preparation delineates a

six-part teacher education program:

> Gaining a sociocultural consciousness, (2) developing an affirming
>
> attitude toward students from culturally diverse backgrounds, (3)
>
> developing the commitment and skills to act as change agents, (4)
>
> understanding the constructivist foundations of culturally responsive
>
> teaching, (5) learning about students and their communities, and (6)
>
> cultivating culturally responsive teaching practices. (p. 568)

According to this plan, a preservice teacher must first contend with her own

"consciousness," "attitude," "commitment," and "understanding" before she begins the

work of developing "culturally responsive teaching practices." Similarly, Neuharth-

Pritchett (2001) notes: "Given the issues presented in the literature on multicultural

education and the increasing need for teachers who are trained to work with diverse

populations of students, it is imperative that university preparation programs identify

preservice teacher education students' *beliefs*" (emphasis added).

In one way, the fact that this research program is so deeply invested in beliefs and

knowledge should not be surprising. Cognitive based theories have come to dominate the

education landscape (Lagemann, 2000). In another way, however, the fact that this

research program, a program that explicitly aligns with the critical paradigm, is so deeply

invested in beliefs and knowledge is surprising. As Jean Anyon writes, "developing

'critical consciousness' through information, readings, and discussion does not by itself

induce [people] to participate in transgressive politics—although it provides a crucial

base of understanding" (2005, p. 141). The perspectives of social justice education are

rooted in critical *social* theory, but the theory of change most commonly employed by

social justice educators is rooted in *individualistic* cognitive theory.

Critical discourse analysis provides a way out of the bind of individualistic

cognitive theory. Gee (2004) explains:

Because discourse analysis is about the inextricably

political marriage between form and function within social

practices, some perspectives on learning fit better with

discourse analytic research than do others. For example, a

view of learning that focuses only on changing

representations inside people's heads fails to engage with

form and function out in the world of social practices.

Discourse analysis is as much (or more) about what is

happening among people out in the world (sociology) than

it is about what is happening in their minds (psychology).

(p. 38)

Learning, according to Gee, is not simply a cognitive process that occurs "inside people's

heads"; rather, learning is a social process that occurs "among people out in the world,"

and discourse analysis is well suited for gaining clarity on these social processes and for

"intervening" in these processes. Gee, in order to describe learning in a way that is

compatible with critical discourse analysis, defines learning as "*changing patterns of*

participation in specific social practices" (p. 38). Gee has not simply gerrymandered a

definition of learning to best suit his research methodology, but rather draws on a set of

core understandings to define learning: learning is social, cultural, political, and epistemological. If discourse creates and reflects the social, cultural, political and epistemological milieu of social institutions, so too does the process of learning that occurs within these social institutions. Learning, when considered purely as an act of cognition, can be more easily separated from the social, cultural, and political world, and can thus be measured using standard outputs such as test scores, desired behaviors, or positive movement on a Likert scale. However, when learning is conceived as a process of socially situated identity development, an analysis of learning "needs to show how a distinctive community of practice is constituted out of specific social practices (across time and space) and how patterns of participation systematically change across time, both for individuals and the community of practice as a whole (or distinctive parts of it)" (Gee, 2004, p. 39). Importantly, this theory of learning is reflected in the social-cultural theory of identity development articulated by Howard (2008) and Kahn (2011), in their explorations of how students learn privilege and develop social and cultural capital. Emerging from this conception of learning is a theory of change that addresses the institutional discourse practices and considers their role in the socialization of students, teachers, and administrators into particular communities of practice. Furthermore, Gee's contention that discourse analysis must address "systematic change over time" aligns with this dissertation's emphasis on tracking the socio-historical shifts in school discourse practices from 1980-2015. An analysis of these discourse practices is a first step in identifying how individuals, such as students, and social institutions, such as elite schools, can reflexively shift discourse practices and thus influence "patterns of participation" in socially just communities of practice.

Research Sample

Both convenience and criterion sampling techniques were used to generate the sites for this study. Criterion sampling involves selecting cases that meet some predetermined criterion of importance (Patton, 2002). Since the research questions address social justice discourse practices within elite private schools, criteria were developed to ensure that the sample included only schools that are both elite and actively committed to justice-oriented education practices. Also, because this research required access to historical documents, only schools with dedicated archives were considered. Furthermore, convenience sampling techniques were employed to insure the researcher was able to visit the schools' archives over an extended period of time. Data collection took place in two phases. The first phase of data collection aimed to answer the following research questions: what is the socio-historical context of the discourse of social justice in elite schools? And, what is the socio-historical context for counter or competing discourses to the discourse of social justice in elite schools? The historical nature of these questions required in-depth historical inquiry. In order to allow for the necessary depth of research, I selected three schools to comprise my sample. Keeping the number of schools at three allowed for some variation to emerge among cases while keeping the scope of inquiry narrow enough to allow for rich analysis. The three schools selected for this study are Holand Academy (pseudonym), The Brownsville School (pseudonym), and The Martial School (pseudonym).

Research criterion: Elite school status

I used the following four categories of elite school status described in chapter two to inform the elite school selection criterion: elite schools are typologically elite,

scholastically elite, historically elite, and demographically elite. I used Porter Sargent's *Handbook of Private Schools 2013* to identify a list of private schools and relevant data.

1) *Typologically elite* is determined by a school's independent status. Inclusion in *Porter Sargent's Handbook* identifies a school as independent and thus typologically elite. Independent status, as opposed to public status, is a marker of elitism because it frees schools from most government oversight. This autonomy allows independent schools the power of curricular choice and selective admissions. The most coveted public schools are selective by proxy – usually wealth determines who can live in a "good" school district. Independent schools are able to extend this selectivity because they can freely deny entrance, making membership in the school community a symbol of belonging.

2) All schools founded before the stock market crash of October 1929 are considered historically elite. The crash began a slow process that eventually resulted in the post-WWII rise of the middle and upper middle classes. Although the concept of old money versus new money was made famous in Fitzgerald's 1925 classic *The Great Gatsby*, the new aristocracy of the roaring twenties quickly saw fortunes evaporate during the great depression. Schools founded before the crash serve a more historically established demographic as opposed to post-war schools that were able to attract students from the growing ranks of the new, upper-middle class. This is, of course, still a subjective demarcation. Gaztambide-Fernandez (2009) defines historically elite as any school founded before 1900, but provides no rationale for this choice.

3) Demographically elite is defined by endowments, and admissions selectivity.

Tuition generally represents the economic class of students currently attending while endowments generally represent the economic class of alumni, parents, and other "friends of the school." There is, however, no statistical difference in the tuition costs of most private schools in Sargent's Handbook, so this cannot be used to differentiate among schools. Great variability exists among endowments as well as among acceptance rates. Schools must meet a certain threshold of either endowment (over 50 million) *or* acceptance rate (under 30%) to be considered demographically elite.

4) Scholastically elite is defined by average SAT scores and the school's top six college placements. In order to be considered scholastically elite a school must maintain an average SAT threshold above 1.5 standard deviations above the national mean and matriculate students into historically elite universities as identified in US News and World Report.

The three schools selected for this study meet all four criteria for elite status. Furthermore, all three these schools maintain archives and employ part-time archivists. Although dedicating resources to a school archive is not included in Gaztambide-Fernandez (2009) definition of elite schools, doing so is clearly another marker of elite status.

Research criterion: Social justice orientation criteria

    The following five criteria were used to evaluate a school's stated commitment to social justice. For a school to be considered for this study it must meet three of the five listed social justice criteria.

1) The school requires all students to take at least a one-semester course on an explicitly justice-oriented topic. These courses may include an ethics course, a critical race theory course, or a social issues course.

2) The school must require all students to take an English or History course that focuses on non-western themes.

3) The school must employ a fulltime justice or diversity coordinator.

4) At least 25% of the school's student body must be classified as non-white.

5) The ratio of the school's financial aid expenditure to endowment must exceed 1:10.

As represented in Table 3.1, the three schools selected for this study all meet at least three of the five criteria. Data for chart 3a was collected from school websites on July 28, 2014.

Table 3.1: Social Justice Criteria by School

School	Justice Course	Non-Western Course	Justice or Diversity Coordinator	Minimum 25% Student Body Non-White	Ratio of Endowment to Financial Aid
Holand Academy	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	No
The Brownsville, Dunn and Michelson School	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes

The Martial Friends School	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No

Methodological Framework for Critical Discourse Analysis.

Although there is variation among critical discourse methodologies (discussed below) critical discourse analysis can be identified by the following four key assumptions:

1) When language is used in social spaces there is some degree of linkage between linguistic "form" and linguistic "function."

2) Functional language use is always ideological and political.

3) Critical discourse analysis invests in emancipatory social change.

4) Critical discourse analysis engages in a "dialectic between individual agency and structural determinism." (Rogers, 2004, p.3)

Given these four assumptions, different critical discourse analysis methodologies have evolved. Although links exist among what makes these methodologies "critical," "discursive," and "analytical," the connections are not always linear: i.e. a particular theoretical perspective will shape and be shaped by a particular definition of discourse, both of which will shape and be shaped by the objectives, techniques, and presentation of the analysis. Recognizing these methodological differences, Gee (2004) makes the important distinction between the acronym CDA, which he connects explicitly to the methodology of Fairclough, and critical discourse analysis, which he connects to other critical discourse methodologies. Different methodologies have evolved as critical discourse analysis has been used to investigate different types of problems, has focused

on different text types (as well as non textual discourse events), and has been utilized in different contexts. Gee (1999) argues critical discourse analysis always constitutes a blending of theory and method, so researchers should adapt and mix these methodologies in order to meet the shifting quality of the research "issues, problems, and contexts" as they are "continually transformed…in practice" (p. 6). In order to prepare for these inevitable shifts, I describe two key methodologies below and outline how I intend to integrate them while investigating my research questions. First I explain why I believe blending these two strands of critical discourse is particularly useful given my research questions.

Gee and Fairclough

As Gee suggests, I intend to blend critical discourse methodologies. In particular, I draw from Gee's own work and the work of Fairclough. In many ways, the thinking of these two scholars overlaps, but in some important instances they represent different methodological points of entry. In this section I explain their methodologies in tandem where appropriate and separately where necessary.

Four points of entry

The overarching research question for this study states: As revealed through institutional documents, what are the discursive challenges and opportunities for enacting socially just education within elite high schools? The methodologies of both Gee and Fairclough provide points of entry for investigating this question. Both methodologies work towards the same goal: describing the interaction between historical context, social context, linguistic form and power dynamics in determining possible discursive functions, interpretations, and social effects. For Fairclough, the final analysis asks

questions concerning how social conditions and social practices have controlled and preserved certain linguistic possibilities while excluding others. For Gee, the final analysis considers how historical 'building tasks' allow for possible discursive acts in the now, and how intertextuality influences textual production. These types of questions and concerns are all important when considering the overarching questions for the study. Each methodological concern also highlights a particular point of entry into the interactions described above. These points of entry include: the historical context, the social context, linguistic form, and the role of power dynamics. When making conclusions concerning this study's overarching question, I consider all of these ideas together – they are, after all, working in conjunction and thus cannot be fully separated from each other. That being said, in order to gain clarity on the domain of this study, it is important to begin the research process with more focused questions and methodological objectives. Critical discourse analysis intentionally creates tension because it is not a methodology that works in a clean or logical order. For every attempt to separate ideas and questions the researcher must simultaneously look for and prepare for areas of interaction. Conversely, for every attempt to explain broader phenomena, the researcher must work to isolate findings. Consequently, the four stages of data analysis described latter in this chapters should not be viewed as a clean delineation between methodological objectives or a strict research sequence.

Methodology, Data Collection Techniques and Research Procedures

The acronym CDA is most commonly associated with the work of Fairclough. Here, and in the remainder of this paper, I will use CDA to refer to Fairclough's methodology and critical discourse analysis to refer to any other alternate methodology.

Fairclough (1993, 1995, 2001) describes three levels of CDA: text analysis, discourse process analysis, and social practice analysis. CDA calls for a "dialectical" analysis that moves between each level of discourse (Fairclough, 2003). Having acknowledged the inevitable fluidity of analysis, it is also important to theorize each level separately in order to describe the most apt research methods for each level. The levels of analysis reflect upon each other in such a way that each level influences and is influenced by the other levels while each level simultaneously retains its autonomy.

Textual analysis uses individual linguistic artifacts as the object of analysis. Using Halliday's (2004) systemic functional linguistic (SFL) theory, which assumes "linguistic analysis of texts is always oriented to the social character of texts" (Fairclough, 2001, p. 5), textual analysis links linguistic form to discursive meaning. CDA, more than any other methodology of critical discourse analysis, emphasizes the explicit analysis of linguistic form. However, CDA *does not* conceptualize texts as a static system, disassociated from their specific social function, as do literary formalist such as Roman Jacobson (1960) or structural anthropologists such as Claude Levi-Strauss (1966). According to CDA, language is a collection of "meaning-making resources" (Halliday, 2004, p. 4) that have over time developed "common" but not "universal" functions.

The second level of CDA is process analysis. Simply put, process analysis links the specific linguistic analysis of texts with the analysis of textual production and textual reception. It is easy to conceptualize how claims on textual meaning must include consideration and analysis of text production, the text itself, and text reception; however, it is much more challenging to operationalize a method of analysis at the level of

production and reception than it is to operationalize a method of analysis at the level of

the text. This challenge is magnified since CDA tends to focus on published texts and

political documents, many of which may not identify an author. Furthermore, CDA is

primarily concerned with reception beyond the individual researcher's interpretive

experience (this differentiates CDA from reader response theory); therefore, reception

analysis must make claims about an imagined audience.

In order to contend with the challenge of production analysis, CDA focuses on the

context of production instead of focusing on "authorial intent." In some instances the

context and history of production can be verified through historical research, but this is

not always possible, especially when authorship is not known. Contending with the

challenges of reception is more difficult for, as Fairclough (2003) states, "it is very

difficult to be precise about the processes involved in meaning-making for the obvious

reason that they are mainly going on in people's heads, and there are no direct ways of

accessing them" (p. 11). In order to circumvent this challenge, CDA moves beyond a

concern with *individual* reception (and thus individual cognition) to *social* reception.

Similar to Gramsci's theory of cultural hegemony, social reception in the CDA

framework considers which discursive practices (at the semiosis level) have been socially

accepted and socially rejected in order to posit how linguistic variation at the level of text

can have "social effects" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 8). Tracking changes in institutional

documents can reveal which language practices have become socially accepted and

socially rejected.

Linking semiosis with social effects primarily occurs at the third level of

discourse analysis: social practice analysis. More so than in the first two stages of

analysis, social practice analysis requires researchers to explicitly draw upon critical social theory as well as linguistic theory (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). Critical theory helps the researcher navigate the ways in which social conditions and social practices have historically controlled and preserved certain structural possibilities while excluding others. In terms of CDA, critical theory provides a means for understanding how individual texts fit into and construct hierarchical "orders of discourse," which are "one element of the relatively durable structuring and networking of social practices" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 3). While establishing preliminary findings for chapter 4, social practice analysis was used in order to identify preliminary codes. Further social practice analysis took place in Tier IV of my research methodology, where I oscillated among all three levels of analysis in order to explain the dialectical relationship between "the material and the semiotic" by engaging in "trans-disciplinary critical social analysis" (Fairclough, 2012)

Gee (2014) and Fairclough (1995) both highlight the importance of intertextuality in critical discourse analysis. Intertextuality can be recognized "when one text…quotes, refers to, or alludes to another text" (Gee, 2014). Beyond direct quotations, occurrences of intertextuality are rarely easy to recognize. As Fairclough (1995) argues, "texts selectively draw upon *orders of discourse* – the particular configurations of conventionalized practices (genres, discourses, narratives, etc.) which are available to text producers and interpreters in particular social circumstances." I investigated not only the orders of discourse created over time *within* the data, but also the changing *orders of discourse* that occur *outside* of the data (within the larger social world), so that I could better recognize how these external *orders of discourse* impact the socio-historical

discourse practices within elite private schools. I drew on the literature review in chapter 2, to better recognize instances of intertextuality within the data. Furthermore, the literature review was used to establish preliminary typologies that were then refined through successive readings of the data (this process is explained in detail below).

Five Stage Process of Data Analysis

Stage 1: Data collection and identification of initial typologies

Texts comprise the data for critical discourse analysis. Text is an inclusive term that encompasses "not only written texts but also e.g. conversations and interviews, as well as the 'multi-modal' texts (mixing language and visual images) of television and the internet. Some events consist almost entirely of texts (e.g. a lecture or an interview), in others texts have a relatively small part (e.g. a game of chess)" (Fairclough, 2012, p 12). For this study only printed texts were considered. A limitation of the study is that it did not consider the interplay between texts and images. When conducting critical discourse analysis, decisions must be made about what texts will be considered as data sources. Decisions about data sources must evolve from the study's research questions. If, for instance, a research question asked '*what discourses does President Obama use to represent the lives of the poor in his State of the Union Addresses?'* then the necessary data sources would clearly be President Obama's State of the Union Addresses. When research questions are less explicit about the genre or genres in questions – as is the case in this study - decisions must be made about what texts should be included and why.

This study aims to investigate the institutional discourse practices as represented in institutional documents. The goal of the study is to investigate the discourses that comprise the consciously crafted messaging of elite high schools. Therefore, texts were

considered that best represent the schools messaging. The selection of historical texts took place in conjunction with each school archivist. I supplied a one-page synopsis of my research study to each archivist and then followed up with in-person conversations in order to determine possible data sources. Decisions were made based on what was available in each school archive as well as the validity of possible documents. For example, all three schools hold well-maintained collections of school sponsored newspapers and yearbooks, but these texts were deemed invalid for this study because they represent student voice more than institutional voice. Contemporary data was collected from the schools' websites. School websites are simultaneously a useful tool for current students, parents, and teachers and a recruitment tool for the school. The entire school website can be seen as representing the voice of an institution. All school website data was accessed between August 3, 2015 and August 6, 2015. Table 3.2 represents the *print* data sources collected from school archives. Some data sources were not collected between 2010 and 2015 due to the transition from primarily print publications to online publications. Although it may be possible to access revisions to the schools' websites between 2010 and 2015, I did not attempt to locate these digital files. Table 3.3 lists the *digital* data sources collected from each school's website between August 3, 2015 and August 6, 2015.

Table 3.2: Print Data Sources

School	Data Source	Time Range
Martial School	Student-Parent-Faculty Handbook Excerpts.	1980-2010
Martial School	Annual Reports	1980-2010
Martial School	Curriculum Guides	1980-2010
Martial School	Recruitment Brochures	1980-2010
Martial School	Alumni Magazines	1980-2015
Brownsville School	Brownsville Catalogs	1980-2010

	(Recruitment Brochures)	
Brownsville School	Faculty Handbooks	1980-1999;2008-2013
Brownsville School	Alumni Magazine	1980-2014
Holand Academy	Holand Catalogs (Recruitment Brochures)	1980-2010
Holand Academy	Alumni Magazine	1980-2010

Table 3.3: Digital Data Collected From School Websites

School	Drop Down Tab	Webpage	Time Range/Date of Access
Martial School	About Martial	About Martial	8/3/2015
		School Philosophy	8/3/2015
		Quaker Values	8/3/2015
		Diversity	8/3/2015
		Environmental Stewardship	8/3/2015
		History	8/3/2015
		Long-Range Priorities	8/3/2015
	Upper School	Welcome to the Upper School	8/3/2015
		Academics	8/3/2015
		College Counseling	8/3/2015
		Community Service	8/3/2015
	Admissions	Welcome	8/3/2015
		Admissions Process	8/3/2015
		Tuitions and Fees	8/3/2015
		Financial Aid	8/3/2015
	Athletics	Philosophy and Goals	8/3/2015
Brownsville School	About	Welcome From Head of School	8/4/2015
		Mission and Values	8/4/2015
		Diversity	8/4/2015
		History and Tradition	8/4/2015
	Admissions	Welcome from the Director	8/4/2015
		Why Choose Brownsville?	8/4/2015
		Tuition & Financial Aid	8/4/2015
	Our Campuses –	About the Upper School	8/4/2015
		Welcome from the	8/4/2015

	Upper School	Director	
		Community Service	8/4/2015
		College Counseling	8/4/2015
	Academics	Upper School	8/4/2015
	Arts	Upper School Arts	8/4/2015
	Athletics	Upper School Athletics	8/4/2015
Holand Academy	About	About	8/5/2015
		Mission	8/5/2015
		History	8/5/2015
		A Vision for Holand	8/5/2015
		Embracing Diversity	8/5/2015
		Diversity Mission Statement	8/5/2015
		Sustainability at Holand	8/5/2015
	Academics	Academics	8/5/2015
		Course Catalogue	8/5/2015
		College Counseling	8/5/2015
	Admissions	Admissions	8/5/2015
		Financial Aid	8/5/2015
		College Matriculation	8/5/2015
	The Arts	The Arts	8/5/2015
	Athletics	Athletics	8/5/2015
	Students	Students	8/5/2015
		Holand Moments	8/5/2015
		Living at Holand	8/5/2015
		Community Service	8/5/2015

All initial readings of printed material took place within the archives. I read every document starting in 1980 through 2010, looking for examples of the discourse of social justice and counter discourses to the discourse of social justice within the source materials. In order to guide my first reading of the selected texts, I created a list of initial typologies. Hatch (2002) states that in "typological analysis, an early step is to read through the data set and divide it into elements (i.e., disaggregate it from the whole)

based on predetermined categories" (p. 152). Although I did not follow all of Hatch's procedures for conducting a complete typological analysis, the initial step of generating typologies from "theory, common sense, and/or research objectives" was absolutely necessary due to the vast scope of archive based research. Although I narrowed my selections down to the most essential texts in each archive, the complete historical record from 1980 to 2010 of even a single text (e.g. Martial's Student-Parent-Faculty Handbook) comprises over 1,000 pages of text. The initial typologies (Table 3.4) were developed based upon the findings of chapter 2 and were then used as a lens to guide the preliminary reading of the source material. When I located an excerpt that reflected one of these initial typologies, I made a photocopy of that page or took a picture using a document camera. In my research notebook, I then made a note of the document, date, and page number of each excerpt, as well as the associated typology. The research notebook allowed me to track changes to common sections of each document. For example, from 1980-1984 the *Holand Catalog*, the school's recruitment brochure, includes the following paragraph:

> What is most worth noting about Holand is its diverseness.
> Visitors to the school often ask: Is it coeducational or
> single-sex? Is it a boarding school or a day school? Is it a
> big or a small school? Is it a country or a city school? In
> fact, Holand is all of these. As one of its teachers
> remarked, 'Holand is not an either/or school but a both/and
> school.'

The quotation above is the third paragraph in the 1980-1984 version of the brochure's

introduction. In 1985 the opening line about "diverseness" is removed, but the rest of the quotation remains unchanged as the introduction's third paragraph. A new paragraph is then included later in the document. Starting in 1985, paragraph six reads:

> What is most worth noting about Holand is its cultural diversity. Viewed overall, Holand is a big school. Students, faculty and staff, a community of more than a thousand, learn to deal with all sorts of people and have many choices to make. Yet students find their own centers of gravity within the small units of the Academy: morning assemblies, homerooms, houses, teaching sections, athletic teams, and artistic endeavors.

Alterations to the *Holand Catalog* introduction are also made in 1987, 1992, 1994, 1999, and 2002. Historical shifts in language for all salient sections of the data sources were noted in the research notebook and documented using photocopiers and a document camera. I also made note of additions and subtraction of relevant material in each document as well as language that appeared without reference to previous versions of institutional discourse – for example, some articles or sections in the Alumni Magazines were relevant to the topic of this study but did not build off of previously published language and therefore specific historical shifts in language could not be documented.

Table 3.4: Initial Typologies Compiled From Literature Review

Discourse of Social Justice: Associated Typologies	Counter or Competing Discourses: Associated Typologies
Anti-Racism	Self Censoring
Anti-Classism	Not Acknowledging Own Privilege
Anti-Sexism	Myth of Meritocracy
Anti-Homophobia	Color Blindness
Environmentalism	Neoliberalism

Voices Against the Status Quo	Myth of Egalitarianism/Social Mobility
Challenging and Disabling Hierarchies	Legitimacy of Hierarchies
Democratic Participation	Deficit Lens
Social Action	Savior Mentality
Distributive Justice	Omnivorous Consumption
Recognition Justice	Experiences Matter
Micro-Level Justice Initiatives	
Macro-Level Justice Initiatives	
Action Models of Justice	
Knowledge Models of Justice	

Online data sources were first read on August 4, 2015 and August 5, 2015. An initial overview of each website was conducted in order to visualize the connections between the online data and the historical, printed data because language, which had once been consistently located within certain printed documents (for example a discussion of college guidance appears in each school's recruitment brochures), in its online form occupies individual webpages or even multiple webpages. After the initial read of all three websites, I reread each webpage using the initial typologies to guide selection of relevant pages. I took screen-shots of relevant webpage and then printed them on the dates specified in Table 3.3.

Stage II: Refining typologies; describing and organizing the data

The initial stage of research yielded over 1,000 pages of photocopied and printed documentation. Tier II of the research process focused on organizing and describing this documentation as well as refining typologies through a second and third reading of the source material. Using my research notes, I returned to each collected page of source material and then excerpted the relevant material from the photocopied page by retyping the material into a word document. I created three documents, one for each school, and organized each document chronologically by text type. Transferring materials from the

original photocopies and PDFs made from the document camera, reduced the total number of pages of data to eighty-six. The reduced number of pages and increased level of organization allowed for easier comparisons within cases (each school) and across cases (among schools).

After compressing and organizing the data I engaged in a second and third reading of the primary source material. During this read I again used the initial typologies as a point of entry into the material; however, I simultaneously shifted to an inductive process of analysis through which I searched for different ways to organize and classify the data. Discourse cannot be understood as purely topical or as a series of key phrases and ideas, and the initial typologies were primarily based on this overly simplified understanding of discourse. The simplicity of the initial typologies were essential when first reading the thousands of pages of source material, but a more sophisticated system was necessary when undergoing the secondary and tertiary reads. I developed a series of questions based on Gee's (1999) "discursive building tasks." These questions (Table 3.5) required analysis to move beyond naming what the texts "are about." Using this schema in conjunction with my initial typologies, I reread the data chronologically, starting with The Martial School, then Holand Academy, and finally The Brownsville School, refining codes through the process. During this second read I also identified repetitive genres (Table 3.6). Having identified these genres, I engaged in a third reading in which I read across genres, meaning I read all of the *mission statements*, then all of the *school histories*, then all of the *school welcome statements,* etc.

Table 3.5: Questions Formed From Gee's Seven Building Tasks (1999)

Significance	How is this piece of text being used to make certain reality significant (or not) and in what ways? How is this piece of text being used to make certain reality significant (or not) and in what ways?
Activities	What activity (or activities) in this piece of text is being used to enact (i.e., get others to recognize what is going on)?
Identities	What identity (or identities) in this piece of text is being used to enact (i.e., get others to recognize as operative)?
Relationships	What sort of relationship (or relationships) in this piece of text seeks to enact with others (present or not)?
Politics	What perspective on social goods in this piece of text is communicating (i.e., what is taken to be the norm, appropriate, or valuable)?
Connections	How does this piece of text connect to or disconnect from other phenomena, or rather, how does it make one knowledge or reality relevant or irrelevant to another?
Sign systems and knowledge	How does this piece of text privilege or dis-privilege specific sign systems or different ways of knowing and believing?

Table 3.6: Identified Genres

Genre	Found in Martial	Found in Holand	Found in Brownsville
Welcome Statement	Yes	Yes	Yes
Mission Statement	Yes	Yes	Yes
Diversity Statement	Yes	Yes	Yes
School History	Yes	Yes	Yes
Financial Aid Statement	Yes	Yes	Yes
College Counseling Statement	Yes	Yes	Yes
Student Profiles	Yes	Yes	Yes
Teacher Profiles	Yes	Yes	Yes
Alumni Profiles	Yes	Yes	Yes

Stage III: Analyzing semiosis

Tier II refined codes and revealed the most salient genres for further study.

Having further condensed the data, I conducted a detailed semiotic analysis on the most

illustrative textual examples. I selected the Introductory Statements as the most

illustrative example because upon my initial reads these statements constituted a clear

Genre (further discussion of Genre is available in chapter 4) and because the institutions

position these statements in order to create a *first* and *best impression.* In order to meet

the high demand for specific lexical analysis as suggested by Fairclough, I followed the analytical processes as suggested by Thompson's (2004) *Introducing Functional Grammar* and Butt et. al's (2000) *Using Functional Grammar: An Explorer's Guide.* Where further detail was necessary, I consulted Halliday's (2004) *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*.

Stage IV: Testing hypothesis

The detailed linguistic analysis conducted during stage III resulted in three major findings. The nine text samples analyzed in stage III, however, represent just a small fraction of the collected data. In order to make the most accurate claims about the language of social justice in elite private schools, the analysis had to consider much more than just the nine documents. Therefore, I realigned the three findings derived from stage III into three hypotheses that could be further considered in stage IV. Using these hypotheses as a focusing lens, I completed a final read of the complete data set in order to generate a broader array of findings.

Stage V: Social practice analysis

As stated earlier, linking semiosis with social effects primarily occurs during social practice analysis. More so than in the first stages of analysis, social practice analysis requires researchers to explicitly draw upon critical social theory as well as linguistic theory (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). Stage V focuses on making these links. While establishing preliminary findings for chapter 4, social practice analysis took place during the process of identifying initial typologies. During Stage V, I again drew heavily on the literature review, critical theory, and published work on the discourse of social justice in order to explore the dialectical relationship between "the material and the

semiotic" by engaging in "trans-disciplinary critical social analysis" (Fairclough, 2012, p. 12).

Summary of Methodology

Critical discourse analysis was used to conduct this study. Critical discourse analysis emphasizes the "relationship between discourse and other elements of social practices" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 205). In order to establish a rigorous method for balancing a focus on the specifics of linguistic with the broad scope of social practice analysis, I developed a five stage process of analysis. The five analytic stages create a balance between social context analysis and specific linguistic analysis. The five stages begin and end with broad social practice analysis, focusing on linguistic form in the middle. The movement from broad, to specific, back to broad is represented in figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1: Five-Part Process of Analysis

Stage I: Initial Typologies

Stage V: Social Practice Analysis

Stage II: Refining Typologies/Identifying Genres

Stage IV: Hypothesis Testing

Stage III: Analyzing Genre Elements
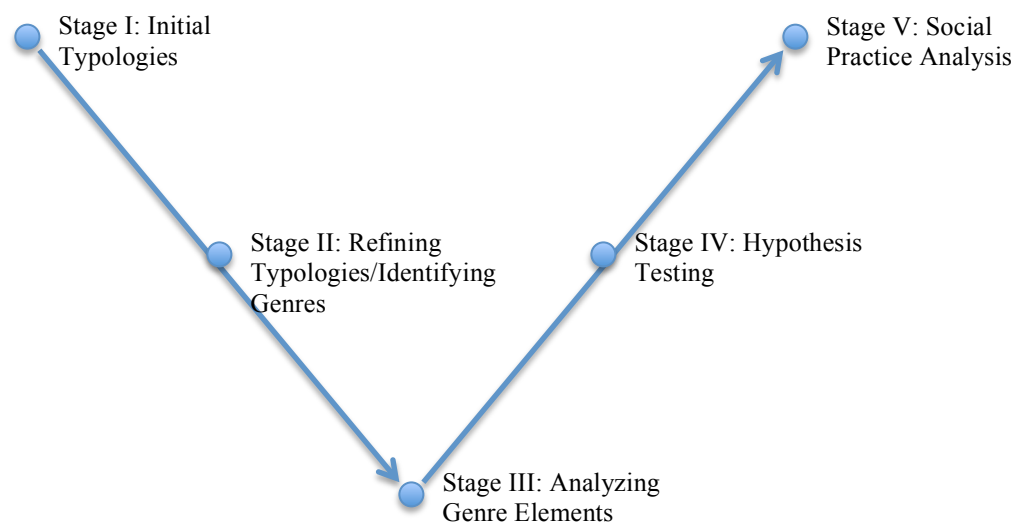
At stage I and V, the beginning and the end, I engage in broad social practice analysis while considering the largest amount of texts. At stage III, the foci of the arrow, I engage in the most detailed linguistic analysis and consider the fewest texts.

Chapter 4: Findings

Introduction

In this chapter I present the research findings. The chapter is divided into two overarching sections. In section one, I focus exclusively on the findings from the functional linguistic analysis of what I have labeled the *First Impressions Genre.* The introduction sections from school recruitment materials as well as the introduction pages on school websites constitute the salient data for the genre analysis. Nine text samples were considered in all (three from each sample school). Three major findings emerge from this section of the analysis.

Scholars such as Flowerdew (1999), Price (1999), Widdowson (1998) and Rogers et al (2005) have argued that critical discourse analysts often present an insufficiently detailed description of the linguistic features that constitute the texts under question. In her review of critical discourse methodologies in education, Rogers (2005) found that many studies suffer from "unbalanced attention to language" and "the relative lack of attention to SFL." Without beginning with a detailed account of a text's functional language process, analysis may inaccurately use social theory to "read into the data" any number of "political and social ideologies" (Rogers, 2005, 372). In other words, if scholars intend to make detailed claims concerning how language creates certain effects, they must begin with an equally detailed accounting of the actual language process in question. It is for this reason that I begin with the analysis of the *First Impressions Genre.*

These nine text samples, however, represent just a small fraction of the collected data. In order to make the most accurate claims about the language of social justice in

elite private schools, the analysis must consider much more than just the *First Impressions Genre.* Therefore, I transform the three findings derived from the genre analysis in *part one* into four hypotheses that can be further considered in *part two* of chapter 4. Using these hypotheses as a focusing lens, I present findings from the complete analysis of the collected data in the second section of this chapter.

Chapter 4, Part 1: Findings from the *First Impressions Genre* Analysis

In this section I describe the results of the genre analysis conducted on recruitment-brochure introduction sections as well as school website welcome messages. First, I define the terms register and genre. Second, I track and quantify linguistic features of what I call the *First Impression Genre*; since genre analysis considers a text's field, tenor, and mode, I subdivide the linguistic feature analysis into sections corresponding with these three terms. Then I analyze how combinations of various linguistic features create the functional experience of the genre as well as how the genre has shifted over time. The following three major findings emerge from this analysis: 1) Over time linguistic resources conform across cases, 2) Linguistic resources functionally center students, 3) Linguistic resources functionally demonstrate that goodness and knowledge are innate within students.

What is a Genre?

Most commonly, the term *genre* describes broad categories of artistic composition, i.e. poems, fiction and non-fiction. In functional linguistics, the term is primarily used to identify "situated linguistic behavior" (Bhatia, 2012, p.241) that is "goal-oriented" (Martin, 2000, p. 13) and recognizable in terms of context, topic, and lexicogrammatical features. Situated linguistic behavior refers to the social nature of

communication - all communication must be "situated" in a particular context and enacted through particular "behaviors." *Goal-oriented* suggests that communication is always purposeful. According to Halliday (2004), the social functions of communication can be further divided into *tenor, field, and mode*. Combined, tenor, field and mode constitute *register*.

Analyzing register requires identification of what Rose calls (2012) the social functions of language – "enacting speaker's relationships [tenor], construing their experience of social activity [field], and weaving these enactments and construals together into meaningful discourse [mode]" (p. 210). Halliday (2004) refers to these three purposes of language as linguistic meta-functions. According to Halliday (2004), the interpersonal meta-function "enacts" relationships, the ideational meta-function "construes" meaning, and the textual meta-function "organizes" discourse. The meta-functions, or purposes of language use, are realized through the tenor, field and mode of discourse. The tenor of a text *enacts* the situational context of its creation/reception and the enacted relationship between author and reader. The field of a text *construes* the author's depiction of some social activity - the field of a text is essentially what the text "is about"; however, functional linguistic theory posits that no text can "be about" any static entity because discourse is part of the process of *creating* or *construing* any possible social reality. The mode of a text *organizes* the lexicogrammatical features to create meaning and order within a text as well as the "channel" of communication (spoken, written, pictorial, multimodal). The relationships between register features (tenor, field, and mode), meta-functions, and language purposes are depicted in table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Register, Meta-Function, and Language Purpose

Register Feature	Questions Posed	Meta-function	Language Purpose
Tenor	What relationships are established?	Interpersonal	Enacting
Field	What social activity is taking place?	Ideational	Construing
Mode	How is language used to organize?	Textual	Organizing

The meta-functions in a text are created through language; therefore, specific lexicogrammatical features tend to correspond to each meta-function (Table 4.2). For example, relationships as expressed through the interpersonal meta-function are most often established through a text's mood and modality. Processes (verbals), participants (nominals) and circumstances (adverbials) most commonly establish a text's field. Conjunctions, theme-rheme chains, and clause-complex progressions typically establish a text's mode.

Table 4.2: Relationship between lexicogrammatical features and register

Register Feature	Meta-Function	Lexicogrammatical Features
Tenor	Interpersonal	mood and modality
Field	Ideational	Processes, participants and circumstances
Mode	Textual	Conjunctions, theme-rheme chains, and clause-complex progressions

In this discussion of genre and register I began with the most expansive linguistic marker – genre - and ended with the smallest - lexicogrammatical feature (there are even smaller features represented through the phonological rank scale, but that level of micro-detail is unhelpful for this study). In order to visualize how linguistic markers build upon

each other, it may be more intuitive to reverse this order. Figure 4.1 shows the

progression from smallest linguistic marker to largest.
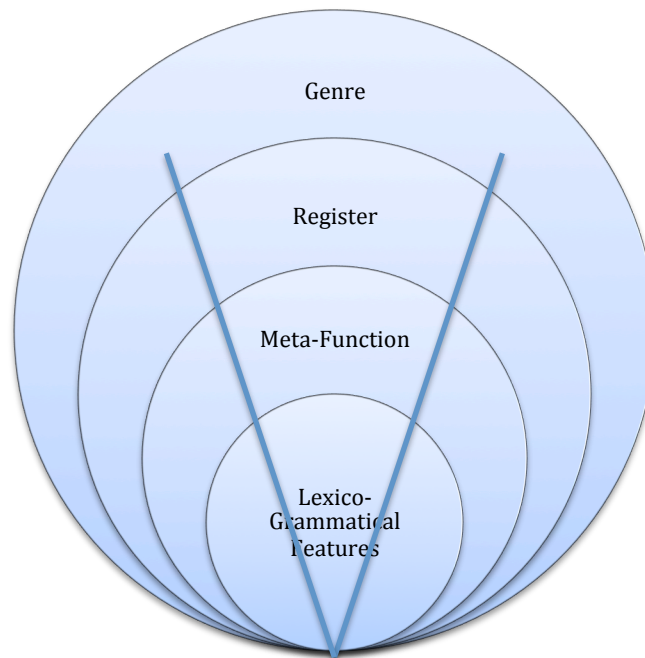
Figure 4.1: Grammatical Features and Meta-function in Relation to Register and Genre

All communicative acts have a register. For example, consider the tenor, field,

and mode of a stop sign (Table 4.3):

Table 4.3: Stop Sign Register

	Register Feature	Linguistic Meta-Function	Lexico-Grammar Features
	Tenor	*Interpersonal Meaning* **Authoritarian - Command Given and Command Received**	**Imperative Mood -** **"Stop"**
	Field	*Ideational Meaning* **Stop your car at this intersection.** **It is the Law.** **You do not have the right of way.** **Failure to stop may result in negative consequences.**	**Participant/Actor –** **Implied "YOU"** **Material Process –** **"Stop"**
	Mode	*Textual Meaning* **Single Command and**	**Multimodal Channel –** **Red Color, Negative Space for**

		multimodal features to increase power of imperative.	**Wording, Octagon** **No Conjunctions or Thematic Structure – Single Word Increases Power of Command**

A quick discussion of the stop sign's register helps demonstrate how the tenor, field, and mode create meaning through relationships among themselves and by relying on contextual, social cues. In this example, mode and tenor are linked in that the imperative mood (direct command) helps establish an authoritarian relationship between participants and the simple structure as revealed in the mode (only one word) further emphasizes the power of this command. An analysis of the stop sign's field reveals that this sign is about much more than the simple command "to stop." To properly understand this sign you must bring with you a good deal of linguistic and social understanding. The sign is a road sign and is intended for drivers of cars. The sign reveals not only that you must stop, but that other vehicles traveling in another direction will *not* stop. Only by passing a driving test should an operator be behind the wheel and thus they must have learned that failure to stop is illegal. Therefore, a failure to stop can result in two negative outcomes – an accident or a ticket. This final aspect of the field (that stopping is required by law) further reinforces the authoritarian tenor and is another good example of how tenor, mood, and field interact to create register. Finally, the mode encompasses more than the single word. For example, the red color is appropriate because it is eye catching, but it also relates to other uses of red warning signs: red stoplights, rotating red lights on emergency vehicles, flashing red lights on electronics. The tenor, field, and mode of the sign work in concert to create a functional meaning as revealed through the register.

The stop sign clearly has a register, but the stop sign *is not* a genre. A genre is composed of many examples of different communicative acts that share a similar, but not identical, register. As a single communicative act, the stop sign cannot be a genre in and of itself; however, the stop sign can be part of a genre or illustrative of genre characteristics. Possibly, the stop sign is part of a larger genre we might simply call *posted signs*. However, *posted signs* is too broad of a category because the variance among registers that make up the category *posted signs* is too great to constitute a genre. Narrowing the category to *road signs* still fails to constitute a genre. To illustrate this point, Table 4.2 compares the registers of a stop sign with the register of a highway marker. Some of the lexicogrammatical elements are the same in these road signs, but the signs' functions are drastically different as revealed through the tenor and field. Whereas the stop sign creates an authoritarian relationship and suggests negative consequences if a reader fails to follow the command, the Route 66 sign provides a service to the reader by identifying a location in a culturally and historically appreciated aesthetic.

Warning Signs is probably the most accurate genre for the stop sign. The genre *warning signs* takes into account the primary purpose of the communicative act (to warn the reader of possible negative consequences), gives directions (either directly or implied) or demands actions, and uses textual and non-textual cues to gain a readers attention. Although there will be variation among the register of each type of *warning sign* the similarities will remain strong enough to allow a reader to understand that each individual communicative event still fits into a larger *warning signs* genre and each instance will fulfill the same basic function – to warn.

Table 4.4: Stop Sign Register Compared To Route 66 Road Sign

Sign	Register Feature	Linguistic Meta-Function	Lexico-Grammar Features
	Tenor	*Interpersonal Meaning* **Authoritarian - Command Given and Command Received**	**Imperative Mood** - **"Stop"**
	Field	*Ideational Meaning* **Stop your car at this intersection.** **It is the Law.** **You do not have the right of way.** **Failure to stop may result in negative consequences.**	**Participant/Actor** – **Implied "YOU"** **Material Process** – **"Stop"**
	Mode	*Textual Meaning* **Single Command and multimodal features to increase power of imperative.**	**Multimodal Channel** – **Red Color, Negative Space for Wording, Octagon** **No Conjunctions or Thematic Structure** – **Single Word Increases Power of Command**
	Tenor	*Interpersonal Meaning* **Informational** – **Information given and information received.**	**Mood** – **Declarative Statement**
	Field	*Ideational Meaning* **Identifying a road.** **Representing historical aesthetic.**	**Single Participant** - **"Route 66"** **Or** **Implied Statement** – **[This is] Route 66.**
	Mode	*Textual Meaning*	**Multimodal Channel** – **Bright Coloring, Negative Space for Wording, Recognizable "Badge" Shape**

What is Genre Analysis?

Genre analysis is useful because, as Holliday argues (2004), registers and genres

reveal the "network of meaning" that constitute culture, and the system of language that

maintains culture represents its "meaning potential" (100, 13). Therefore, genres provide

an avenue for understanding the possibilities of socialization into a specific culture and

within specific contexts since genres reveal socially agreed upon language use for particular purposes. Identifying genres becomes a process of identifying what is both meaningful to a specific culture as well as what is socially possible given the constraints of the genre. Therefore, when considering the discourse of social justice in elite schools, identifying genres within the institutional discourse practices, is a desirable way to identify what is meaningful for this culture (elite schools) and what types of socialization (learning) may be possible given the constraints of any identified genre. Similar to the example made above for identifying the register and genre of the stop sign, the following sections provide detailed descriptions of the linguistic features that constitute the *First Impressions Genre.* I break this analysis into three sections: field, tenor, and mode. Having tracked, quantified, and summarized the linguistic elements that constitute the field, tenor, and mode, I then engage in a larger analysis of the three register variables and discuss how they combine to constitute a genre. Through this process I reveal three important findings and discuss how these genre elements impact the meaning potential of the *First Impressions Genre.*

Register Elements of The *First Impressions Genre*

In this section I first describe, in the form of charts and with textual examples, the register elements that constitute the *first impressions genre.* As the text samples in this research stretch across time as well as across case, I organize the findings in a way that highlights the linguistic elements that are consistent across both cases *and* across time as well as the elements that shift over time or among cases. Those elements that remain consistent across time should be understood as the most rigid elements, but possibly not the most important. Since genres naturally shift with time, I also include a discussion of

the register elements that are consistent across modern cases (even if they have not been consistent over time). Then I broaden my analysis to discuss how the register elements interact with each other within and across cases and thus demonstrate the interworking's of the genre. During this final stage of genre analysis I identify four key findings.

Findings From The Field Analysis: Participants and Modifiers

I begin this analysis with a focus on field. Field is a good place to begin because answering the general question, "what is it about" gets right to the heart of the matter. It is also helpful to begin this way because after identifying "what it is about" it becomes easier to see how changes in the tenor and mode influence any interpretation of meaning – an initial assessment of "what it is about" may change as the analysis becomes more precise.

Field analysis aims to uncover how a text encodes the *experiential* function of language. Since human experience can be generally understood to occupy three categories (things, events and circumstances), then it is appropriate that the experiential function of language "build[s] up pictures of reality in terms of the things…and events and circumstances that form the landscape of our human experience" (Butt, et. al., 2000, p. 46). Events constitute the centering focus of the experiential language. Events, here, is used to signal an actual action or state of being (not an event such as *graduation, a party* or *your birthday*); therefore, the functional term *Process* is used to label events. Verb groups almost exclusively represent processes. Through transitivity, Participants, almost always realized by a noun group, carryout these Processes. These noun groups *participate* in the process. Adjective groups, prepositional phrases, or independent clauses often modify participants. Finally, Processes often occur under certain circumstances.

Circumstances are realized by adverbial groups, prepositional phrases, and nominal groups. Circumstances reveal how, where, when, or to what degree the process occurs.

Table 4.5, 4.6, and 4.7 track the sample schools' usage of salient participants and pre and post-modifiers. Line numbers correspond to the line numbers on each sample text found in the Appendixes. Appendix B provides a clause break down of each sample text (Appendix A provides an explanation for the method used in isolating clauses). Appendix C provides a breakdown of each text sample by participant and pre- and post-modifiers (Appendix B provides an explanation of the process for identifying participants and modifiers). Every line number in Table 4.5, 4.6, and 4.7 signals a *new* use of the associated participant or modifier. Line numbers that are in *italics* signify that the associated word is used as or as part of a pre- or post-modifier. Line numbers that are not-italicized (regular lettering) signify the usage of a participant. Black lettering indicates that the participant or modifier has been used in a school's previous text sample (all terms are in black for 1980 since it is the first sample in each set). Blue lettering indicates that the participant or modifier has been expunged. Red lettering indicates that a new participant or modifier has been added. In order to increase the usefulness of the chart, some high frequency synonyms have been aggregated into a single key term. For example, the key terms *school, academy, institution, proper-school-name, etc.* - as well as any pronouns used to refer to one of these participants or modifiers - are represented in the chart under the key term: *institution*. Total Lines, included in the first set of cells refers to the total number of lines in the associated sample text. Therefore, counts of participant usage should be understood relative to the total number of lines in each document.

Table 4.5: Martial Introduction Statement's Participant and Modifier Counts By Line Number

Sample 1: 1980 – 37 Total Lines	Sample 2: 1989 – 19 Total Lines	Sample 3: 2015 – 43 Total Lines
The Institution: 1,1,3,4,5,6,7,8,9,9, 10,11,22,25,26,32,35	The Institution: 1,*3,8,*13,15	The Institution: 1,1,3,3,20,23,25,31,32, 34,35,37,39,40,43
Students: 15,15,18,20,*24,*27,28,*28, 29,*34,35	Students: *3,*3,6,15,17,18,18	Students: 18,19,19,20,34,35,38,44
Academics: 2,6,12,14,*19,*30,*36,*	Academics: *2,4,5,7,8,9,14*	Academics: *32,34,*36,44
Teachers 15,18,20	Teachers: 6,7,16	Teachers: 21,25
Quakerism: 5,6,6,8,9,12,12,13,14	Quakerism: *2,7,*8,*10,*11	Quakerism: *1*
Values: 14	Values: 7,10	Values: 41
Coeducation: 1	Coeducation: 1	Coeducation: 1
Location-DC: *3,*32	Location: 0	Location: 2,2
Individualism: 14,17,	Individualism: *5,12*	Individualism: *37*
Student Responsibility: 23	Student Responsibility 0	Student Responsibility 0
Progressive Education: 19,32	Progressive Education: 5,7,8	Progressive Education 0
Community:*29*	Community	Community: 0
Creativity: 15	Creativity:4	Creativity: *36*
Simplicity: 15	Simplicity 0	Simplicity 0
Friendliness: 15	Friendliness 0	Friendliness 0
Arts: *31*	Arts 0	Arts: 38
Athletics: *32*	Athletics 0	Athletics: 39
Place Based Education: *32*	Place Based Education 0	Place Based Education 0
Social Growth: 36	Social Growth 0	Social Growth 0
Mission Beyond Self: 37	Mission Beyond Self: 17	Mission Beyond Self: 44
	College Preparation: 3	College Preparation
	Love of Learning: 4	Love of Learning: 44
	Independent Thinking	Independent Thinking: 37
	Respect For Others' Ideas: 5	Respect For Others' Ideas
	Acceptance of Individual Difference: 12	Respect for Individual Difference
	Democratic Participation: 12	Democratic Participation 41
	Peaceful Resolution of Conflict: 13	Peaceful Conflict Resolution 0
		Creative inquiry: 36
		Intellectual achievement: 37
		Independent thinking: 37
		Understanding of Diversity: 42
		Stewardship of the natural world: 42
		Service to others: 43
	Pluralism: 14	Pluralism 0
	Racial Diversity: 16	Racial Diversity: 25 34
	Cultural Diversity: 16	Cultural Diversity: 34
	Religious Diversity: 16	Religious Diversity: 34
	Economic Diversity: 16	Economic Diversity: 24,35
		Age Diversity: 24
		Ethnic Diversity: 24
		Gender Diversity: 24
		Physical Disability Diversity: 24

		Political Diversity: 24 Sexual Orientation Diversity: 25

Preliminary analysis of Martial's participant and modifier usage

1) The usage rate of the participants/modifiers grouped under the term "Institution" drops over time. In 1980 "institution" is used 4.6 times per ten lines of text. In 1989 "institution" is used 2.6 times per ten lines of text. In 2015 "institution" is used 2.1 times per ten lines of text.

2) "Students" is the second most common participant (second to "institution) in the 1980 and 2015 text samples and the *most* common participant in the 1989 sample.

3) The usage rate of the participant "teacher" remains consistently low across time, especially when viewed as a ratio between the usages of the participant "teacher" versus "student."

4) The usage rate of the participants grouped under the term "Quakerism" remains steady between 1980 and 1989 (2.4 per 10 lines and 2.6 per ten lines) and then drastically drops to only .2 per ten lines in 2015.

5) The participant "values" is used in all three text samples. Furthermore, each document lists, in the form of participants, specific values or desirable personal attributes. The list of values changes and the number of values increases over time. *Creativity* is the only value included in all three text samples. *Independent thinking* is included in the 1989 sample and the 2015 sample.

   a. 1980: *creativity, simplicity, friendliness*

   b. 1989: *creativity, independent thinking, respect for others' ideas, acceptance of individual difference*

c. 2015: *creativity, love of learning, creative inquiry, intellectual*

achievement, independent thinking, understanding of diversity,

stewardship of the natural world, service to others.

6) Each text sample concludes with a statement concerning a "mission beyond self."

Table 4.6: Holand's Introduction Statement's Participant and Modifier Counts By Line Number

Sample #1: 1980 – 46 Lines	Sample #2: 1987 – 46 Lines	Sample #3: 2015 - 29
Institution:1,4,6,8,8,9,*12,*14,14, 14,15,15,15,15,15,15,*16,*16,18,19, 22,22,23,23,25,*29,*29,31,*37,40, 40,*42,*44,45*	Institution:1,2,*10,*32,36,36,37, *46*	Institution:2,2,*2,4,*10,10,*13,*13,*13,1 3,*14,*14,14,17,19,21,22,*23,*23,*27,28 ,29
Students:10,23,*25,25,29,*31,33, 42,45	Students:*2,*10,10,*13,15,*15,*18,* 20,21,*22,*22,31,32,33,*36,*37,38 ,40,*41,*46	Students:2,4,4,5,5,6,11,13,17,19,20 ,*20,*28
Academics:2,34,41,*42*	Academics:*1,*3,3,*6,7,7,*11,14,1 6,17,22,24,*25,*28,39	Academics:4,6,8,8,22
Teachers:11,11,16,31	Teachers:14,*15,*16,19,19,45	Teachers:11,11
		You(Perspective-Student):2,2,6,7,*8,8,9,9,*12,12,12,1 2,27,29
History/Founding:4,4,*4,*5,5,20	History/Founding	I(Perspective of Author):1,*21,21,21,*25
Facilities: 6	Facilities	History: 21
Location:3,4,*7,35,*36,38	Location: 28,28,29,31,	Facilities 0
Coeducation:9,18,*20,*21,	Coeducation 0	Location 0
Teacher Numbers:11	Teacher Numbers 0	Coeducation 0
Diverseness: 13	Diverseness 0	Teacher Numbers 0
	Diversity: 37	Diverseness 0
Relationship: 25	Relationships 0	Diversity: 24
Community:31	Community:1	Relationships
Athletics:34	Athletics:17	Community: 14,14,23
Care:43	Care 0	Athletics:11
	Compassion: *1*	Care 0
Self-reliance:44	Self-reliance 0	Compassion 0
Integrity:44	Integrity 0	Self-reliance 0
Compassion:44	Hope 0	Integrity 0
Hope:44	Mission Beyond Self 0	Hope 0
Mission Beyond Self:45	Big 0	Mission Beyond Self: 19
Big:*15,31*	Small 0	Big 0
Small:*15*	Boarder:*40*	Small 0
Boarder:10,*14,25,29,30*	Day:*38*	Boarder 0
Day:*14,25,29,30*	City:29,31,40	Day 0
City:*15,37*	Country:28	City 0
Country:*15,*38	Talent: 1	Country 0
	Curiosity: 2	Talent: 1
	Decency: 2	Curiosity: 2
	Creativity: 3	Decency: 2
	Progressive Instruction:16	Creativity: 3
	Extra-curricular opportunities:39	Progressive Instruction:16
	Art:44	Extra-curricular opportunities:39

		Art:44
		Friendly: *3*
		Happy: *3*
		Engaged: *3*
		Supportive Environment: 7
		Creativity: *9*
		Awareness: 9
		Families:13,*21*
		Backgrounds:13
		Talents:14
		Exciting:*15*
		Spirit:20
		Skills:20
		Commitment:20
		Professions:20
		Respect:22
		Love of Learning: 23
		Respect for others:24
		Pursuit of excellence: 24

Preliminary analysis of Holand's participant and modifier usage

1. The usage rate of the participants/modifiers grouped under the term "Institution" drops between 1980 and 1987 from 7.2 per ten lines to 1.7 per ten lines. The usage rate increases in 2015 to 7.5 per ten lines. However, the 2015 usage rate reflects an increase in the number of times "Holand" is used as a modifier. In the 1980 and 1989 examples (as well as in the Martial Friends examples) the majority of uses of the terms grouped under the heading "institution" are in the form of a participant. In the 2015 Holand example, 8 participants and 14 modifiers constitute the group under the term "institution." In fact, Holand is primarily used as a modifier of students, as in "Holand students are.." as opposed to its use in 1980 and 1987 where Holand is used as the participant as in "Holand is…". Furthermore, the change from third to second person in the 2015 text sample results in the repetitive use of *we*, which account for six of the eight participants representing the "institution."

2. As the usage rate of "Institution" decreases over time, the usage rate of "Student" increases over time. The usage rate of the participants/modifiers grouped under the term "Student" increases from 2 per 10 lines (1980) to 4.3 per 10 lines (1987) to 4.5 per ten lines (2015).

3. The usage rate of the participant *teacher* remains consistently low across time, especially when viewed as a ratio between the usages of the participant *teacher* versus "student."

4. The usage rate of the participants grouped under the term "history" and "location" drops over time. Combined, these two terms drop from 2.6 per 10 lines (1980) to .9 per ten lines (1987) to .3 per ten lines (2015).

5. Each text sample lists, in the form of participants, specific values or desirable personal attributes. The list of values changes and the number of values increases over time.

   a. 1980: *Self-reliance, integrity, compassion*

   b. 1987: *Compassion, talent, curiosity, decency, creativity*

   c. 2015: *Friendly, happy, engaged creativity, commitment, love of learning, respect for others, pursuit of excellence.*

6. The 1980 and 2015 text samples conclude with a statement concerning a "mission beyond self." The 1987 sample contains no such language

Table 4.7: BD&M's Introduction Statement's Participant and Modifier Counts By Line Number

Sample #1: 1980 – 50 Lines	Sample #2: 1996 – 19 Lines	Sample #3: 2015 – 27 Lines
Institution:1,1,4,4,5,9,10,15,21,24,27,41,42,43,46,49	Institution:3,5,*6*,6,*7*,8,10,*10,11*,*14*,15,17,18,20,20,20,21,22 (Ten uses of WE)	Institution:1,1,3,11,11,12,*14*,15,20,*22*
Students:8,12,18,23,27,30,36,39,47,49	Students: 8, 10,10,12,*14,14*,19	Students:1,2,3,*4*,6,10,15,17,17,20,*20*,22,22,25,25,
Academics:6,11,15,16,17,18,22,22,25,26,27,28,29,29,29,29,29,2	Academics:*10,*11,15,19	Academics:5,*15*,16,18,24,

9,30,30,30,31,31,31,32,35,39,45		
	You(Perspective-Student):5,7,20,21	
Teachers:17	Teachers:14,	Teachers 0
An enthusiasm for learning: 15	An enthusiasm for learning: 0	An enthusiasm for learning: 0
Respect for excellence: 16	Respect for excellence: 0	Respect for excellence: 0
Personal Initiative:19	Personal Initiative:0	Personal Initiative:0
Independence of mind:19	Independence of mind:0	Independence of mind:0
Excellence:33	Excellence0	Excellence0
Competence:33	Competence:0	Competence:0
Self-respect:33	Self-respect:0	Self-respect:0
Values:40	Values:0	Values:0
Ethical Behavior:40	Ethical Behavior:0	Ethical Behavior:0
Moral sensitivity:40	Moral sensitivity:0	Moral sensitivity:0
Honesty:41	Honesty:0	Honesty:0
Courage:41	Courage:0	Courage:0
Commitment:41	Commitment:0	Commitment:0
	Lively:8	Lively:0
	Energetic:8	Energetic:0
	Imaginative:11	Imaginative:
	Vital:11	Vital:0
	Respect for one another: :14	Respect for one another: :0
		Forward-thinking:5
		Innovative:5
		Flexible:5
		Engaged:15
		Compassionate:15
Mission Beyond Self:51	Mission Beyond Self 0	Mission Beyond Self 0

Preliminary analysis of BD&M's participant and modifier usage

1. The usage rate of the participants/modifiers grouped under the term "Institution" increases between 1980 and 1996 from 3.2 per ten lines to 10 per ten lines and then drops to 3.7 per ten lines in 2015. As is the case with Holand's 2015 text sample, BD&M's 1996 text sample is written in the second person. The participant *we* is used 10 times and *our (as a pre-modifier - as in "our students")* is used twice. This shift to the second person accounts for the increase in participant usage rate in the 1996 sample text.

2. As the usage rate of "Institution" decreases over time, the usage rate of "Student" increases over time. The usage rate of the participants/modifiers grouped under

the term "Student" increases from 2 per 10 lines (1980) to 3.7 per 10 lines (1996) to 5.5 per ten lines (2015).

3. The usage rate of the participant *teacher* remains consistently low across time, especially when viewed as a ratio between the usages of the participant *teacher* versus "student." Only one usage of "teacher" occurs in 1980 and 1996 and none occur in 2015.

4. The usage rate of the participants/modifiers grouped under the term "Academics" decreases over time from 5.6 per 10 lines (1980) to 2.1 per 10 lines (1996) to 1.9 per ten lines (2015).

5. Each text sample lists, in the form of participants, specific values or desirable personal attributes. The list of values changes and drops from 13 stated values (1980) to five in both 1996 and 2015.

   a. 1980: *Enthusiasm for learning, Respect for excellence, personal initiative, independence of mind, excellence, competence, self-respect, values, ethical behavior, moral sensitivity, honesty, courage.*

   b. 1996: *Lively, energetic, imaginative, vital, respect for one another*

   c. 2015: *Forward thinking, innovative, flexible, engaged, compassionate*

2. The 1980 text sample concludes with a statement concerning a "mission beyond self." The 1996 and 2015 text sample do not include such language.

Findings From The Field Analysis: Process Usage

Tables 4.8, 4.9, and 4.10 track the usage of every process in the Introduction Statements for each school. The tables are divided into the four process types: relational, mental, verbal, and material. Appendix F provides a break down of each text sample by

process and process type. (Appendix E provides an explanation of the process for identifying and categorizing processes). Relational processes are listed first. The numbers in parenthesis following each relational process represent the number of uses of the corresponding process. All other process types are listed in the order they appear in the text.

Table 4.8: Martial Introduction Statement's Process List Organized by Type

Sample 1: 1980 – 37 Total Lines	Sample 2: 1989 – 19 Total Lines	Sample 3: 2015 – 43 Total Lines
Relational	**Relational**	**Relational**
Is: (8)	Is: (1)	Is (2)
Are(2)		Are (2)
Mental	**Mental**	**Mental**
Feels	Is known	*None*
Learn		
Verbal	**Verbal**	**Verbal**
None	*None*	*None*
Material	**Material**	**Material**
Was founded	Has offered	Founded
To guide	Enable	Governed
Date	Are fostered	Included
Are maintained	Are encouraged	Includes
Supervised	Work	Are enrolled
Stresses	Exemplify	Receive
Emphasizes	Uses	Employs
Celebrates	Provides	Is committed
Instruct	Creates	Does not discriminate
Is made	Are emphasized	Inspired
To enhance	Are stressed	Guided
Strives	Are enhanced	Offer
To instill	Seeks	Designed
Progress	To nurture	To stimulate
Affords	To encourage	Encourage
To exercise	To use	To test
Stresses		To give
To elicit		Draw
Not to impose		Cultivate
Are encouraged		Enriches
Participate		Matters
Affect		Seek
Contribute		Nurtures
Proceeds		Teaches
Will enable		
Work		

Preliminary analysis of Martial's process usage

1. The percentage of relational processes (as measured by number of relational processes divided by total number of processes) drops from 26% in 1980 to 5% in 1989 and then increases to 13% in 2015.

2. Two mental process are used in the 1980 and one in the 1989 sample text. No mental processes are used in the 2015 sample text.

3. No verbal processes are used in the sample texts.

4. Very few uses of the processes teach, learn, or any synonyms for these two words.

5. A high percentage of material processes are passive.

Table 4.9: Holand Introduction Statement's Process List Organized by Type and Frequency

Sample 1: 1980 – 46 Lines Total	Sample 2: 1987 – 46 Lines Total	Sample 3: 2015 – 29 Lines Total
Relational Is: 13 Are: 4 Were: 1 Has: 1 Was: 1	**Relational** Is: 15 Are: 1	**Relational** Is: 2 Are: 3 Have: 1
Mental Feels Values Must Learn	**Mental** Is known Understands To Rethink Feeling	**Mental** Love: 3 To Develop Get to Know Learn Feel
Verbal Ask Remarked	**Verbal** *None*	**Verbal** Told
Material Was Chartered To Provide Living Scattered Respecting To Have Inherited Includes Includes	**Material** Combine To Produce Is Required Is Encouraged Placed To Take To Try To thrive	**Material** To Share Find Work Laugh Find Work Grows Will Inspire

Begins	Convenes	Involve
Are enrolled	Begin	Help
Make up	Are Stretched	Bring
Will Discern	Stimulated	Make
Were Established	Take On	Immersing
Has Returned	Participate	Graduate
Have Been Kept	Compete	To Succeed
Has Profited	Discussing	Have Led
Enables	Debating	To Cultivate
To Give	Provide	To Embrace
Living	Comes	Undertake
Find	Mastering	To be Engaged
Can Enjoy	Seek	To Meet
Involve	Listen	Come Visit
Is Used	To Form	Invite
Serve	To Refine	To Share
To Offer	Find	
Is Committed	To Practice	
Encourages	To Rewrite	
Stand	Completing	
	Downing	
	Is Sought	
	Brings	
	Are Spent	
	Browsing	
	Visiting	
	Rooted	
	To Select	
	To Follow	
	To Conform	
	Identified	
	Prevails	
	Enter	
	Drawn	
	To Find	
	Blend	
	Playing	
	Writing	
	Refining	
	Planning	
	Are Cemented	
	Allows	
	To Attend	
	Returns	

Preliminary analysis of Holand's process usage

1) The percentage of relational processes (as measured by number of relational processes divided by total number of processes) drops from 38% in 1980 to 22% in 1987 and again to 15% in 2015.

2) Three mental processes are used in the 1980 sample text, four in the 1987 sample text, and seven in the 2015 sample text.

3) Two verbal processes are used in the 1980 sample text, none in the 1987 sample text, and one in the 2015 sample text.

4) There are few uses of the processes teach, learn, or any synonyms for these two words.

5) A high percentage of material processes are passive.

Table 4.10: BD&M Introduction Statement's Process List Organized by Type and Frequency

Sample 1: 1980 – 50 Lines	Sample 2: 1996 – 19 Lines	Sample 3: 2015 – 27 Lines
Relational	**Relational**	**Relational**
Is: 3	Is: 3	Is: 3
Has: 2	Are: 1	Are: 3
Have: 1	Will Be: 1	Has: 1
To Be: 1	To Be: 1	
Mental	**Mental**	**Mental**
	Understand	Learn (2)
Verbal	**Verbal**	**Verbal**
None	Talk	*None*
	Ask	
Material	**Material**	**Material**
Was Formed	Welcome	Engages
Offering	Welcome	Excels
Doubles	Tour	Discover
Enter	Look	Develop
Serves	Hope	Designed
Endeavors	Begin	To Help
To effect	To Understand	Reach
May remain	Is Composed	Add
Leave	Create	Take
Find	To Think	Taking
To Enter	Safe	To Take
Wrote	To Ponder	Affords
To Develop	Struggle	Embrace
Teaches	Risk	Creates
Regard	Enhance	Become
Encouraging	Encourages	Bring
To Develop	Supports	Come
Offers	Begin	Leave
Seeking		
Remains		
To Prepare		
Remain		

Are Encouraged Receives Come Comes Are Taught To Develop To Work To Achieve Encourages To Understand Be True		

Preliminary analysis of BD&M's process usage

1) The percentage of relational processes (as measured by number of relational processes divided by total number of processes) increases from 18% in 1980 to 21% in 1996 and again to 26% in 2015.

2) No mental processes are used in the 1980 sample text and one is used in the 1996 sample text. Two mental processes – both uses of *learn* - are used in the 2015 sample text.

3) Two verbal processes are used in the 1996 sample text and one in the 1980 and 2015 sample texts.

4) There are few uses of the processes teach, learn, or any synonyms for these two words.

5) A high percentage of material processes is passive.

Findings From The Field Analysis: Circumstances

Table 4.11, 4.12, and 4.13 track the usage of circumstances in the schools' Introduction Statements. The circumstances are listed in the order they are found (after being subdivided by type) in the sample documents. A colon is used to mark the end of each circumstance since some examples run onto a second line. Appendix G provides an explanation for identifying and categorizing circumstances. Appendix H tracks each

sample text's circumstance usage.

Table 4.11: Martial Introduction Statements' Circumstances Organized by Type

1980	1989	2015
Location	**Location**	**Location**
In 1883**:**	For more than a century**:**	For the 2014-15 school year**:**
From as early as 1689**:**	To a challenging college preparatory	For the 2014-15 school year**:**
Throughout the School**:**	program**:**	In the administration of its
As they progress**:**	In each person:	admissions, financial aid or loan
Through the grades**:**	Throughout the School**:**	practices; curricular offerings,
From within each student**:**	In a diverse community**:**	including inter-scholastic
To the balance and	In a life of service to others**:**	athletics and physical education;
vitality of the 14-year		other School-sponsored
educational offering at		programs and activities; or in
Martial Friends**:**		the hiring and terms of
		employment of administrators,
Accompaniment	**Accompaniment**	faculty and staff**:**
To about 1,000 students	With outstanding teachers**:**	To members of the Religious
from age four through the		Society of Friends**:**
twelfth grade**:**		By the Quaker belief in "That of
Among**:**		God" in each person**:**
In an environment**:**		In a world increasingly without
		borders**:**
Means	**Means**	From silence**:**
By boards of trustees**:**	From a challenging college preparatory	From the power of individual
Best**:**	program**:**	and collective reflection:
In different ways**:**		In all members of our
		community**:**
Extent	**Cause**	
Along with the emphasis	From the conviction**:**	**Means**
on the- individual**:**		By an independent Board of
In every area of school	**Quality**	Trustees**:**
life**:**	Closely**:**	By the values of the Religious
		Society of Friends**:**
Comparison	**Role**	
As in other areas of	For its commitment to pluralism**:**	**Cause**
development**:**		Because of the School's Quaker
		affiliation**:**
Cause		On the basis of religion**:**
Within the framework of		
an-institution**:**		**Contingency**
		Except for special
		considerations**:**

Preliminary analysis of Martial's circumstance usage

1) Location circumstances are used significantly more than any other type in all

   three samples.

2) The ratio between non-location circumstances and location circumstances drops

between 1980 and 2015.

3) Teachers are accompaniments.

Table 4.12: Holand Introduction Statement's Circumstances Organized by Type and Frequency

1980	1987	2015
Location	**Location**	**Location**
In 1978:	In a classroom:	To Holand Academy:
On its one hundred and twenty-five acre campus:	On the verbal exchange of ideas and information:	Along the way:
In kindergarten through twelfth grade:	In the classrooms:	At Holand:
With Class VI:	Each day:	In small classes:
Beginning in Class IV:	Throughout the day	Out of remarkable relationships:
Originally:	In an afternoon play rehearsal:	In Holand's opportunities:
In 1901:	In a squash match:	In and out of the classroom:
Today:	In the common rooms in the evening:	At the most selective colleges and universities in the country:
To extensive coeducation:	In mathematics:	Beyond these further academic pursuits:
Principally in the younger grades:	Through record shops and bookstores:	In the full life of an extraordinary school:
To day students:	Followed by lunch at a small café:	
To boarders:	Followed by brunch in "The Square":	
Within the smaller:	From over 35 different states and territories, and 34 different countries	
In ordinary and extraordinary times:	On teams:	
Accompaniment	**Accompaniment**	**Accompaniment**
Both together and separately:	With twelve students and a teacher:	With you:
By the Great and General Court of Massachusetts:	Between the teacher and students:	With skilled, caring faculty:
Between boarders from many states and foreign countries and day students:	Among the students themselves:	With the confidence in themselves and the competence to succeed:
	To the social expectations:	Among students and faculty:
		With us:
Extent	**Means**	
Almost:	In contemplating assignments for the next day's discussion or downing carbohydrates for the upcoming game:	**Extent**
Equally:		Definitely:
Most worth:	In the contemplative replaying or sustained rehearsal of moves or ideas:	
Cause		
For many of our outdoor program:		
For a purpose higher than themselves:	**Cause**	
	By the tranquility of the campus:	
Matter	By a more isolated setting:	
About Holand:	Through the common enthusiasms:	
Angle		
To each group:		

Preliminary analysis of Holand's circumstance usage

1) Location circumstances are used significantly more than any other type in all

   three samples.

2) The ratio between non-location circumstances and location circumstances drops

   between 1980 and 2015.

3) Teachers are accompaniments.

Table 4.13: BD&M Introduction Statement's Circumstances Organized by Type and Frequency

1980	1996	2015
Location	**Location**	**Location**
On January 1, 1974:	To BD&M:	In grades pre-K (called
To its students from	To Buckingham Browne &	Beginners) through 12:
kindergarten through the twelfth	Nichols:	In a rich and invigorating
grade:	Through this book:	educational experience of the
When a class moves:	In Cambridge:	highest quality:
To the Middle School:	In the expanse of our three	To students learning:
In the seventh grade:	campuses:	On three age-appropriate and
In the following three grades:	In our playing fields:	developmentally appropriate
Other schools of their choice:		campuses:
At the center of our		From Harvard Square:
commitment:		On the banks of the Charles
In an art studio:		River:
On the playing field:		In our school community:
In this larger community:		To BD&M:
Above self-advancement:		
In his/her society:		
Accompaniment	**Accompaniment**	**Accompaniment**
To themselves:	With our students and faculty:	With intellectual curiosity and
With this larger community:		an eagerness to learn:
	Role	With a clearer sense of what's
Means	Together as one school:	possible:
With smooth transitions:		With a very good idea of which
In differing ways to different		direction to take it:
individuals:		With them to BD&M:
Extent		**Means**
For the full fourteen years:		From gifted faculty and from
		each other:
Cause		
For further education:		**Extent**
Through this process:		To the fullest:
		At every grade:
Quality		
Hard in a focused way:		
Role		

As a coeducational day school**:**		
Angle For one student**:**		

Preliminary analysis of BD&M's circumstance usage

1) Location circumstances are used significantly more than any other type in all three samples.

2) The ratio between non-location circumstances and location circumstances drops between 1980 and 2015.

3) Teachers are accompaniments.

Findings From the Tenor Analysis

The field analysis revealed what the schools' introductory materials are *about*. This experiential understanding of a text is revealed through the interactions of participants, processes and circumstances. Communication contains more than just the experiential function – texts are *about* more than they are *about*. Tenor analysis focuses on the lexicogrammatical resources used to establish interpersonal meaning. Interpersonal meanings include the type of interaction taking place (giving information, demanding information (asking questions), giving goods and services, demanding goods and services) and how speakers take a position on their message. These functions establish a relationship between speaker and listener or author and reader and are expressed through the mood system and the Mood block (Thompson, 2004).

The first aspect of interpersonal functionality is the expression of a statement's primary purpose. Although there are a number of purposes for why one might say or write any statement, functional grammar condenses these into four primary purposes: giving information (a statement), giving goods or services (an offer), demanding

information (a question), and demanding goods and services (a command). Three of these purposes are closely associated with a clause's mood system (for clarification, Mood is capitalized when naming the Mood block, but mood is *not* capitalized when naming the mood system). The declarative mood expresses statements, the interrogative mood expresses questions, and the imperative mood expresses commands. Every statement must conform to one of these mood systems. However, there is not a perfect link between mood system and primary purpose or (speech role). For example, the following sentence is in the interrogative mood but its purpose or its speech role is clearly a command: *Will you send me those edited documents as soon as you are able?* Yes, this sentence is written in the form of a question, but it is clearly a demand. Similarly, the *offer* speech role is not closely linked to any mood system, so offer speech roles must be determined through close, contextual analysis (Thompson, 2004). In tables 4.14 – 4.22 the mood system of each clause is marked in the first column (DEC=Declarative mood, INT=Interrogative mood, IMP=Imperative mood). The speech role (statement, offer, question, command) of each clause is marked in the fourth column.

The interpersonal function of a clause is primarily expressed in the Mood block, which consists of the clause's subject and finite. When discussing Mood, the subject takes on the same meaning as expected in a traditional discussion of grammar (in tables 4.14 – 4.22 the subject of each clause is listed in the second column). The finite precedes the main verb (here called *the predictor*) and provides two types of information: time reference and probability reference. In the following examples the subject is italicized and the finite is underlined.

From Martial's 1989 Text Sample: *Scholarship, creativity, and a love of learning*

<u>are</u> fostered.

From Holand's 1980 Text Sample: Today, *the Academy* <u>has</u> returned to extensive coeducation.

From BD&M's 1996 Text Sample: *Our community* <u>is</u> composed of lively and energetic learners.

In each of these examples the finite is used to mark tense. When tense is indicated by use of the simple present or simple past, the finite is fused with the predictor. Since the simple present and simple past are frequently used in academic discourse, the finite is often not expressed as a separate word and is thus less recognizable than the subject (which is almost always directly expressed). For example, the finite is fused with the predictor in the following clauses. The predictor is underlined in each clause and the tense is expressed in parenthesis after the sentence.

From Martial's 1980 text sample: In every area of school life, the School <u>strives</u> to instill a deep sense of responsibility in students. (*Simple Present*)

From Holand's 2015 text sample: The power of the Holand experience <u>grows</u> out of remarkable relationships. (*Simple Present*)

Some predictors have *no* finite. These are called non-finite verbs. The most common non-finite verbs are infinitives. Similarly, unmarked participles, when they are not functioning as the nominal head of a phrase, are non-finite verbs. Non-finite verbs are not connected to any subject and they do not express tense.

Besides the tense, the Mood block also expresses the speaker's or author's position as related to the validity of the subject finite relationship. This relationship is expressed in the Mood block through various forms of modality. To make this clearer,

consider the following exchange:

Speaker 1: That *is* a great school.

Speaker 2: No it *is not* a great school. It *was* a great school.

Speaker 1 uses the declarative mood to express a statement. At first glance, the statement may appear unassailably valid – a statement of fact. However, Speaker 2's counter claim reveals that the original statement is in fact arguable. Speaker 2's second claim also reveals the subjectivity of tense. Where as Speaker 1 believes the school to be great in the present, Speaker 2 believes the school to have been great in the past. This exchange also reveals the simplest form of modality – positive and negative polarity. All statements are stated either positively or negatively. Positive polarity is unmarked. It is the assumed position. Negative polarity must be marked, most often with the word *not* as is the case in statement number 2. As in the example above, any positive claim can be countered by simply changing the statement's polarity.

Sometimes speakers and authors want to suggest a commitment between an absolute positive claim and an absolute negative claim. Shifts in modality are used to express degrees of commitment. For example the following sentences all use modal finites to express degrees of possibility. The modal finites are italicized.

The school *might* be great next year.

The school *could* be great this year.

The school *may* have been great last year.

In tables 4.14-4.22, information linked to the finite is listed in the third column. This information includes the tense, the polarity (assumed to be positive and marked when negative), and modality. Also, non-finite verbs are listed in column three. The majority of

clauses in this analysis are in the declarative mood system, express a statement speech

role, include a subject and express positive polarity without any further modification in

modality. To make it easier to identify shifts in this recurring pattern, all divergences

from the pattern are marked in red.

Table 4.14: Martial 1980 mood system, Subject, Finite Analysis of Ranked Clauses

mood system	Subject	Finite	Speech Role
DEC	Martial Friends School	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	NONE	Non-Finite (Offering)	Statement
DEC	It	*Present* (is)	Statements
DEC	The distinguishing characteristic	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	It	was	Statement
DEC	Which	*Present* (continues)	Statement
DEC	Friends Schools	*Present* (date)	Statement
DEC	Others	*Present* (are)	Statement
DEC	[organizations]	*Present* (supervised)	Statement
DEC	Central	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	The Quaker Theory	*Present* (celebrates)	Statement
DEC	[The Quaker Theory]	*Present* (Stresses)	Statement
DEC	Along with the emphasis on the individual	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	A variety of learning environments	Is	Statement
DEC	The School	*Present* (strives)	Statement
DEC	They	*Present* (progress)	Statement
DEC	A gradual increase in the amount of free time in the students schedule	*Present* (affords)	Statement
DEC	The School	*Present* (stresses)	Statement
DEC	The School's aim	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	Students	Are	Statement
DEC	They	*Present* (Participate)	Statement
DEC	The expectation…	*Present* (contribute)	Statement
DEC	The School	*Present* (feels)	Statement
DEC			Statement

DEC			Statement

Table 4.15: Martial 1989 mood system, Subject, Finite Analysis of Ranked Clauses

mood system	Subject	Finite	Speech Role
DEC	The Martial Friends School	Has	Statement
DEC	The talents and interests of Martial Friends Students	*Present* (enable)	Statement
DEC	Scholarship, creativity, and a love of learning	Are	Statement
DEC	Independent thinking and receptivity to the ideas of others	Are	Statement
DEC	Students	*Present* (work)	Statement
DEC	The faculty	*Present* (uses)	Statement
DEC	The School's Quaker philosophy	*Present* (Provides)	Statement
DEC	[The School's Quaker Philosophy]	*Present* (creates)	Statement
DEC	At the core of Quakerism	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	Cooperation with others, acceptance of individual difference, decision-making by consensus, and peaceful resolution of conflict	*Present* (are)	Statement
DEC	Martial Friends	*Present* (is) Well (Mood Adjunct)	Statement
DEC	The School	*Present* (seeks)	Statement
DEC	It	*Present* (is)	Statement

Table 4.16: Martial 2015 mood System, Subject, Finite Analysis of Ranked Clauses

mood system	Subject	Finite	Speech Role
DEC	Martial Friends School	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	NONE	Non-Finite Founded	Statement
DEC	The School	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	Facilities…	*Present* (include)	Statement
DEC	The five-acre	*Present* (includes)	Statement

	Edgemoor Lane campus		
DEC	1,150 students	Are	Statement
DEC	The School	*Present* (employs)	Statement
DEC	Tuitions	*Present* (are)	Statement
DEC	Martial Friends School	Is	Statement
DEC	The School	Does not – negative polarity	Statement
DEC	The School	Does not – negative polarity	Statement
DEC	Martial Friends School	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	[Martial Friends School]	Is	Statement
DEC	We	*Present* (seek)	Statement
DEC	We	*Present* (offer)	Statement
DEC	We	*Present* (encourage)	Statement
DEC	We	*Present* (draw)	Statement
DEC	We	*Present* (seek) – Comment Adjunct (Above all)	Statement

Preliminary findings from the Mood analysis: Martial 1980, 1989, 2015

1) 56 out of 56 clauses are written in the declarative mood.

2) 52 out of 56 clauses are in the present tense.

3) The finite is mapped onto the predictor in 41 of the 52 present tense usages.

4) One Mood Adjunct is used in the 1989 text sample and one Comment Adjunct is used in the 2015 text sample as well as two markers of negative polarity. No modals are used in the 1980 text sample.

5) One non-finite verb is used in the 1980 text sample and one non-finite verb is used in the 2015 text sample.

Table 4.17: Holand 1980 mood System, Subject, Finite Analysis of Ranked Clauses

mood system	Subject	Finite	Speech Role
DEC	Holand Academy	was	Statement
DEC	We	*Present* (are)	Statement

DEC	The Academy	*Present* (includes) – now	Statement
DEC	It	*Present* (has)	Statement
DEC	The Lower School	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	The Upper School	*Present* (begins)	Statement
DEC	Boarders	are	Statement
DEC	Over one hundred and twenty-five teachers	*Present* (make up)	Statement
DEC	What is most worth noting about Holand	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	Visitors	*Present* (ask)	Statement
INT	It	Is	Question
INT	It	Is	Question
INT	It	Is	Question
INT	It	Is	Question
DEC	Holand	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	Holand	*Present* (was)	Statement
DEC	Separate Upper Schools	Were	Statement
DEC	The Academy	Has	Statement
DEC	NONE	Non-Finite - Respecting	Statement
DEC	Many customs and procedures	*Present* (are)	Statement
DEC	Courses	Have	Statement
DEC	Holand	Has	Statement
DEC	Its present structure	*Present* (enables)	Statement
DEC	Holand	*Present* (values)	Statement
DEC	The numbers in the top four classes	*Present* (are)	Statement
DEC		*Present*	Statement
DEC	All the programs of the seven-day school	*Present* (are)	Statement
DEC	The home life of day school families	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	Holand	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	Students and faulty	Must - Modal Finite	Statement
DEC	[Students and faculty]	*Present* (Have)	Statement
DEC	Students	*Present* (find)	Statement
DEC	Holand students	Can - Modal Finite	Statement
DEC	Boston	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	Many Activities	*Present* (involve)	Statement

DEC	A few minutes from the school	*Present* (sits)	Statement
DEC	Holand's organization and composition	*Present* (are)	Statement
DEC	They	*Present* (serve)	Statement
DEC	The School	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	Its deepest hope	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	Its Students	Will	Statement
DEC	[Its Students]	[Will]	Statement

Table 4.18: Holand 1987 mood system, Subject, Finite Analysis of Ranked Clauses

mood system	Subject	Finite	Speech Role
DEC	Holand Academy	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	It	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	There is a premium	*Present* (placed)	Statement
DEC	There	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	A willingness to take intellectual risks, to try out fresh notions	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	The demands of a full schedule	*Present* (begin)	Statement
DEC	Holand students	*Present* (are)	Statement
DEC	They	*Present* (take on, participate, compete)	Statement
DEC	None	Non-Finite (Discussing)	Statement
DEC	None	Non-Finite (Debating)	Statement
DEC	A Student's day	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	A carefully selected adviser…	*Present* (provide)	Statement
DEC	The faculty	*Present* (understands)	Statement
DEC	Learning	*Present* (is not) – Negative Polarity	Statement
DEC	It	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	The students	*Present* (find)	Statement
DEC	This	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	It	*Present* (is not) – negative polarity	Statement
DEC	It	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	Learning	*Present* (takes	Statement

		place)	
DEC	A balance	is	Statement
DEC	There	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	The Weekend	*Present* (brings)	Statement
DEC	The lure of Cambridge and Boston	*Present* (means)	Statement
DEC	Saturday Mornings	*Are*	Statement
DEC	Boston	*Present* (seems)	Statement
DEC	They	*Present* (find)	Statement
DEC	Holand	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	Holand	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	There	*Present* (is not) – negative polarity	Statement
DEC	Diversity	*Present* (prevails)	Statement
DEC	Day students	*Present* (join)	Statement
DEC	The Students	*Present* (blend)	Statement
DEC	Close Friendships	Are	Statement
DEC	The intimacy of dorm life	*Present* (allows)	Statement
DEC	It	*Present* (is)	Statement

Table 4.19: Holand 2015 mood System, Subject, Finite Analysis of Ranked Clauses

mood system	Subject	Finite	Speech Role
DEC	We	*Present* (are)	Statement
DEC	You	'll (will)	Statement
DEC	Students at Holand	*Present* (are)	Statement
DEC	I	*Present* (love)	Statement
DEC	Academic Standards	*Present* (are)	Statement
DEC	We	*Present* (work)	Statement
DEC	We	*Present* (definitely have) – Modal	Statement
DEC	He	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	You	'll (will)	Statement
DEC	The power of the Holand experience	*Present* (grows)	Statement
DEC	Our teachers…	*Present* (get to know)	Statement
DEC	They	Will	Statement
DEC	Holand students	*Present* (love)	Statement
DEC	Holand students	*Present* (graduate)	Statement
DEC	"Dare to be True"	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	They	*Present* (apply)	Statement
DEC	My family roots…	Have	Statement

DEC	Helping the School community fulfill Holand's mission	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	I	*Present* (am)	Statement
DEC	We	*Present* (hope)	Statement
IMP	You (implied)	*Present* (come)	Command
IMP	You (implied)	*Present* (feel)	Command
DEC	We	*Present* (invite)	Command

Preliminary findings from the Mood analysis: Holand 1980, 1987, 2015

1) Ninety-eight out of 104 clauses are written in the declarative mood. Four interrogative clauses are included in the 1980 text sample. Two imperative clauses are included in the 2015 text sample.

2) Ninety out of 104 clauses are in the present tense. Five clauses are in the past tense in the 1980 text sample. Two clauses are in the future tense in the 1980 text sample and three clauses are in the future tense in the 2015 text sample.

3) Three modals are used in the 1980 text sample. Three markers of negative polarity are present in the 1987 text sample and one modal is used in the 2015 text sample.

4) One non-finite verb is used in the 1980 text sample and two non-finite verbs are used in the 1987 text sample.

Table 4.20: BD&M 1980 mood system, Subject, Finite Analysis of Ranked Clauses

mood system	Subject	Finite	Speech Role
DEC	Buckingham Browne & Nichols School	Was	Statement
DEC	The new school	*Present* (has)	Statement
DEC	NONE	Non-Finite (offering)	Statement
DEC	A class	*Present* (moves)	Statement
DEC	Its size	*Present* (doubles)	Statement
DEC	A number of new students	*Present* (enters)	Statement
DEC	Each of the three schools	*Present* (has)	Statement

DEC	The School	*Present* (endevears)	Statement
DEC	Students	May - Modal	Statement
DEC	Those who leave	*Present* (find)	Statement
DEC	The board of trustees	*Past* (wrote)	Statement
DEC	BD&M's principal purpose	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	An understanding and committed faculty	*Present* (teaches)	Statement
DEC	None	Non-Finite (encouraging)	Statement
DEC	Buckingham Browne &Nichols	*Present* (offers)	Statement
DEC	NONE	Non-Finite (seeking)	Statement
DEC	The School	*Present* (remains)	Statement
DEC	We	*Present* (stand)	Statement
DEC	Traditional academic goals	*Present* (remain)	Statement
DEC	The clear, accurate, foreful use of English	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	Historical perspective and understanding	Are	Statement
DEC	The social sciences…	*Present* (have)	Statement
DEC	Every student	*Present* (receives)	Statement
DEC	Excellence…	*Present* (come)	Statement
DEC	Excellence	*Present* (comes)	Statement
DEC	It	*Present* (comes)	Statement
DEC	Our students	Are	Statement
DEC	The experience of excellence	*Past* (is)	Statement
DEC	Our program	*Present* (encourages)	Statement
DEC	The student's values…	*Present* (are)	Statement
DEC	Honesty…	*Present* (are)	Statement
DEC	The Cambridge-Boston community	*Present* (provides)	Statement
DEC	We	*Present* (endeavor)	Statement
DEC	We	*Present* (expect)	Statement

Table 4.21: BD&M 1996 mood System, Subject, Finite Analysis of Ranked Clauses

mood system	Subject	Finite	Speech Role
DEC	You	*Present* (tour,talk,look)	Statement
DEC	We	*Present* (hope)	Statement
DEC	You	Will	Statement
DEC	Our community	Is	Statement
DEC	What brings us together as one school	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	Our classrooms and curriculum	*Present* (create)	Statement
DEC	The interests and talents of our students…	*Present* (enhance)	Statement
DEC	We	*Present* (are)	Statement
DEC	We	*Present* (delight)	Statement
DEC	BD&M	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	We	*Present* (hope)	Statement
IMP	You (Implied)	*Present* (ask)	Command
DEC	You	*Present* (begin)	Statement

Table 4.22: BD&M 2015 mood System, Subject, Finite Analysis of Ranked Clauses

mood system	Subject	Finite	Speech Role
DEC	Buckingham Browne & Nichols	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	The school	*Present* (excels)	Statement
DEC	The curriculum	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	Students	*Present* (reach)	Statement
DEC	Students	*Present* (learn)	Statement
DEC	The Lower School and…	*Present* (are)	Statement
DEC	The Upper School…	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	We	*Present* (take)	Statement
DEC	We	*Present* (are)	Statement
DEC	This	*Present* (creates)	Statement
DEC	BD&M	*Present* (has)	Statement
DEC	The diversity of interests, experiences, and perspectives students bring with them to BD&M	*Present* (is)	Statement
DEC	They	*Present* (learn)	Statement

DEC	They	*Present* (embrace)	Statement
DEC	Students	*Present* (come)	Statement
DEC	They	*Present* (leave)	Statement
DEC	NONE	Non-Finite (prepared)	Statement
DEC		*Present* ()	Statement

Preliminary findings from the Mood analysis: BD&M 1980, 1996, 2015

1) Sixty-six out of 67 clauses are written in the declarative mood. One clause is written in the imperative mood in the 1996 text sample.

2) Sixty of the 67 clauses are in the present tense. Two clauses are in the past tense in the 1980 text sample. The 1980 text sample also includes three non-finite verbs. One clause is in the future tense in the 1996 text sample.

3) One modal is used in the 1980 text sample. No modals are used in the 1996 or 2015 text samples and there are no markers of negative polarity in any of the text samples.

Findings From the Mode Analysis

Whereas field analysis considers what a text is about and tenor analysis considers what relationships are developed in a text, mode analysis considers how the interpersonal and experiential functions of a text are organized. In order for a reader or listener to follow the progression of ideas and shifts in interpersonal relationships, speakers and authors must include a series of "signposts [that] realise textual meanings" (Butt, et. al., 2000, p 134).

Thompson (2004) identifies three primary ways authors construct unified textual meaning: repetition, conjunction, and thematization. Repetition and conjunction signal how one clause functions in relation to another clause or to multiple clauses. Thematization establishes unification within clauses as well as among clauses.

Repetition is simply the repeated use of words (for example words and synonyms used as participants or processes). Through repetition, a text reveals its primary topics. As the field analysis demonstrated, school introductory statements frequently repeat synonyms for *student*, *school*, and *academics* in the form of participants or modifiers. This repetition establishes a cohesive topic for each text and, by staying "on message," the texts provide a level of predictability. However, an analysis of repetition does not provide any mechanism for understanding how the repeated elements interact or how their expressed meanings may shift through the progression of a text. For example, understanding that the terms *student* and *academics* repeat does not provide any understanding about the relationship between these two topics or if the relationship shifts throughout the text. This is especially problematic since genre analysis assumes that texts are "purposeful," meaning that texts start somewhere and purposefully end up somewhere else. Conjunction analysis is one way to understand this movement.

Conjunctions are the most common linguistic resource used to combine clauses and signal logical relationships among clauses. For example, conjunctions such as *and*, *but*, or *so* create parity between clauses and thus can *coordinate* either independent or dependent clauses. On the other hand, subordinating conjunctions combine a dependent clause with an independent clause. Subordinating conjunctions signal the logical relationship between the messages of each clause. For example, *when* signals a temporal relationship, *because* signals a causal relationship, and *if* signals a conditional relationship. An analysis that recognizes both repetition and conjunctions is more likely to identify not only *the cohesive topics* of a text but the relationships among and within these topics as well as shifts throughout the text.

Thematization describes the textual function within each independent clause. Although thematization begins with an analysis within independent clauses, following the progression of theme throughout a text provides a third tool for understanding the total textual function.

The Theme is always the first constituent of an independent clause – it is the starting line for all the information that is to follow. Any statement can be reordered as to begin in multiple ways. For example, consider the following two sentences. The first is the introductory sentence to Martial's 1980 text sample. The second is the introductory sentence to Martial's 1989 text sample. In both sentences the theme Theme is underlined.

Sentence 1: <u>The Martial Friends School</u> is a coeducational day school offering an accelerated curriculum to about 1,000 students.

Sentence 2: <u>For more than a century</u>, The Martial Friends School has offered a coeducational program of academic excellence in a Quaker setting.

Both statements are essentially *about* the same thing: Martial Friends is a participant and the subject in both sentences, coeducational is used as a pre-modifier to describe program or school in both sentences, and "accelerated curriculum" and "academic excellence" represent the same general concluding idea. The change in Theme does not change what these sentences are about. However, the change in theme – the change in the "point of departure" (Halliday, 2004, 64) for each sentence – shifts the understanding of what follows. This shift in understanding occurs in two ways. First, the theme establishes the first cognitive input for a reader, so that the reader of sentence one begins with a focus immediately on Martial Friends as an academic institution where as the reader of

sentence two begins with a historical reference and thus must integrate the following

statement about Martial Friends into this historical perspective. Second, the theme

establishes a set of parameters to which the remainder of the sentence must adhere. In

other words, the entryway into a sentence (the Theme) allows for some grammatical

possibilities while simultaneously closing off other possibilities. The Theme for sentence

one establishes the simple present, which is imbedded within the verb is; the Theme for

sentence two establishes the finite *has,* as in *has offered*. Therefore, the Theme opens up

different doors, which both reveal a different "first impression" to a reader as well as

allowing for different possibilities for all of the doors that may follow.

Theme is the first constituent in an independent clause complex. The Rheme is

everything that follows. The Theme is much more powerful when analyzing the textual

function of language *within* individual independent clause complexes. Furthermore, the

Theme is instrumental in understanding how each independent clause complex imbeds

itself into a greater, unified whole. As already stated, repetition and conjunction are used

to established textual logic and coherence. Thematization is also used to establish textual

logic and coherence beyond the level of individual clauses. In particular, the Theme is

used "to 'hook' [a] clause on to the earlier clauses, to see immediately how the

information that will come in the remainder of the clause is likely to fit in with what has

already been said" (Thompson, 2004, 142). Tracking Theme-Rheme progressions is the

most effective way to identify how Themes are used 'to hook' clauses to 'what has

already been said.'

Theme-Rheme tracking identifies the specific patterns of repetition used in a text

in order to locate the imbedded Thematic shifts that occur throughout a text's
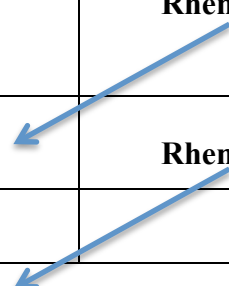
progression.   The two most common forms of Thematic progression are *linear progression* and *constant progression* (Danes, 1974). In linear progression an essential element of Rheme 1 is 'repackaged' into Theme 2 and so on. Consider the following example from Martial's 1989 text sample:

> Cooperation with others, acceptance of individual difference, decision-making by consensus, and peaceful resolution of conflict are stressed throughout the school. Martial Friends is well known for its commitment to pluralism. From the conviction that the quality of education and the richness of life are enhanced in a diverse community, the Schools seeks students, teachers, and administrators from many cultural, racial, religious, and economic backgrounds.

This text selection follows the linear progression pattern of Thematic organization through which a major element of the preceding sentence's Rheme is repackaged as an element of the following sentences Theme. This zigzag pattern from Theme to Rheme and then back to the following Theme constructs cohesion within the text. In this example the "the School" from Rheme 1 is repackaged into "Martial Friends" in Theme 2 and "commitment to pluralism" in Rheme 2 is repackaged as "the conviction" in Theme 3. The linear pattern is demonstrated below:

Theme	Rheme	Theme #	Rheme #
Cooperation with others, acceptance of individual difference, decision-making by consensus, and peaceful resolution of conflict	are stressed throughout the School.	Theme 1	Rheme 1
Martial Friends	is well known for its commitment to pluralism.	Theme 2	Rheme 2
From the conviction that the quality of education	the School seeks students, teachers, and		

| and the richness of life are enhanced in a diverse community, | administrators from many cultural, racial, religious, and economic backgrounds. | Theme 3 | Rheme 3 |

In constant progression, the Theme repeats itself in order to establish unity within a text. The example below uses constant progression to connect Theme 2, 3, and 4. The excerpt also demonstrates how linear Theme can repackage a major unit of the Rheme into a Theme that immediately follows the Rheme in question or into a Theme farther down the line of progression (Rheme 1 linearly progresses to Theme 2 *and* Theme 5). The excerpt is taken from Martial's 1980 text sample and the Theme Rheme analysis follows:

> The distinguishing characteristic of Martial Friends is the Quaker philosophy of education on which it was founded in 1883 and which continues to guide the entire life of the school. Friends schools in this country, about 50 in number, date from as early as 1689. Some are maintained by official bodies of the Religious Society of Friends; others, including Martial Friends, are independent organizations supervised by boards of trustees, some or all of whose members are Friends. Central to the Quaker philosophy of education is the Friends' belief that there is that of God in every person

Theme	Rheme	Theme #	Rheme #
The distinguishing characteristic of Martial Friends	*is the Quaker philosophy of education on which it was founded in 1883 and which continues to guide the entire life of the school.*	Theme 1	Rheme 1
Friends schools in this country, about 50 in number,	*date from as early as 1689.*	Theme 2	Rheme 2

Some	*are maintained by official bodies of the Religious Society of Friends;*	**Theme 3**	**Rheme 3**
others, including Martial Friends,	*are independent organizations supervised by boards of trustees, some or all of whose members are Friends.*	**Theme 4**	**Rheme 4**
Central to the Quaker philosophy of education	*is the Friends belief that there is that of God in every person.*	**Theme 5**	**Rheme 5**

In Appendix D, all nine text samples are broken down using the system displayed above. In Appendix D, Themes are listed in column 1 and Rhemes are listed in column 2. Arrows are used to show theme progression in column 3 and 4. The tables also track the use of conjunctions, adjuncts, and clauses. Conjunctions used to link clauses and to form clause complexes and adjuncts used to link sentences or clause complexes are shown in bold type. Coordinating conjunctions used to create a series *within* a single clause are not marked as these conjunctions do not establish cohesion between clauses. Dependent clauses are italicized. Independent clauses are unmarked. Paragraph shifts are marked with a double line.

Figure 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4 illustrate Theme-Rheme cohesion in each text. The first row marks paragraphs. So, in Martial's 1980 text sample there are 8 total paragraphs. Paragraph one has two Themes, paragraph 2 has 1 Theme, paragraph 3 has three Themes, etc. Martial's 1989 text sample only has 1 paragraph composed of 12 Themes. The first Theme from every text sample is represented with an X. An X is used because the first theme cannot have *progressed* from any previous theme. Straight lines "|" represent a *constant progression* in which elements of a Theme are repeated in the next Theme. Back slashes "/" represent *linear progression* in which elements of the Rheme are

repackaged in the next Theme. An "R" represents *repetition*. In cases of repetition, the

Theme repeats a major element that has been previously stated in the text, but *has not*

been stated in the previous Theme or Rheme. An underscore "__" is used to mark when

a Theme introduces a completely new element to the text – in other words, when the

Theme is not "hooked" to any previous aspect of the text. To help illustrate this marking

system, consider again the following Theme/Rheme breakdown:

Theme	Rheme	Theme #	Rheme #
The distinguishing characteristic of Martial Friends	is the Quaker philosophy of education on which it was founded in 1883 and which continues to guide the entire life of the school.	Theme 1	Rheme 1
Friends schools in this country, about 50 in number,	date from as early as 1689.	Theme 2	Rheme 2
Some	are maintained by official bodies of the Religious Society of Friends;	Theme 3	Rheme 3
others, including Martial Friends,	are independent organizations supervised by boards of trustees, some or all of whose members are Friends.	Theme 4	Rheme 4
Central to the Quaker philosophy of education	is the Friends belief that there is that of God in every person.	Theme 5	Rheme 5

This Theme/Rheme breakdown is represented as follows:

Paragraph #	Theme Progression
1	X
2	/ | |
3	R

There are three paragraphs in the excerpt. Paragraph one has one Theme marked with an

X because it is the first Theme. Theme #2 begins the second paragraph. Theme #2 is a

repackaging of Rheme #1 (it follows linear progression) so this transition is marked with

a backslash ("/"). Theme #3 and Theme #4 both repeat Theme #2 so this is an example of

constant progression, which are marked by two straight lines ("|"). Theme #5 begins

paragraph #3. Theme five does not repeat or repackage a major element from the

previous Theme/Rheme pair, but it does repeat "Quaker philosophy," a major element

from Rheme #1. Therefore, Theme #5 demonstrates *repetition* and is marked with an

"R." There are five total Themes described in this excerpt and each Theme is represented

in the figure by one of the possible notations. Figure 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4 illustrate Theme-

Rheme cohesion in each sample text.

Figure 4.2: Martial Theme Progression 1980, 1989, 2015

Paragraph #	Theme Progression 1980	Theme Progression 1989	Theme Progression 2015
1	X /	X __ | | __ / __ | / / / __	X __
2	|		R
3	/ | |		R __ / | __
4	R		R |
5	/ /		/ | | | | | |
6	| / __ __ /		
7	__		
8	/		

Preliminary findings from Theme progression analysis: Martial1980, 1989, 2015

1) The 1980 text sample uses linear progression seven times and constant

   progression four times. Paragraphs are also connected through linear and constant

   progression: only one paragraph begins with a repeated Theme and no paragraphs

   begin with an unmarked Theme.

2) The 1989 text sample is only one paragraph long. Seven of the twelve themes use

   either linear or constant progression. Four themes are unmarked.

3) The 2015 text sample uses repetition to introduce paragraphs two, three, and four.

   Paragraph five includes six consecutive uses of constant progression.

Figure 4.3: Holand Theme Progression 1980, 1987, 2015

Paragraph #	Theme Progression 1980	Theme Progression 1987	Theme Progression 2015
1	X /	X / / / /	X | / __ __ __| | __ /
2	| | | __	__ / |	/ / | / |
3	/ | __ | | __ __ __	__ / / __	| / /
4	| / __ __ |	/ / / | __ __	R / /
5	| / __ __	__ __ | | /	R / | /
6	__ / |	| __ / / / / __ __	
7	| / __ /		
8	R | | __		

Preliminary findings Theme progression analysis: Holand 1980, 1987, 2015

1) The 1980 text sample uses linear progression seven times and constant progression thirteen times. Twelve themes are unmarked. Five paragraphs cohere to the previous paragraph through either linear or constant progression. Only one paragraph begins with an unmarked theme and one begins with a repeated theme.

2) The 1987 text sample uses linear progression fifteen times and constant progression five times. Ten themes are unmarked and two paragraphs begin with unmarked themes.

3) The 2015 text sample uses linear progression eleven times and constant progression seven times. Only four Themes are unmarked and they all appear in the first paragraph.

Figure 4.4: BD&M Theme Progression 1980, 1996, 2015

Paragraph #	Theme Progression 1980	Theme Progression 1996	Theme Progression 2015
1	X | / / / __ |	X | | / | / __ | | / | __	X __
2	__ | __		__ /
3	R | | __ | | / __ __		/ / / |
4	__ / | | /		/ __
5	R / |		/ / |

6	__						
7			R		

Preliminary findings Theme progression analysis: BD&M 1980, 1996, 2015

1) The 1980 text sample uses linear progression seven times and constant progression twelve times. Eight Themes are unmarked. No paragraphs cohere through the use of linear or constant progression. Repetition is used twice to introduce paragraphs and three paragraphs begin with unmarked Themes.

2) The 1996 text sample is one paragraph long. It uses linear progression three times and constant progression six times. Only two Themes are unmarked.

3) The 2015 text sample uses linear progression seven times and constant progression four times. Only three Themes are unmarked. Four paragraphs are cohered through linear or constant progression and one begins with repetition.

Conjunction and Adjunct Analysis

Tables 4.23-4.31 represent how each text coheres through the use of conjunctions and adjuncts (conjunctive or modal). Each conjunction can be found in a Theme/Rheme pair. The numbers of these pairs are listed in Column 1 and the corresponding Theme/Rheme pair can be found in the complete breakdowns in appendix D. Column two and three represent where the conjunction is located, either in the Theme or the Rheme. Italicized conjunctions are used to introduce dependent clauses (these are subordinating conjunctions). Underlined conjunctions are used to introduce dependent clauses. Conjunctive adjuncts are shown in bold type and modal adjuncts are in bold *and* italicized. The use of parenthesis represents that a conjunction does not appear in the text sample due to ellipsis. For example, BD&M's 2015 text sample includes the following statement: "At every grade, we take full advantage of the range of opportunities our

location affords us." The conjunction *that* is assumed to introduce the clause "(*that) our*

location affords us," but, through ellipsis, it does not appear in the text.

Table 4.23: Martial (1980) Conjunction and Adjunct Summary

Theme/Rheme #	Theme	Rheme
3		*Which*
3		*And*
3		*Which*
6		*Whose*
6		*(that)*
7		*that*
9	**Along**	
9		*That*
10	**Therefore**	
11		*As*
14	**As in**	
15		*As*
17	*which*	
17		*that*

Italics=Conjunction introduces a dependent clause, <u>Underline=Conjunction Introduces an Independent</u> <u>Clause</u>*,* **Bold**=Conjunctive Adjunct*,* ***Bold Italic**=Modal Adjunct, ( )=the conjunction is elided.*

Table 4.24: Martial (1989) Conjunction and Conjunctive Adverb Summary

Theme/Rheme #	Theme	Rheme
5		*Whose*
8		*That*
9	**Therefore**	

Italics=Conjunction introduces a dependent clause, <u>Underline=Conjunction Introduces an Independent</u> <u>Clause</u>*,* **Bold**=Conjunctive Adjunct*,* ***Bold Italic**=Modal Adjunct, ( )=the conjunction is elided.*

Table 4.25: Martial (2015) Conjunction and Conjunctive Adverb Summary

Theme/Rheme #	Theme	Rheme
2		*(That)*
11	*That*	
11	*Because*	
12		*(That)*
14		*(That)*
18		*That*

Preliminary analysis conjunction and adjunct usage: Martial1980, 1989, 2015

4) The number of conjunctions and adjuncts decreases from 8.2 per ten

Theme/Rheme pairs in 1980 to 2.5 per ten Theme/Rheme pairs in 1989, and then

slightly increases to 3.3 per ten Theme/Rheme pairs in 2015.

5) Dependent clauses are more often located in the Rheme than they are in the
Theme. In 1980, 10 dependent clauses were located in the Rheme and only 1 in
the Theme. In 1989, 2 dependent clauses were located in the Rheme and none in
the Theme. In 2015, 4 dependent clauses were located in the Rheme and only 2 in
the Theme.

6) Of the 36 total subordinating conjunctions used in the three text samples, "that" is
used thirteen times and "which" is used 4 times. "Where" and "who" are both
used three times. Therefore, conjunctions are most commonly used in these three
text samples to introduce post-modification clauses following participants.

7) In the three text samples, only 4 adjuncts are used. All four are conjunctive
adjuncts. Two are used in the 1980 text sample, two are used in the 1987 text
sample, and none are used in the 2015 text sample.

8) No conjunctions are used to coordinate multiple independent clauses.

Table 4.26: Holand (1980) Conjunction and Adjunct Summary

Theme/Rheme #	Theme	Rheme
1		*(That)*
2		*Which*
3		*(that)*
12	***In Fact***	
15	*Though*	
16		*While*
18	**Just As**	
27	**Yet**	*As*
30	<u>And</u>	
31		*Which*
32		*As*
32		*Which*
33		*Which*

Italics=Conjunction introduces a dependent clause, <u>Underline=Conjunction Introduces an Independent Clause</u>*,* **Bold**=Conjunctive Adjunct*,* ***Bold Italic***=Modal Adjunct, ( )=the conjunction is elided.

Table 4.27: Holand (1987) Conjunction and Conjunctive Adverb Summary

Theme/Rheme #	Theme	Rheme
1		*Where*
2		*Where*
5	<u>But</u>	
7	*as*	
8		*as*
9	*Whether*	
11		*that*
12	*Whether*	
13		**Therefore**
13		*that*
13		*when*
13		*that*
15	**This**	
15		*That*
16		*(That)*
16		*That*
22	<u>And</u>	
23	**In Either Case**	
23		*Where*
23		*That*
25		*Who*
26		*As*
27	(Who)	
27		*Whose*
28		**Whether**
29		*(That)*
29		*That*

Italics=Conjunction introduces a dependent clause, <u>Underline=Conjunction Introduces an Independent Clause</u>*,* **Bold**=Conjunctive Adjunct*,* ***Bold Italic***=Modal Adjunct, ( )=the conjunction is elided.

Table 4.28: Holand (2015) Conjunction and Conjunctive Adverb Summary

Theme/Rheme #	Theme	Rheme
2		*That*
6	<u>And</u>	
7	<u>But</u>	
16	*After*	
20		*(That)*
24		<u>And</u>

Italics=Conjunction introduces a dependent clause, <u>Underline=Conjunction Introduces an Independent Clause</u>*,* **Bold**=Conjunctive Adjunct*,* ***Bold Italic***=Modal Adjunct, ( )=the conjunction is elided.

Preliminary analysis conjunction and adjunct usage: Holand 1980, 1987, 2015

1) The number of conjunctions and adjuncts increases from 3.9 per ten

Theme/Rheme pairs in 1980 to 8.7 per ten Theme/Rheme pairs in 1987, and then decreases to 2.4 per ten Theme/Rheme pairs in 2015.

2) Dependent clauses are more often located in the Rheme than they are in the Theme. In 1980, 9 dependent clauses were located in the Rheme and only 1 in the Theme. In 1987, 17 dependent clauses were located in the Rheme and only 5 in the Theme. In 2015, 3 dependent clauses were located in the Rheme and only 1 in the Theme.

3) Of the 18 total subordinating conjunctions used in the three text samples, "that" is used eleven times and "which" is used 3 times. Therefore, conjunctions are most commonly used in these three text samples to introduce post-modification clauses following participants.

4) In the three text samples, only 4 adjuncts are used. All four are conjunctive adjuncts. Three are used in the 1980 text sample, one is used in the 1989 text sample, and none are used in the 2015 text sample.

5) Conjunctions are used to coordinate independent clauses two times in each text sample.

Table 4.29: BD&M (1980) Conjunction and Conjunctive Adverb Summary

Theme/Rheme #	Theme	Rheme
1		*(As)*
3	*When*	
4	**Also**	
5	*While*	
10		*While*
13	**Although**	
13		*Whose*
17	<u>As</u>	
26	<u>For</u>	
28	*Which*	

Italics=Conjunction introduces a dependent clause, <u>Underline</u>=<u>Conjunction Introduces an Independent Clause</u>*,* **Bold**=Conjunctive Adjunct*,* ***Bold Italic***=Modal Adjunct, ( )=the conjunction is elided.

Table 4.30: BD&M (1996) Conjunction and Conjunctive Adverb Summary

Theme/Rheme #	Theme	Rheme
3	*As*	
6		*Which*
9	<u>And</u>	
10		*That*

Italics=Conjunction introduces a dependent clause, <u>Underline</u>=<u>Conjunction Introduces an Independent</u> <u>Clause</u>, **Bold**=Conjunctive Adjunct, ***Bold Italic***=Modal Adjunct ( )=the conjunction is elided.

Table 4.31: BD&M (2015) Conjunction and Conjunctive Adverb Summary

Theme/Rheme #	Theme	Rheme
1		*That*
8		*(That)*
9		*Who*
10		*Where*
12	*(That)*	
13		*As*

Italics=Conjunction introduces a dependent clause, <u>Underline</u>=<u>Conjunction Introduces an Independent</u> <u>Clause</u>, **Bold**=Conjunctive Adjunct, ***Bold Italic***=Modal Adjunct ( )=the conjunction is elided.

Preliminary analysis conjunction and adjunct usage: BD&M 1980, 1996, 2015

1) The number of conjunctions and adjuncts remains constant at 3.3 per ten Theme/Rheme pairs in 1980 and 1996, and then slightly increases to 4 per ten Theme/Rheme pairs in 2015.

2) In 1980 dependent clauses are equally balanced between the Theme and Rheme – three uses in each. In 1996 two independent clauses are located in the Rheme and only one is located in the Theme. In 2015, 5 dependent clauses were located in the Rheme and only 1 in the Theme.

3) The 1980 text sample includes one use of "as", one use of "when" and two uses of "while" and only one use of "which" and one use of "which." Therefore, in the 1980 text sample, conjunctions are most commonly used to introduce circumstantial clauses that orient the process in terms of time. Of the nine total subordinating conjunctions used in the 1996 and 2015 text samples, "that" is used

4 times, "which" is used once and "who" is used once. Therefore, conjunctions are most commonly used in the 1996 and 2015 text samples to introduce post-modification clauses following participants.

4) In the three text samples, only 2 adjuncts are used. One conjunctive adjunct is used in the 1980 text sample and one modal adjunct is used in the 1980 text sample.

5) Conjunctions are used to coordinate independent clauses twice in the 1980 text sample, once in the 1996 text sample, and no times in the 2015 text sample.

Summary of Genre Analysis

The detailed analysis of the nine texts samples reveal a number of linguistic features that are consistent in all nine text samples at the level of the Field, Tenor, and Mode. The consistency strongly suggests that it is accurate to label these samples as a Genre: the *First Impressions Genre*. Over time, many of the linguistic features shift, but they shift proportionally across cases. The following analysis looks across cases and across time to make claims about how linguistic resources in the text samples *functionally produce* specific meanings within the *First Impressions Genre*.

Findings From Genre Analysis: Centering of Students

Preliminary findings from the participant/modifier tracking, process tracking, and circumstance tracking suggest that "students" are centered in the text samples and that over time "students" become an even more dominating focus in the *First Impressions Genre*. The following analysis demonstrates how linguistic choices reorient students into the center of the conversation. In particular, four lexicogrammatical tools are used to achieve this end: shifts in usage rate of "student" participants and modifiers, the use of second person direct address, the use of the agentless passive, and nominalizations.

Shifts in usage rate of "student" participants and modifiers over time

The participant and modifiers used in all nine text samples conform to what might be expected in the introduction materials from any school. The schools, as is expected, all include participants and modifiers that represent the institution, students, teachers and academics. Furthermore, the sample texts discuss other key elements of a school: the school's history, the school's location, the school's values, the arts, and athletics. These major topics, as represented through participant and modifier usage, are consistent over time and cases. However, what is not consistent over time is the *rate* of usage for each major participant (Chart 4.1).

Figure 4.1: Average Participant and Modifier Usage Across Time
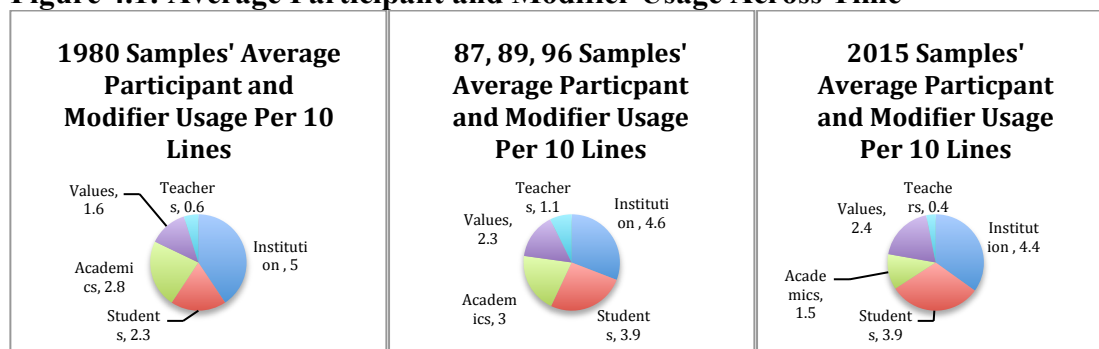
The 1980 text samples include an average rate of 5 institutional references, 2.3 student references, 2.8 academic references, and 1.6 values references per 10 lines of text. The institutional references drop slightly in the second set of samples and the 2015 set of samples. However, the usage rate for "student" increases to 3.9 per 10 lines of text in both the second set and the final set – a 70% increase in the usage rate. A closer look at the documents reveals that this increase is actually much larger. The 1996 BD&M text sample and the 2015 Holand text sample both switch to second person direct address. In so doing, the samples often include the participant "you" and the pre-modifier "your." For example:

> **From BD&M 1996 Text Sample**: "As *you* talk with our students and faculty…we hope *you* will begin to understand the distinctive characteristics of BD&M."

> **From Holand 2015 Text Sample**: "At Holand, *you*'ll find a powerful, challenging academic experience together with a warm, supportive environment. *You*'ll work in small classes, with skilled, caring faculty to develop *your* analytical skills, *your* perspectives, *your* creativity and *your* awareness."

Although "you" could refer to anyone reading these texts, it is strongly implied in the BD&M sample and directly stated ("You'll work in small classes") in the Holand sample that "you" refers directly to a prospective student and not a parent or any other reader. Including these references to prospective students in the "student" count of participants and modifiers dramatically increases the average usage rates for the second and third sets

of sample texts (Table 4.32). After including the uses of "you" in the counts the usage rate increases by 143% between the 1980 text samples and the 2015 text samples.

Table 4.32: Average Usage of "Student" (Including Perspective Student) Per 10 Lines

Sample 1's Average	Sample 2's Average	Sample 3's Average
2.3	4.6	5.6

The increased usage rate of the "student" participant and modifier is one way students become more centered in the discourse over time. There are a number of other ways this occurs as well.

Folding students into the institution

In the 1980 text samples the most frequently used participant/modifier is "institution." As seen in chart 4.1, the usage rate of "institution" drops slightly in the second set of text sample and the 2015 set of text samples. However, this drop appears to be very slight. Although the total rate only drops slightly, the words used to make up the larger category "institution" shift over time. For example, each 1980 text sample includes at least 3 instances in which the participant "school," "academy," "organization" or "institution" are used as participants. For example:

From Martial's 1980 Text Sample: "The <u>school</u> strives to instill a deep sense of responsibility in *students*…"

From BD&M's 1980 Text Sample: "The <u>school</u> remains committed to preparing *students*…"

From Holand's 1980 Text Sample: "Holand's <u>organization and composition</u> are valuable only as they serve its central purpose, which is to offer a strong academic training and an environment in which *students* can learn and grow."

In each example the participants "school" and "organization and composition" are clearly distinct from the participant "student." In fact, in each example the "school" does some action (*strives, prepares, serves*) in the service of its students. In later text sample the distinction between "institution" and "student" becomes less clear.

As already stated, BD&M's 1996 text sample and Holand's 2015 text sample both shift to second person direct address as both welcome statements conform to many of the genre elements of a traditional letter. In the 2015 Holand example, 8 participants and 14 modifiers constitute the participant/modifier group under the term "institution." In fact, Holand is primarily used as a modifier of students, as in "Holand Students are..." as opposed to its use in 1980 and 1987 where Holand is used as the participant as in "Holand is…". Furthermore, the change from third to second person in the 2015 text sample results in the repetitive use of *we*, which account for six of the eight participants representing the "institution." The use of "we" no longer carries the sharp distinction between institution and student, as is the case in the 1980 text samples. As is the case with Holand's 2015 text sample, BD&M's 1996 text sample is written in the second person. The participant *we* is used 10 times and *our (as a pre-modifier* - as in "our students") is used twice. This shift to second person also occurs in sections of BD&M's 2015 text sample as well as sections of Martial's 2015 text sample (even though these samples do not fully conform to the formal letter genre). Examples of the use of we in place of a participant that more directly suggests a separation between the institution and the school include:

From BD&M' 2015 Text Sample: "We are a community of engaged

learners and compassionate people…"

> **From Martial's 2015 Text Sample:** "We cultivate in all members of our community high personal expectations and integrity…"
>
> **From Holand's 2015 Text Sample:** "We are delighted to share Holand with you."

"We" is much more inclusive and strongly suggests that students are in fact *part* of the institution and not something separate from it. As this analysis on the centering of students argues, students may in fact *be the most important* aspect of the institution.

Mitigating the role of the teacher

As shown in the average usage rates in chart 4.1 the participant "teacher" is infrequently used across all cases. Yes, teachers are implied in the much more frequently used term "institution," but further analysis reveals that rarely are teachers or forms of the participant "institution" used as actors or agents who directly impact students. In other words, very little "teaching" is discussed across all cases. The prevalence of passive voice, accompaniment circumstances, and nominalizations all help mitigate the role of the teacher while simultaneously highlighting the role of the student. This dynamic is further demonstrated by the scarcity of processes that mean "teach," as opposed to the relatively high usage of processes that mean "learn." In other words, students learn, but teachers do not teach. This sentiment is well stated in Martial's 1980 text sample, "The School's aim is to elicit the best from within each student rather than to impose direction." Similarly, Holand's 1987 text sample states, "Whether it is mastering a banana kick in soccer or a quadratic equation in mathematics, learning is not something that is done to or for students." All nine text samples use language that mitigates the active role of the teacher or the institution, but the instances become more prevalent and powerful in the latter text samples.

All nine text examples use the passive voice in at least one instance in a manner that shifts agency from teachers to students. For example:

From Martial's 1980 Text Sample:

A variety of learning environments	are made	available
Participant: Goal	Process: material	Object Compliment

Students	are encouraged
Participant: Beneficiary	Process: material

From Holand's 1987 Text Sample:

Holand students	*are stretched* and *stimulated*
Participant: Beneficiary	Process: Material

Critical reasoning	*is required*	and	imaginative thinking	*is encouraged*
Participant: Phenomenon	Process: Mental: Inclination	conj	Participant: Phenomenon	Process: Mental: Inclination

Who *stretches and stimulates* students, or *makes* learning environments available? The use of the "agentless passive" in each case hides each sentence's actor and foregrounds the "goal," "phenomenon," or "beneficiary." Often in these constructions students are the "beneficiary." They should *benefit* from the process of *teaching, stretching, stimulating,* done to them by an actor; however, when the agentless passive is used even the beneficiaries are centered in the clause.

Although not as extreme as the use of the agentless passive, the text samples also use accompaniment circumstances as a means of centering the students and deemphasizing teachers. For example:

From Holand's 2015 Text Sample:

You'll	work	in small classes	with skilled, caring faculty.
Participant: Actor	Process: Material	Circumstance: Location	Circumstance: Accompaniment

From Martial's 1989 Text Sample:

Students	work	closely	with outstanding teachers.
Participant: Actor	Process: Material	Circumstance: Quality	Circumstance: Accompaniment

From BD&M's 2015 Text Sample:

They [students]	learn	from gifted faculty	and from each other
Participant: Sensor	Process: Mental	Circumstance: Means	Circumstance: Means
Independent clause			

as they	embrace	the challenges of a premier educational experience.
Participant: Sensor	Process: Mental	Participant: Phenomena
Dependent clause		

The first two examples use accompaniment circumstances to place teachers in support roles while allowing students to remain foregrounded as the sentences' actors. The third sentence gives teachers slightly more agency. In the BD&M example, teachers are used in a *means* circumstance. Switching from "with teachers" to "from teachers" suggests more strongly that teachers are providing the *means* of learning. In other words, means circumstances answer the question *how*. In this case, *how* do students learn? They learn "from gifted faculty and from each other." This is the only example of a means or cause circumstance involving teachers and learning in all nine, text samples. In contrast, the more prevalent accompaniment circumstances only answer the question *with whom*. Since it is rather awkward to say, "students learn with teachers" the more appropriate process *work* is included in the first two sentences. With whom do students *work*? They work "with teachers." This analysis reveals the subtle shifts in language that mitigate the role of the teacher and in so doing emphasize the central role of students.

Nominalizations are also used as a means of mitigating the role of teachers and the institution and therefore contribute to the relative power and agency of students in the text samples. When a process is turned into a participant it has been nominalized. The following excerpt from Martial's 1980 text sample includes four nominalized participants (each are in italics).

> The *expectation* of academic excellence and achievement in the
>
> disciplines, *development* of study habits, *participation* in strong programs
>
> in the arts and physical education and *utilization* of the nation's capital as
>
> a School laboratory contribute to the balance and vitality of the 14-year
>
> educational offering at Martial Friends.

By taking processes and turning them into participants, nominalizations remove the need to include an agent who would perform the original process. In these examples, the agent most appropriate for performing the suggested processes would be teachers or some other administrative entity. Teachers should *expect* academic excellence and achievement. Instead, the only process in the sentence is *contribute* – the four nominalizations *contribute* to the "balance and vitality of the 14-year educational offering at Martial Friends." Like the use of the agentless passive and accompaniment circumstances, the use of nominalizations removes the need to foreground teachers as active agents. As is the case in the previous examples, this reduces the role of teachers while simultaneously increasing the focus on students.

Even when teachers are presented as active agents, other functional choices in the grammar can mitigate the teacher's role. For example, consider the following excerpt from Holand's 1987 text sample:

It is the quieter moments, therefore, that advisers and teachers seek, when

they can personally listen to and understand the ideas that students are

beginning to form and to refine.

Here we have advisers and teachers actively *seeking* and *listening*. However, other

elements of the sentence function to reduce the potential agency and focus on the teacher.

First, advisers and teachers occupy an imbedded, dependent clause that functions as a

post modifier for "moments." Using the more direct *actor-process-goal* construction

would increase the agency of the teachers: *teachers and advisors seek the quieter*

moments… Furthermore, in the location circumstantial clause the use of "can" as a

modal finite expresses the possibility of action – "they can personally listen." However,

modal finites encode probability, meaning the possibility of the action occurring is not a

guarantee. Again, more direct language would increase the agency of the teacher: *they*

listen to and understand the ideas. The effects of these subtle choices are made clearer

through a comparison of Holand's original sentence to a rewritten example with more

direct language.

Holand's Example: It is the quieter moments, therefore, that advisers and

teachers seek, when they can personally listen to and understand the ideas

that students are beginning to form and to refine.

Rewritten Example: Therefore, teachers seek the quieter moments to

listen to and understand the ideas that students are beginning to form and

to refine.

Shifts in usage rate of "student" participants and modifiers, the use of second

person direct address, the use of the agentless passive, and nominalizations all work to

center students in the *First Impressions Genre*. The lexicogrammatical features achieve

this effect by increasing the focus on students through both grammatical usage and an increase in usage rate over time; by folding students into the institution through the use of second person direct address; and by mitigating the role of the teacher through the use of the agentless passive, accompaniment circumstances, and nominalizations.

Findings From Genre Analysis: Goodness is Innate within Students

Preliminary findings from the participant/modifier tracking, process tracking, and circumstance tracking suggest that values and knowledge are presented as innate attributes within students and not something that must be learned or practiced over time. The following analysis demonstrates how linguistic choices functionally create this phenomenon. These lexicogrammatical features become more prevalent as the text samples move from 1980 to 2015. In order to show this change over time, consider the following excerpt from BD&M's 1980 text sample:

> BD&M's principal purpose is to develop an enthusiasm for learning and a respect for excellence through a distinguished academic program. An understanding and committed faculty teaches the basic academic skills and a regard for traditional academic values, while encouraging students to develop personal initiative, independence of mind, and the ability to make good choices and decisions.

In this excerpt it is very clear that the faculty is directly acting *in the service* of students, so their pupils will "develop an enthusiasm for learning" and "personal initiative, independence of mind, and the ability to make good choices and decisions." In fact, the specific functional term for this type of transitivity is *creative goal.*

	to develop	personal initiative, independence of mind, and the ability to make good choices and decisions.
Unstated Actor	Process: material	Goal: Creative

As the label *creative goal* suggests, this construction produces a meaning in which teachers must *create* academic success and valued qualities within students. These qualities are the *goal* of the educational experience. Comparing this language to an excerpt from BD&M's 2015 text sample reveals a dramatic shift in usage:

> We are a community of engaged learners and compassionate people who embrace the school's motto: "Honor, Scholarship, Kindness."…. Students come to BD&M with intellectual curiosity and an eagerness to learn…

In this excerpt "engaged learners and compassionate people" is used as a post-modification of "community." These values are presupposed as an innate part of the community. Similarly, the construction "students come to BD&M with intellectual curiosity and an eagerness to learn" uses an accompaniment circumstance to suggest that "curiosity" and "eagerness" are *already* innate attributes that students bring with them (as accompaniments) when they "come to BD&M." Similar examples are found in Martial's and Holand's text samples. The following analysis of text samples considers a number of lexicogrammatical elements that enact the functional interpretation that desirable qualities and values are innate within students.

Continuum of Relational Functions

As already stated, the sample texts (excluding the 1980 samples) rarely separate desirable traits from students in a way that suggests teachers or institutions must instill values or in a way that suggests that students must continually work towards achieving these desirable traits. Instead, constructions are used that presuppose a relationship

between desirable values and students. A continuum exists in the degree to which this relationship is stated. In other words, although the relationship between students and values is assumed to exist, changes in the grammar inflect the *degree* or the *strength* of this relationship. The weakest relationships are implied by constructions that separate students from desirable qualities using relational processes. The next step on the continuum uses pre- and post- modification to describe students as possessing desirable qualities. And the strongest stage of the continuum uses desirable qualities as participants.

Step 1: Creating relationships through relational processes

The following two examples both create a relationship through the use of a relational process. The first example is from Holand's 2015 text sample and the second is from Holand's 1987 text sample.

Students at Holand	are	friendly, happy, and engaged.
Participant: Carrier	Process: Relational	Attribute

Holand Academy	is	a rigorous yet compassionate academic community.
Participant: Carrier	Process: Relational	Attribute

The primary function of a relational process is to "relate a participant to its identity or description" (Butt, et al., p. 58). In this type of construction the participant is referred to as a *carrier* because it carries the associated *attribute*. Although the relationship is made clear in this construction the use of a process does in fact separate (both physically in the sentence and in shades of meaning) the participant and its associated attribute. This is the weakest construction for demonstrating the relationships between students and desirable traits.

Step 2: Creating relationships through modification

The following two examples both create a relationship through the use of pre- and post- modification. Both examples are from BD&M's 2015 text sample:

Example 1: We are a community of engaged learners and compassionate people.

Example 2: The curriculum is…designed to help qualified students from a range of backgrounds and with a range of talents and interests reach new levels of accomplishment.

In Example 1 the participant "learner" is pre-modified by "engaged" and the participant "people" is pre-modified by "compassionate." In these examples the desirable attributes (*engaged* and *compassionate*) are directly related to the participants through the process of modification. What type of people? *Compassionate people.* What type of learners? *Engaged learners.* In the second example the participant "student" is pre-modified by "qualified" *and* post-modified by the phrase *with a range of talents and interests*. What type of students? *Qualified students with a range of talents and interests*.

Step 3: Creating relationships by turning values into participants

The most powerful construction used to imply the innate quality of desirable attributes requires turning desirable values – phenomena and attributes – into participants. This is very similar to the process of nominalization. In the two examples below, the attributes occupy the role of *actor* in the italicized clauses.

Martial1989: *The talents and interests of Martial Friends students enable them* to benefit from and contribute to a challenging college preparatory program.

> **Holand 1987:** Holand Academy is a rigorous yet compassionate academic
>
> community, where *talent, curiosity and decency combine* to produce a
>
> lively student body.

As opposed to using a relational process that would result in a clause such as: Martial students are talented and interesting, the use of *talent* and *interest* as actors reifies the descriptive qualities (talented and interesting) into something much more stable and absolute – something innate and unequivocal.

Using Nominalization, Passive Voice, and Grammatical Metaphor to Reduce Cause and Effect

Students and desirable traits and values are not always directly allied through relational functions. In most of the text samples there are some clauses that reveal an active process through which values must be instilled in students. However, unlike in the BD&M example where this process was stated actively and concretely, the process of *teaching* or *instilling* is obscured by the use of the agentless passive, nominalizations and grammatical metaphors. These features serve to mitigate a claim's power. For example, the passive voice and nominalizations are used in the following excerpt from Martial's 1989 text sample:

> Therefore, cooperation with others, acceptance of individual difference,
>
> decision-making by consensus, and peaceful resolution of conflict are
>
> stressed throughout the School.

Although an actor is implied (although not stated) as the one who *stresses* the importance of the listed values, the use of the passive voice and nominalizations greatly reduces the impact of any necessary action – any learning that must be done to achieve these traits. In fact, the nominalizations repackage active and continually unfolding processes

(*cooperate, accept, resolve*) into a participant (a goal) that can be "stressed." In this way the values become something that can be possessed instead of something that must be enacted through action. An alternative wording in which the nominalizations are returned to processes reads:

> Therefore, the school teaches students to cooperate with others, accept individual difference, make decisions by consensus, and resolve conflicts peacefully.

In this revision, the passive voice must be removed so the school can actively *teach* and the stated values are repackaged into processes that must be enacted over time instead of qualities that can be permanently possessed since nominalizations allow authors to "freeze [an] event in time and make it an object. (Butt, et. all, p. 75)."

The use of grammatical metaphor is another linguistic function that reduces the direct impact of a statement. The following two examples of grammatical metaphor come from Martial's 1980 text sample:

> **Example 1:** The School strives to instill a deep sense of responsibility in students.
>
> **Example 2:** The School stresses the importance of simplicity, friendliness and vigorous creativity.

Both statements use examples of Behavioural processes. In such a construction the participant is labeled the *Behaver,* the processes is labeled *Behavioural* and the extension of the process is labeled *the Range.* The second example can be deconstructed as follows:

The School	stresses	the importance of simplicity, friendliness and vigorous creativity.
Behaver	Process: Behavioural	Range

Behavioural processes represent the enactment of physiological or psychological behavior and therefore the "behavioural processes have only one participant: the human" (Thompson, 103). In this case, the *Behaver* is "The School," and thus, the clause is considered to be personified. The School cannot "stress" nor can it "strive." Using this particular type of grammatical metaphor reduces the power of the statement because the figurative quality of the language introduces doubt.

In the few instances where clauses imply that students must actively pursue desirable qualities or be taught these qualities, the passive voice, nominalizations, and grammatical metaphors serve to dampen the assertiveness of these claims. More often though, students and desirable attributes and values are directly allied through the use of pre and post-modifications, relational processes, and the foregrounding of positive attributes in their role as participant actors.

Findings From Genre Analysis: Language Conforms and Becomes Less Formal and Academic in Tone

Preliminary findings from the participant/modifier tracking, mood analysis and Mode analysis reveal that the language among cases becomes more aligned over time. In other words, there was much more linguistic variety among the 1980 text samples than the 2015 text samples. In particular, the reduction of linguistic variety (particularly in the Field analysis) reduces what the *First Impression Genre* can be *about*, and the reduction of linguistic variety as revealed through the mood analysis and the Mode analysis shifts the genre's tone from formal and academic to casual and "familiar." The following analysis demonstrates how linguistic choices functionally create these two phenomena.

Alignment of Participants Among Cases

As already discussed, the usage rate for the participant "student" increases

dramatically from the 1980 text samples to the 2015 text samples. This is one way the

texts increasingly center on students and become more aligned. What have not been

discussed are the participants and modifiers that were pushed out from the center. If

students *become* the dominant topic of discussion, then it follows that something else

must have previously occupied the center. Each school's 1980 text sample includes a

specific topic that served to differentiate each school from the others. Martial's topic was

Quakerism. Holand's topic was its history and location. BD&M's topic was a focus on

the traditional academic disciplines. Each of these specific foci was represented by a

participant usage rate that was *greater* than the usage rate of students. So, although

students become the dominant participant in the 2015 text samples, earlier text samples

focused on either Quakerism, history and location, or the academic disciplines. The usage

rate for the participant "Quakerism" was 2.4 per ten lines in Martial's 1980 text sample.

The usage rate for the participant "history" and "location" was 2.6 per ten lines for

Holand's 1980 text sample. And the usage rate for the participant "academics" was 5.6

per ten lines for BD&M's 1980 text sample. By 2015 these unique topics of

identification have been drastically reduced or almost completely eliminated (Table

4.33).

Table 4.33: Usage Rate of Self-Identifying Participants 1980 and 2015

MartialUsage Rate of Quakerism		Holand Usage Rate of History/Location		BD&M Usage Rate of Academics	
1980	2015	1980	2015	1980	2015
2.4	.2	2.6	.3	5.6	1.9

The following text excerpts illuminate the variety among the 1980 text samples:

From Martial's 1980 Text Sample: The distinguishing characteristic of Martial Friends is the Quaker philosophy of education on which it was founded in 1883 and which continues to guide the entire life of the school.

Friends schools in this country, about 50 in number, date from as early as 1689. Some are maintained by official bodies of the Religious Society of Friends; others, including Martial Friends, are independent organizations supervised by boards of trustees, some or all of whose members are Friends.

Central to the Quaker philosophy of education is the Friends belief that there is that of God in every person. In an environment that emphasizes spiritual and human values, the Quaker theory of education celebrates the uniqueness of the individual student and the teacher and stresses the development of each person's greatest potential.

From Holand's 1980 Text Sample: In 1978 Holand Academy was chartered by the Great and General Court of Massachusetts to provide education for the families then living in the small colonial village of Holand and on the farms scattered through the forested Blue Hills valley. We are proud to have inherited the traditions of the New England land-grant academies, which were this country's first secondary schools.

From BD&M's 1980 Text Sample: Traditional academic goals remain at the center of our commitment. The clear, accurate, forceful use of English, both as a spoken and as a written form, is the pursuit of all our students. Historical perspective and understanding are encouraged, as is a working knowledge of a foreign language. The social sciences, political theory and practice, economics, geography, anthropology, music and art have an important place in the curriculum. Every student receives a grounding in mathematics, the language of signs, measurement, and relationships and the discipline of the scientific method.

As these text samples reveal, the three schools all self-identified in different ways. The 2015 text samples do not share this diversity of topic as the text samples representing the *First Impressions Genre* have become highly aligned.

Shift in Tone from Formal and Academic to Casual and "Familiar"

The tone of the text samples shifts from 1980 to 2015. The earlier samples use linguistic resources to create a formal and academic tone. Changes in the use of certain linguistic elements create a more familiar and casual tone in the 2015 text samples. In particular, this change occurs due to the reduced diversity in the types of Circumstances

used, the increased usage rate of the declarative mood and the reduction of modals between the 1980 text samples and 2015 text samples. Also, the change in tone occurs due to the reduced usage rate of conjunctions and adjuncts, which are replaced by linear and constant thematic progressions as the primary means of achieving textual cohesion.

Reduced Diversity in Circumstance Usage

The 2015 text samples spend fewer linguistic resources defining and explaining the details of their representative schools. As the schools becomes less concerned with claiming a unique educational niche - such as being a Quaker school, a school with a proud history, or a school with a particular academic mission – self definitions align to a common norm and thus require less nuanced language to express. This shift is most clearly represented through the tracking of Circumstance usage. The 1980 text samples all used a larger variety of Circumstances in order to provide different types of contextual cues for the enactment of processes (verbs).

Location Circumstances, the most common circumstantial function in almost all written and spoken discourse, are the most commonly used type of Circumstances in all nine, text samples. Location Circumstances tell where or when something occurs. What is surprising is the shift in the ratio between Location Circumstances and other categories of Circumstances as well as the reduced number of alternative categories of Circumstances used between the 1980 text samples and the 2015 text samples (Table 4.34).

Table 4.34: Location Usage Versus Non-Location Usage 1980 and 2015

School	1980 Text Sample		2015 Text Sample	
Martial	# Of Non-Location Circumstance Categories	5	# Of Non-Location Circumstance Categories	3
	# Of Non-Location Circumstances	10	# Of Non-Location Circumstances	5
	# Of Location Circumstances	7	# Of Location Circumstances	8

	Ratio of Non-Location to Location Circumstances	1.4	Ratio of Non-Location to Location Circumstances	.63
Holand	# Of Non-Location Circumstance Categories	5	# Of Non-Location Circumstance Categories	2
	# Of Non-Location Circumstances	10	# Of Non-Location Circumstances	6
	# Of Location Circumstances	14	# Of Location Circumstances	11
	Ratio of Non-Location to Location Circumstances	.7	Ratio of Non-Location to Location Circumstances	.5
BD&M	# Of Non-Location Circumstance Categories	7	# Of Non-Location Circumstance Categories	2
	# Of Non-Location Circumstances	10	# Of Non-Location Circumstances	6
	# Of Location Circumstances	13	# Of Location Circumstances	9
	Ratio of Non-Location to Location Circumstances	.8	Ratio of Non-Location to Location Circumstances	.66

Non-location Circumstance categories include: Accompaniment, Means, Extent, Comparison, Cause, Role, Quality, and Contingency. The use of Circumstances that belong to any of these alternative categories provides details that go beyond simply stating where and when an event occurs. For example, these circumstance categories answer questions such as: with whom, how, to what degree, why, opposed to what, for what purpose. By confining circumstances to the Location category, language is only able to answer the questions where and when – such language is less explanatory (answers fewer types of questions) and less diverse in its possible functions – in many ways, therefore, it is less complex.

Use of the Declarative mood and Reduction in Rate of Modals

The declarative mood is used consistently across all the text samples. Fifty-six out of fifty-six clauses are written in the declarative mood in Martial's text samples and sixty-six out of sixty-seven clauses are written in the declarative mood in BD&M's text samples. The consistent use of the declarative mood along with the consistent usage of the present tense marked with positive polarity as expressed in the Finite reduces the probability that a reader will scrutinize an author's claims. As already discussed, the

Finite always stakes out a position and thus can be challenged by a reader. However, some constructions provide more opportunities for question. The methodical repetition of positively marked, present-tense, declarative statements effectively renders the accumulated statements as beyond question.

Although readers can challenge all claims expressed in the Finite, sometimes speakers and authors want to suggest a commitment between an absolute positive claim and an absolute negative claim – in this way, an author encourages the reader to question the claim. Shifts in modality are used to express degrees of commitment. Although Modals are used sparingly in the text samples, they are more prevalent in the 1980 and 1989 text samples than in the 2015 samples. Holand uses three modals in their 1980 text sample, Martial uses one Modal in their 1989 text sample and BD&M uses one Modal in their 1980 text sample. Although the usage rate is small even in the earlier samples, each use produces a startling effect on the text's functions. In other words, the use of Modals in the earlier text samples "jump off the page." Consider the following examples:

> **From Martial Friends 1989 Text Sample:** Martial Friends is *well* known
>
> for its commitment to pluralism.

This sentence stands out because it calls for greater scrutiny – is Martial really "*well* known" or simply "known" for its commitment to pluralism? The use of the simple finite "known" would still allow for question. Any reader could refute the statement, "Martial is known for its commitment to pluralism." However, including the Modal *well* increases the power of the statement in two directions. It makes a more forceful claim of fact and therefore may resonate more strongly with readers who agree with the statement. Simultaneously, by making a stronger claim, the statement may induce questions from readers who are less inclined to agree with the statement. The Modal functionally creates

a stronger argument, making the text align more with traditional academic genres that are primarily concerned with argumentation. On the other hand, it would be "safer" to say "Martial is known for its commitment to pluralism" because it is harder to disagree with this statement. Not surprisingly, this language does not remain in the introductory section as the language moves away from argumentation and towards a more inclusive and familiar tone.

The next example comes from Holand's 1980 text sample. Similar to the example above, the use of the Modal "must" increases the power of the claim – in this case it increases the claim's urgency:

> **From Holand's 1980 Text Sample:** Viewed overall, Holand is a big
>
> school. Students and faculty, a community of nearly a thousand, *must*
>
> learn to deal with all sorts of peoples.

Again, the use of the Modal signals a more argumentative tone in the discourse. Removing the Modal would result in the following sentence: *Students and faculty learn to deal with all sorts of people.* Stating the claim without a Modal reduces the argumentative power of the statement; however, removing the Modal simultaneously removes the signaling word that calls into question the urgency of the act. The Modal, here as well as in the Martial example, is used to stake a more powerful claim. Strong claims are necessary when constructing powerful arguments, but are unhelpful when attempting to create a familiar and informal tone. Since the 2015 text samples are more concerned with achieving familiarity and an informal "connection" with an audience than they are about self-definition or making strong claims, Modals fall out of the discourse.

Shift in Cohesive Functions

Complex clause formations are a staple of academic and argumentative texts. In

order to organize these clause-complexes, conjunctions and conjunctive adjuncts are often necessary to create unity between and among clauses. Conjunctives point out how clauses fit together into a progressive and argumentative whole. Conjunctions and conjunctive adjuncts are more commonly used in the more linguistically complicated 1980 text samples than they are used in the less nuanced and more informal 2015 text samples. As conjunctives become less common, the use of thematic progressions – in particular, linear and direct progressions – serve as the primary method of creating cohesion in the texts. However, direct progression is used more often than linear progression in the 2015 text samples. In other words, independent clauses are less likely to be directly linked through the use of words such as "however" or "therefore." Instead, cohesion is implied through Thematization. All of these changes create a more casual tone and reduce the discourse's academic and explanatory functions.

Rate of conjunctions drops over time

The number of conjunctions and adjuncts drops significantly from 1980 to 2015 in both the Martial and Holand text samples and remains consistently low in both of the BD&M text samples. Martial's usage drops from 8.2 per ten Theme/Rheme pairs in 1980 to 3.3 in 2015. In the Holand text samples, the number of conjunctions and adjuncts increases from 3.9 per ten Theme/Rheme pairs in 1980 to 8.7 per ten Theme/Rheme pairs in 1987, and then decreases to 2.4 per ten Theme/Rheme pairs in 2015.

The reduced rate of conjunctions across cases corresponds with a reduced rate of multi-clause sentences. For example, Martial's 1980 text sample includes 11 dependent clauses, where as Martial's 2015 text sample only includes six dependent clauses. Similarly, Holand's 1980 text sample includes ten dependent clauses, where as Holand's 2015 text sample includes only four dependent clauses. The reduced usage rate of

conjunctions and the reduced usage rate of dependent clauses functions to create a more informal discourse that is less concerned with explanation and definition and more concerned with directness and ease of access.

For all three schools, adjuncts are used exclusively in the early text samples. Martial's text samples include two adjuncts in the 1980 text sample, two in the 1989 text sample, and none in the 2015 text sample. Holand's text samples include 4 adjuncts in the 1980 text sample and none in the 2015 text sample. Similarly, BD&M's text samples include two adjuncts in the 1980 text sample and none in the 2015 text sample. Adjuncts are used to directly signal how independent clauses or complete sentences are linked. Forms of academic discourse employ adjuncts at a high rate in order to mark the progression of complex argumentation. Removing all adjuncts from the 2015 text sample further serves to reduce the formality of the discourse.

Using thematization to achieve cohesion

Since the usage rate of adjuncts is consistently low across all cases, the text samples must form cohesion through alternative means. In particular, the texts use linear and constant thematic progressions as the primary means of achieving cohesion. Furthermore, as the use of adjuncts decreases over time, the use of Theme/Rheme progressions increases. The Theme/Rheme progression Figures from the 2015 text samples reveal the density of progression. Each back slash or straight line represents a form of direct progression where either the previous Rheme is repackaged into the Theme (linear progression marked with a backslash) or where the previous Theme is repeated in the subsequent Theme (direct progression marked with a straight line). As Figure 4.5 represents, the 2015 text samples are "held together" through thematic progressions.

Figure 4.6: Martial, Holand, and BD&M 2015 Thematic Progressions

Martial	Holand	BD&M
X __	X | / __ __ __| | __ /	X __
R	/ / | / |	__ /
R __ / | __	| / /	/ / / |
R | __	R / /	/ __
/ | | | | | | |	R / | /	/ / |
		|
		R |

Sixty two percent of the Themes in Martial's text sample, seventy five percent of the Themes in Holand's text sample, and seventy three percent of the Themes in BD&M's text sample *emerge* directly through progression. Progression, especially direct progression, is cognitively demanding if a reader is unfamiliar with a topic or the language being used because it requires the reader to intuit logical relationships between the ideas contained in various dependent clauses and clause-complexes without the help of direct linguistic markers such as conjunctions and adjuncts. If, however, a reader is familiar with the subject at hand, the use of progression can functionally provide a "smoother" reading experience that is uninterrupted by logical markers, which may further function to alienate a reader if the use of conjunctions and adjuncts make a reader feel like a text is "pointing out the obvious." The reduction of logical markers and the increased density of thematic progressions functions in the 2015 text documents as a means to achieve greater familiarity with the perceived audience as well as to create a more informal tone of address.

As linguistic variety decreases between 1980 and 2015, linguistic elements that are more commonly associated with academic, formal discourses are reduced. These shifts result in less linguistic diversity at the level of the Field and Mood and create a less formal and more "familiar" tone.

Summary of Genre Analysis

The detailed linguistic analysis at the level of Field, Tenor, and Mode of the nine text documents collected from the Martial Friends School, Holand Academy, and BD&M reveals a number of preliminary findings which were quantified in part one of this chapter. Three major findings emerged through closer analysis of these preliminary findings as well as through the integrated analysis of linguistic elements across the boundaries of Field, Tenor, and Mode. These findings show that students are centered in the text samples and that over time students become a larger focus of the discourse. These findings also show that ethical values and knowledge are innate within students. Although this finding is consistent across all nine text samples, the phenomenon becomes more common over time. Finally, the findings show that the language conforms over time, becoming less linguistically complex in both topic and construction and thus shifts from a more traditionally academic tone to a less formal and more familiar tone. In the following section, I take these three findings and use them as hypothesis to test against the larger corpus of collected documents from the three sample schools. In so doing, I also more directly align these three hypotheses with my primary research questions.

Chapter 4, Part 2: Hypothesis Testing Aligned with Research Questions

Three findings emerged from the detailed linguistic analysis of the *First Impressions Genre.* In the following three subsections, I reposition these findings as hypothesis and then test them against the larger corpus of collected data as a mechanism for considering the study's research questions.

Hypothesis #1: Discourse of Diversity

I begin with the finding that the language of the *First Impressions Genre* aligns over time, becoming less linguistically complex in both topic and construction, and thus

shifting from a more traditionally academic tone to a more familiar tone. Reoriented this finding emerges as a new hypothesis, which will be tested through a broad analysis of the data:

> *Associated Hypothesis*: The discourse associated with diversity conforms over time and becomes less formal in tone and structure.

The analysis of the *First Impressions Genre* found that over time the text samples from each school conformed and became less formal in tone and less complex in their linguistic constructions. Do similar shifts occur around the central topic of diversity? Over time, do the schools begin to discuss issues of diversity in similar ways, and in this discussion does the language become less formal and more familiar? Analysis of the complete data set reveals that the schools' discursive practices around issues of diversity *also* conform over time. However, the language of diversity does not become less formal. In fact, the language of diversity becomes more formalized over time, contrasting with the increased familiarity achieved in the larger data set. The discourse on diversity does shift to reflect fewer questions and more direct statements of institutional achievement as well as an absence of direct calls for institutional and individual social action.

Diversity discussions align over time

Over time, the discourse of diversity aligns among the three sample schools. Earlier text samples reveal a searching for what the schools mean by the very term diversity. However, even the earliest text samples reveal a consistent understanding of how diversity is related to institutional mission and this relationship remains relatively unchanged over time.

The frequent shifts in language around the topic of diversity in Holand Academy's institutional language reveal a continual struggle to name and define diversity

within the context of the school. Consider the following excerpts, which are each

followed by a brief commentary. Martial and BD&M undergo similar discursive shifts.

> **From Holand's 1980 Introduction Statement:** What is most worth
>
> noting about Holand is its diverseness. Visitors to the school often ask: Is
>
> it coeducational or single –sex? Is it a boarding school or a day school? Is
>
> it a big or a small school? Is it a country or a city school? In fact, Holand
>
> is all of these.

In this excerpt, diversity is named as the thing "most worth noting about Holand."

Diversity is then defined in regards to its institutional structures (is it coeducation or

single sex, big or small?) and its location (is it a country or a city school?). In this text

sample diversity is not connected to the student body.

> **From Holand's 1987 Introductory Statement:** Holand is a healthy,
>
> lively school. There is not one type of student who is readily identified as
>
> a Morgonian. Diversity prevails, as students enter the academy from over
>
> 35 different states and territories, and 34 different countries.

In this excerpt, diversity is no longer identified as "what is most worth noting" about the

academy. Instead, diversity is introduced as a mechanism for creating a "healthy, lively

school." Unlike the 1980 text sample, here diversity is defined in relation to the student

body. In this text sample the student body is defined as diverse because students enroll in

Holand from a wide range of geographic locations.

> **From The Holand Bulletin's 1994 "Student" Page:** An intriguing array
>
> of students and faculty stream in from the dormitories and buses ready for
>
> another fast-paced Holand day. They form a vivid collage, a spectrum of

styles and colors: brimmed, flowered hats, well broken-in jeans, home-made jewelry, plaid shirts, sports-lettered windbreakers, and flowing skirts.

From The Holand Bulletin's 1994 "Holand Community" Page: It is the rich diversity of students, coming as they do from 28 states and 12 countries, and their natural warmth, which strikes the first time visitor to Holand.

In these excerpts, located on back-to-back pages in the 1994 Holand Bulletin, diversity is again identified as central to the Holand experience. Similar to the 1980 statement that states, "What is most worth noting about Holand is its diverseness," the 1994 text sample states, "It is the rich diversity of students…which strikes the first time visitor to Holand." Unlike the 1980 text sample, however, diversity here emanates from the students and not from institutional structures. As is the case in the 1987 text sample, student diversity is again defined based on geographic location. Diversity is also associated with the "intriguing array of students and faculty" who form "a vivid collage, a spectrum of styles and colors: brimmed, flowered hats, well broken-in jeans, home-made jewelry, plaid shirts, sports-lettered windbreakers, and flowing skirts." Although the statement "vivid collage, a spectrum of styles and colors" at first suggests a statement about race, the post-modification following the colon reorients this first impression through a list of *vivid and colorful* clothing. Even if the list of clothing styles is understood as a synecdoche meant to represent metaphorically the various "types" of people who might wear these clothes (a preppy girl in a "flowing dress" as opposed to a quirky girl in "homemade jewelry"), this level of absolutism fails to capture any understanding of racial diversity.

From The Holand Bulletin's 1999 "Holand Community" Page: The

Holand community weaves together people, places, opportunities and

expectations to create a wealth of resources of all kinds. We set our sites

high, and together we reach to achieve them. The environment crackles

with possibility, excitement, risk, support, growth.

In this text sample the word diversity is not directly used. Instead, the subject of diversity

is functionally revealed as the stated topic through the use of two lists: "people, places,

opportunities, and expectations" and "possibility, excitement, risk, support, growth." This

text sample combines an understanding of diversity based on both institutional factors

("places, opportunities, expectations") with an understanding of diversity based on the

student body ("people"). Also, this is the first text sample in which diversity is not just

something observed to exist within the school. The 1980 text sample states, "what is

most worth noting about Holand is its diverseness" and the 1994 text sample states, "It is

the rich diversity of students…,which strikes the first time visitor to Holand." In these

earlier text samples "diverseness" and "diversity" are both Values following the

Relational Process "is". Since Transivity analysis at the level of Field does not rely on

the *order of words,* but rather the *function of words*, rank order clauses can occupy the

position of leading participant even when those clauses come at the end of the sentence.

The following Transivity breakdown reveals the similarity between the 1980 and 1994

text at the level of Field. The first example is from the 1980 text sample and the second

is from the 1994 text sample.

What is most worth noting about Holand	is	its diverseness.
Participant: Value	Process: Relational Identifying	Participant: Token

It (which strike the first time visitor to Holand	is	the rich diversity.
Participant: Value	Process: Relational Identifying	Participant: Token

In both examples diversity occupies the transitive position of Token and is connected to the leading participant through the use of a Relational Process. This structure functionally identifies "diversity" and "diverseness" as values that are *possessed* by the institution as opposed to values *created* by the institution or as *active agents* in their own right, capable of engendering their own actions and subsequent reactions.

The 1999 text sample represents a transition to a more active understanding of diversity. First, in this text sample, the "Holand community weaves together people, places, opportunities and expectations." It is the institution that actively *creates* diversity – it "weaves" the list together to form diversity. Diversity no longer exists within the institution; diversity is a product of the active work of the institution. Secondly, this diverse community described in the Rheme of the first sentence is repackaged into the third sentence's Theme through linear progression.

Theme	Rheme
The Holand community	weaves together people, places, opportunities and expectations to create a wealth of resources of all kinds.
We	set our sights high, and together we reach to achieve them.
The environment	crackles with possibility, excitement, risk, support, growth.

In this way the diversity described through a list in Rheme #1 ("people, places, opportunities, and expectations") is encapsulated into the single word "environment" in Theme #3, which is then said to "crackle with possibility." In this sense, the diversity represented in the first list is transposed upon "environment" and thus functions as an

actor. A diverse environment can act – it can "crackle." An uncommon verb, *crackle* is also used in BD&M's 2015 welcome message: "Our classrooms and labs and studios crackle with life." Therefore, in this text sample, the institution actively creates diversity and then diversity is capable of existing as an active agent in its own right.

> **From 2002 Message From the Head of School:** At Holand, everyone – your teachers, coaches, house heads, advisors and friends – will get to know you. They will inspire you, involve you and help you find out who you really are. Here we can all be comfortable being who we are, and we relish the races, ethnicities, personalities and talents around us that make the community thrive. This combination of rigorous academics and a sensitive, caring environment generates unparalleled personal growth.

For the first time, Holand directly names race and ethnicity in a discussion of diversity. Like in the 1999 text sample, the word diversity is not directly used but is implied through the use of a list: "we relish the races, ethnicities, personalities and talents around us." In this statement, diversity is again named as something that can be observed from the outside – it can be "relished." Further on in the text sample, diversity is given an active role once again as it is subsumed in the participant "sensitive, caring environment" that "generates unparalleled personal growth."

> **From Holand's 2002 Mission Statement:** Holand Academy cultivates in its students a passion for learning and a respect for others. Embracing diversity and the pursuit of excellence, we create a community in which individuals develop competence, confidence and character.

In this text sample, diversity is no longer something that is created by the institution. Instead, the academy "cultivates" a "respect for others," which can be understood to mean a respect for diversity. Furthermore, the non-finite verb "embracing" begins the second sentence. Non-finites, because they do not express time and do not require an associated participant cannot be refuted, making the statement, "embracing diversity" functionally the most direct construction for this statement. It is a foregone conclusion that someone or something (again, there is no stated actor) *embraces* diversity. Ironically, it is the vagaries of the statement that make it irrefutably direct. The independent clause does adhere to the more common and direct Transivity structure of Participant + Process + Participant.

We	create	a community in which individuals develop competence, confidence and character.
Participant: Actor	Process: Material	Participant: Goal

However, questions still remain. The shift from Holand Academy as the leading participant in the first sentence to "we" as the leading participant in the independent clause of sentence two raises questions. Does "we" map directly onto the antecedent "Holand Academy"? Or, as was demonstrated in the Genre Analysis, is the shift to "we" intended to signal a more inclusive understanding of the institution – an understanding that assumes complete participation by all members, including students? In this case, a rather circular logic results where in *individuals in the community* "create a community in which individuals develop competence, confidence and character." Also confusing is the relationship between the Theme and Rheme, in sentence two. No conjunctions are used to connect Theme and Rheme, so no logical relationship is explicitly signaled. However, Theme and Rheme always share some relationship, thus it must be assumed that a

functional relationship exist between the act of "embracing diversity" and the stated action that "we create a community in which individuals develop competence, confidence and character." What though is this relationship? Is it causal? Does embracing diversity cause the creation of this type of community? Is it temporal? Does embracing diversity occur simultaneously as "we create a community"? The language suggests here that directly naming diversity in the school's mission statement creates a number of unanswered questions.

> **2015 Diversity Mission Statement:** Diversity is central to Holand Academy's mission; we work actively to create an inclusive community of students and adults from a spectrum of cultures and backgrounds. We believe this work is essential to foster mutual respect, responsibility and empathy in our School and in the world our graduates will enter. As part of our common educational commitment, we give voice and respect to people representing a breadth of race, ethnicity, gender, age, sexual orientation, family structure, socio-economic status, physical ability, and religious and political affiliation. Our community welcomes those who keep their minds and hearts open to difference.

In this text sample, diversity is functionally used in five different ways. 1) Diversity is a *thing*; it is something that can be "central to Holand's Academy's mission." 2) The institution creates a diverse community. 3) The institution creates respect for diversity. 4) Diversity is defined through a list. In this instance the list includes the following: "race, ethnicity, gender, age, sexual orientation, family structure, socio-economic status, physical ability, and religious and political affiliation." 5) Diversity can operate as an

actor. In this instance it "fosters mutual respect, responsibility and empathy in our School."

At first, it may appear that Holand Academy makes great strides in its institutional language on the topic of diversity between 1980 and 2015. Today, it is easy to look back and scoff at definitions of diversity that are based on geography or coeducation instead of race, ethnicity, class or sexual orientation. However, attempts at describing the discourse on diversity require more than just an acknowledgement of how schools define the term. As the following analysis reveals, Holand's discourse around diversity has not functionally changed much over the last 35 years. In Holand's text samples, diversity is functionally used in five different ways, the same five ways discussed in the brief analysis of Holand's 2015 Diversity Mission Statement. In the following analysis I include examples from the other two sample schools to demonstrate how these findings are consistent across all three cases.

Using lists to define diversity

Functionally, *diversity*, as a term, is defined in the Holand text samples through the use of lists. The 1980 text sample includes a list of questions meant to signal the scope of the institution and its location. The 1987 text sample defines diversity based on a list of geographic locations from which students hail. The 1999 text sample defines diversity based on the list "people, places, opportunities and expectations." The 2002 text sample defines diversity with the list "races, ethnicities, personalities and talents." And, finally, the 2015 text sample defines diversity with the list "race, ethnicity, gender, age, sexual orientation, family structure, socio-economic status, physical ability, and religious and political affiliation." These lists demonstrate a shift from defining diversity based on institutional attributes and geographic region to a definition based on the

diversity inherent within the student body. This change is first marked in the 1999 text sample that includes "people" in its defining list. The broad term "people" is expanded upon in the 2002 text sample to include "races, ethnicities, personalities and talents." This list is made more specific in the 2015 diversity statement. People are no longer part of the list used to define diversity, but the central aspect of diversity that is further modified: "people representing a breadth of race, ethnicity, gender, age, sexual orientation, family structure, socio-economic status, physical ability, and religious and political affiliation." Martial's 2015 introductory statement includes a similar list: "diversity with regard to age, economic background, ethnicity, gender, physical disability, political affiliation, race and sexual orientation in its student body, faculty, and staff." The only difference between the two lists is that Holand's statement includes "family-structure" – every other identification is identical between the two schools. Since Holand's statement includes "family-structure" and Martial's statement does not, should Holand's position of the value of diversity be considered more progressive, forward thinking, or better? Posing this question helps reveal the inadequacy of judging or even understanding the discourse of diversity in these schools based on the use of lists. It may be less important to recognize *how* the lists have changed and expanded, as it is to recognize that the list continues to function as the primary linguistic feature used to define diversity within the schools.

Diversity as a commodity

Holand's 2015 text sample begins with the following statement: "Diversity is central to Holand Academy's mission." In this excerpt, "diversity" belongs to Holand– it is a central *attribute* of the mission. This language is similar to the 1980 text sample's opening line: "What is most worth noting about Holand is its diverseness." Similarly,

Martial's 2015 Introductory Statement includes the line: "Martial Friends School is committed as an institution to the ideal of diversity." In each of these statements, diversity functions as a commodity that exists within the institution or is pursued by the institution.

Institutions create diversity and create respect for diversity

Commodities must be manufactured, and in the case of diversity, the institutions both possess and create diversity. Also, the institutions create respect and understanding for diversity. Both functions are evident in the following excerpt from Holand's 2015 diversity statement: "we work actively to create an inclusive community of students and adults from a spectrum of cultures and backgrounds. We believe this work is essential to foster mutual respect, responsibility and empathy in our School."

Diversity can act

Institutions can create diversity, but diversity can also function as an actor. Either as an active agent, or as a salient attribute for some other agent, diversity is functionally used in the text samples as a *creative* force. In Holand's 1999 text sample the diverse "environment crackles with possibility, excitement, risk, support, growth." In the 2002 text sample the diverse environment generates unparalleled personal growth." In the 2015 statement diversity work "is essential to foster mutual respect, responsibility and empathy." Martial Friends and BD&M include similar statements in their most recent online-documents. Martial's 2015 *Diversity Statement* begins, "Martial Friends believes that diverse perspectives and meaningful inquiry fuel academic excellence and promote personal growth." Similarly, BD&M's 2015 *Diversity Statement* includes the statement, diverse "perspectives and experiences contribute to the growth of the individuals who call BD&M their alma mater and shape the classroom and extracurricular experience."

Across the text samples diversity is functionally used as an active agent that can *crackle, generate, foster, fuel,* and *promote*. As an active agent, diversity acts on behalf of students or the institution in positive ways.

The discourse surrounding the topic of diversity has changed little in the past 35 years. What have changed are the elements in the lists primarily used to define diversity. It is safe to assume that these lists will continue to be augmented into the future. This certainly represents a positive movement in the discourse. However, beyond shifts in the lists, the other functions of diversity remain the same. Diversity is still primarily seen as an attribute of the institution. Furthermore, diversity is an attribute that the institution can *create* or *encourage*. Diversity is also used as an active agent that produces positive outcomes for the institution or the school. Due to these functional uses, diversity occupies an interesting position within the discourse: it is unquestioned as a positive attribute that can do nothing but good for the institution and students, so it is logically framed as a goal of the institution. The institutions simultaneously *create* diversity, *embody* diversity, and *benefit* from the power of diversity.

Although the functions have changed little over the years, the five functions have become aligned in recent text samples. Earlier text samples used only *one* or *two* of the five functions. Where as the many functions of diversity are scattered among the earlier text samples, the more modern text samples embody *all* five functions simultaneously. In this sense, the discourse around diversity has become more rigid over time. This rigidity is represented in the ever-expanding lists used to define diversity as well as the discursive desire to achieve all five functions within a single statement on diversity. The increase in rigid formality in discussions of diversity contrasts with the decrease in formal language found in other areas of the discourse.

As The Five Functions of Diversity Align, Institutional Language around Issues of Diversity Become More Direct and Positive

In 1980 The Martial Friends' *Student Parent Handbook* included the following three "queries" as part of their "School Philosophy Statement."

1) Are we seeking diversity of cultural, religious and racial backgrounds, and encouraging expression of such diversity within the School?

2) Are we selecting a student body that can best benefit from the resources the School has to offer?

3) Are we providing the opportunity for all members of the Martial Friends community to discover and develop their intellectual, physical and artistic talents and to appreciate those of others?

These questions embody a spirit of institutional searching. As part of the school philosophy, the questions represent the values associated with continued inquiry into the proper functions, and uses of a school. Diversity is identified as a valuable attribute of the school, but the school still directly questions its own ability to live up to this value. Compare these questions with the declarative statements made in Martial's current Mission Statement, which was adopted in 2005: "We seek academically talented students of diverse cultural, racial, religious, and economic backgrounds. We offer these students a rich and rigorous interdisciplinary curriculum…We cultivate in all members of our community high personal expectation and integrity, respect for consensus, and an understanding of how diversity enriches us." The spirit of self-questioning is clearly removed from discussions of institutional mission in regards to diversity.

As the discourse of diversity becomes more aligned and stated more emphatically in institutional documents, statements concerning direct social action subside. This shift

is evident when comparing the earlier remarks from each sample school to the schools'

more recent statements. For example, Martial's 1980 Introductory Statement concludes,

"The School feels its first obligation is to provide students the opportunity for full

intellectual, personal and social growth that will enable them to work towards a more just

and humane society." The entire document builds up to the concluding thought that the

purpose of the institution is to prepare students to "work towards a more just and humane

society." Martial's 2015 Introductory Statement concludes, "Above all, we seek to be a

school that nurtures a genuine love of learning and teaches students 'to let their lives

speak.'" The statements are almost identical in their construction and sentiment. The

only real change is in the concluding clause. Whereas version one ends with the

infinitive "to work towards a more just and humane society," version two concludes with

the infinitive "to let their lives speak." Encompassed within the phrase, "let their lives

speak" is certainly the possibility of working "towards a more just and humane society."

However, the language is less direct in it expectations for social commitments as well as

less explicit in stating the mission of the school. Similarly, the lack of clarity in the

statement allows for any number of ways in which a *life could speak* in pursuit of goals

that are far from socially conscious or just. The sentiment could easily be changed from

let your life speak to *be heard! Be heard*, though, doing what?

Similar shifts in language occur in Holand and BD&M's statements. Holand's

1980 Introductory Statement concludes, Holand's "greatest hope is that, in ordinary and

extraordinary times, its students will discern and then stand for a purpose higher than

themselves." Holand's 2015 Introductory Statement does not conclude with a line that

states any type of institutional mission for social justice. The sentence in the 2015

version that is most similar in tone and expectation is the following: "Beyond these

further academic pursuits, 'dare to be true' is the idea Holand graduates never lose; they apply their spirit, skills and commitment to meaningful professions of all kinds." Again, the direct language for social action ("a purpose higher than themselves") is replaced with a broader and more ambiguous statement "Dare to be true." However, the second dependent clause (connected to the first with a semicolon) shifts any broader understanding of "Dare to be true" by focusing only on "meaningful professions." Meaningful professions may lead alumni to seek a "purpose higher than themselves," but the mission is clearly less direct in terms of its justice-oriented perspectives.

Like Martial and Holand, BD&M's language shifts from a direct statement of personal responsibility to a more general statement of individualism. BD&M's 1980 *Introductory Statement* begins: "We expect each individual to prize self-esteem above self-advancement, to be direct rather than evasive and to become a constructive participant in his/her society." Like the other schools, this language becomes much less direct in the 2015 version: Students "leave with a clearer sense of what's possible, well prepared for the next step in their lives, and with a very good idea of which direction to take it."

In this section, a broad analysis of the collected data was conducted to test the following hypothesis: *The discourse associated with discussions of diversity conforms over time and becomes less formal in tone and structure.* The analysis reveals that the discourse *does* conform over time; however, the discourse *does not* become less formal in tone and structure. Furthermore, as the discourse associated with discussions of diversity become more rigid, formalized, and prevalent in the text samples, institutional questioning and direct calls for social action become less frequent.

Hypothesis #2: Values and Knowledge are Innate within Students

The analysis of the *First Impressions Genre* found that students and desirable attributes are directly allied through the use of pre and post-modifications, relational processes, and the foregrounding of positive attributes in their role as participant actors. Reoriented this finding emerges as a new hypothesis, which will be tested through a broad analysis of the data.

Associated Hypothesis #2: Overtime, members of the school community are more likely to be directly described as ethical, knowledgeable, and high achieving and these positive attributes are used to identify community members as "good people."

The analysis of the *First Impressions Genre* found that over time the text samples from each school more often directly connect positive attributes to students. Does a similar process occur in the rest of the collected documents and with other members of the school community? Analysis of the complete data set reveals that the schools' discursive practices around students, teachers, and alumni *do* suggest that community members are uniquely talented and ethical. In particular, analysis of school alumni magazines reveals that documents position all members of the school community (not just students) as ethical and motivated toward social justice. Overtime, school alumni magazines are more likely to directly discuss the justice-oriented accomplishments of alumni.

Similar to the movement away from institutional self-questioning around issues of diversity, the alumni magazines also move away from profile articles in which alumni either directly question their former schools or their current positions in the world. More recent, alumni profiles are much more likely to feature self-assured assessments of *do-*

gooding carried out by alumni. Furthermore, these alumni are often in positions of power when engaged in social justice work.

Self-Questioning: Early alumni magazines

The alumni magazines of all three schools include articles from the early 1980s that investigate the school's abilities and willingness to accommodate diverse students. For example, The 1984 Holand Bulletin (Vol. 48, n. 1, Fall) begins with the article "Cultural Diversity Committee Gets Spotlight as Fall Term Opens." The article focuses on the school-year's first faculty meeting in which education experts ran sessions for Holand Faculty, "stressing the extraordinary cultural diversity among students of color who come to Holand, and commenting on some of the stereotypical views about them" and the "importance of identifying student's specific cultural and ethnic backgrounds…and of working, with individual students within the appropriate cultural framework." According to the article, the purpose of the meeting was to begin "examining and seeking solutions for the problem of an excessively high attrition rate among Holand's Black and Hispanic students" (p. 4). The article unapologetically and honestly chronicles the challenge of racial integration within the school.

In the Fall issue of the 1980 Holand Bulletin, Cora Presley, a Holand alumna provides a short article in the recurring *Voices From Alums* section. She frames her two anecdotes with the following introduction: I've had a number of experiences that may interest my former classmates and current students at the Academy as well." Then, she gives the following two anecdotes. In discussion of her recent teaching in Germany, she says:

> Once I was nearly stumped when one of the bright young
>
> students asked me to explain to the class, in the hour

allotted to the session, exactly what the race problem in

America was all about! As well as I could, I told them

about the origins of the slave trade in Africa and American,

how blacks were taken from Africa to the Caribbean and

the United States, and how they had contributed to the

economic growth of both areas; then we talked about the

tremendous division, both political and moral, of the

pervasive influence of slavery and its attendant racism, the

latter an issue that divides American up to the present.

Her second anecdote concerns meeting an old man in a Kikuyu village who, after being

told that she was a visitor from overseas, responded, "Ah, you are one of the ones who

were stolen away!" The short article is clearly a message not only about her recent

travels and accomplishments, but also a message to readers that, like the young girl in

Germany, they might learn something about the history of slavery and its "attendant

racism."

Similarly, Martial's 2001 Alumni Magazine is titled, "A Long March to Equality:

The story behind the integration of Martial Friends School." The issue takes school

integration, diversity, and racism as its central topics. The first article begins with the

history of Martial's integration, an event that did not take place until 1956, after "most

Friends Schools had opened or were opening, their doors to all races." The article is

direct in its critique of Martial's history, but, importantly, the article is a *history*. As the

title *A Long March to Equality* suggests, this history is behind the school, which has

marched on to equality. A second article in the same issue of the Alumni Magazine is

more direct in its questioning of Martial Friends in the present. The article considers the

Black Student Union's Black History Performance, which was, according to the article,

produced to "afflict the comfortable and comfort the afflicted." Although the article does

not describe *what* occurred during the show, it does comment on the reactions from the

crowd: "many students didn't fully agree with all of the show's commentary (some

individuals felt personally attacked), others believe that the show did not go far enough in

revealing the pervasiveness of racial discrimination throughout society." The article

continues, "Several faculty members noted that to be branded a racist was in many

people's minds, the worst possible offense at Martial. Instead, students would often keep

quiet for fear of being taken out of context or misunderstood."

The early Alumni Magazines reveal the challenges present within the school

communities and discuss the need for self-improvement by all members of the

community. Ironically, the notion of silence, that "students would often keep quiet for

fear of being taken out of context" now controls the schools' Alumni Magazines when it

comes to challenging issues related to the school. All three schools focus *more* on issues

of social justice over the last ten years of publications, but the way they approach these

issues all sense of self-questioning is lost and replaced with a tone of accomplishment

and advancement.

Social justice work: Later alumni magazines

The more recent alumni magazines frequently discuss issues of social

significance. However, these articles shift from a position of self-searching and

questioning about ethics and the role of the institution in promoting a just society as well

as the institution's ability to enact justice within its own community to a display of

"ethical people" doing "good works."

Martial's Winter 2003 magazine includes a feature article on "Erin Alder (pseudonym), Fulfilling a Dream as a Social Entrepreneur." The article begins "Erin Alder is not one to rest on his laurels. After graduating from Martial Friends in 1982, he studied economics and engineering at Swarthmore, taught high school physics for eight years at St. Paul's School in Baltimore, received an MBA from the Wharton School at the University of Pennsylvania, worked as a management consultant, and started his own investment advisory and business consulting firm." The opening is used to list Erin's accomplishments and position him as a powerful and successful man. This is the prerequisite for his next venture in life: social entrepreneur. The article continues, "And all that was before he became a social entrepreneur. Today, Erin Alder is Executive director of the SEED Foundation (Schools for Educational Evolution and Development) a nonprofit organization whose mission is to establish urban residential schools for disadvantaged students." One might recognize the SEED school as one of the charter schools featured in the film *Waiting for Superman* (directed, consequently, by another Martial Alum, who just so happened to graduate in the same year as Erin Alder). Regardless of one's views on charter schools or the possible ethical violation of featuring a classmate's new "social entrepreneurial" venture in an "objective" documentary, what is most worth noting here is the shift towards the magazines' orientation to frame stories of graduates performing selfless work. Simultaneously, though, these stories feature graduates who are simultaneously "successful" by any standard understanding of the term (They have gained recognition, they are in positions of power, they hold socially esteemed job-titles, they are wealthy.). The message is not just that alums "do good," but that they also earn success *and* do good. They don't "rest on their laurels"; they receive

MBAs from the Wharton School, work as management consultants, start their own

investment business, *and* engage in social causes.

Since they are schools, it is not surprising that the Martial, Holand, and BD&M

take a special interest in education. The alumni magazines often feature articles on

education and the role graduates play in this important social issue. Martial's Fall 2009

Alumni Magazine includes the article *Fixing It! As educators and policymakers debate*

the best ways to improve education for America's youth, SFS alumni help lead the way.

Similar in tone to the "social entrepreneurship" article, here alumni are again shown as

both successful and socially invested as the article only features educators in positions of

power: the director of operations for a charter school network, the director of school

innovation for the DC public schools, the Ward 3 representative to the DC state Board of

Education, and the Director for Strategic Partnerships for The San Francisco Education

Fund. No currently practicing teachers are featured in the article. What is featured is the

combination of success, leadership, and social mission. The social mission is described

without any sense of objective distance, suggesting that the work being done by these

graduates is unquestionably beneficial. For example, the opening paragraph introducing

the Director of Operations for High Tech High Charter Schools says, "In her experience,

her colleagues have been passionate about what they do and are "super smart." She

thoroughly enjoys what she does ("I'm having fun!" and is excited to be involved with

High Tech High (HTH), an innovative network of nine public charter schools in Sand

Diego County that is well respected throughout the state. In addition, HTH now houses a

comprehensive teacher certification program and a new, innovative Graduate School of

Education." Clearly, alumni magazines are not striving for journalistic excellence; it may

be beyond the expectation of the genre for the editor of a high school alumni magazine to

push back against the exact content concerning charter schools, in-house schools of education, and alternative routes to teacher licensure. More relevant is the fact that this article fits into the larger practice in recent alumni magazines to show high powered people "doing good" as well as the complete lack of self-questioning on the part of the featured alums as well as by the magazine.

Holand's 1981 issue of the Holand Bulletin (Vol. 44, No 2) also includes an article on education. This article *does not* directly connect successful status with social work, nor does it depict social action as straightforwardly "good." The 1981 article begins:

> Educator. Teacher. These words conjure up vivid and noble
> images of dedicated people sacrificing large amounts of
> time, energy and financial investment, in an effort to
> transmit the fundamental elements of our culture and
> civilization to those who will be our future leaders.
> Individuals attempting to give interested children the tools
> we, with our experience, know they will need as adults –
> this must be what education is all about? Yes, maybe.
> Maybe, not. My experience makes me hopeful, but not
> really certain. The job is, I find, both a depressing and an
> uplifting experience.

Written by a practicing teacher, the article continues with this same self-questioning tone. In this opening, teaching is not described as a unilaterally "good" occupation. Instead, it is described as something uncertain; something, that at times, may even be "depressing."

This level of reality stands in stark contrast to the previous article's description of working with "passionate" and "super smart" colleagues and "having fun" on the job.

The alumni articles consider other important social issues beyond education. For example, Holand's 2008 Alumni Magazine features a story about Tonzi Serrano (pseudonym) and her work for immigrant rights in Chicago as a member of Mayor Emanuel's staff. Although the article does mention the "DREAMers" and the alumnae's "support for undocumented youth" the focus of the article is not on the politics, but on the alumnae's political position, hard work, and, or course, the role Holand Academy played in preparing her for this work. The opening paragraph helps demonstrate this focus: "In midmorning, the light reflecting off North LaSalle Street's towering buildings pours into Tonzi Serrano's small office in Chicago's City Hall. Poised and welcoming, Tonzi clears the Starbucks cup to one side and ignores the steady ping of incoming emails. She looks every bit her age – 24 years. Last April, Mayor Rahm Emanuel named Tonzi director of his Office of New Americans." What is most prevalent in this opening is not the social issue at hand, but the ascent of Tonzi at the age of 24 to a well respected position, *Director of the Office of New Americans*. The description works off of a number of well worn clichés associated with power and success – up early, coffee cup in hand, smile on the face regardless of the "steady ping of incoming emails."

Martial's alumni magazine also describes a number of alumni working in various socially conscious arenas. The 2010 Spring issue is dedicated to profiles of alumni working in the sciences. The 2011 Spring issue, *Answering the Call*, is dedicated to Alumni who serve or have served in the Peace Corps or Military. The 2012 Spring issue, *The New Story of Food*, is dedicated to Alumni who work towards food sustainability.

The Spring 2013 issues, *The News Revolution*, is dedicated to alumni profiles of journalists and their "changing profession."

The lack of self-questioning and perspective in these profiles transforms the articles from a medium to discuss important issues of social justice into a platform to highlight the individuals performing "good work," as well as the institution that taught these alumni "to be good." Furthermore, the articles lack any perspective on the complications that always arise when working for justice. Instead, the articles depict social justice work as unilaterally ethical and productive. This message contrasts with the words written by Jerome Pieh, former Holand Headmaster, who addressed the topic of "standing for a purpose" in the introductory statement of the Holand Bulletin's 1987 Winter Issue. Pieh writes, "It is our goal for the school that our community learn to take stands, to do so unselfishly, and to participate in the active discussion of what is highest and best. Finally, for me, is it is through one's actions that "Standing for a purpose higher than oneself: is finally resolved. It is what we do that finally counts." Modern Alumni magazines highlight *action* – "what we do" – but fail to "participate in the active discussion of what is highest and best."

Hypothesis #3: Overtime Discourse Centers Students

Shifts in the usage rate of *student* participants and modifiers, the use of second person direct address, the use of the agentless passive, and nominalizations all work to center students in the *First Impressions Genre*. The lexicogrammatical features achieve this effect by increasing the focus on students through both grammatical usage and an increase in usage rate over time; by folding students into the institution through the use of second person direct address; and by mitigating the role of the teacher through the use of the agentless passive, accompaniment circumstances, and nominalizations.

Associated Hypothesis: Linguistic devices function to center students on the school's websites.

The analysis of the *First Impressions Genre* found that over time the text samples from each school center students in the discourse. Does a similar process occur in the rest of the collected documents? Analysis of the complete data set reveals that the schools' discursive practices do center students through the use of linguistic devices. Furthermore, school websites center students by routinely including direct quotations as a way to highlight "student voices" and through non-linguistic devices such as photographic imagery.

Students continue to be the central topic of discussion on the school websites. For example, BD&M's Admissions Page states, "Our students are bright, inquisitive, and curious. They are mainstream, iconoclasts, and everything in between. They are BD&M, and what they bring to school with them every day contributes in a huge way to the learning and growth of everyone in our community." This statement uses a number of the linguistic devices discussed in the Genre analysis. First, students are directly connected with positive attributes ("bright," "inquisitive," and "curious"). Second, students are folded into the institution – "they are BD&M." And finally, the students are made the primary actors responsible for contributing "to the learning and growth of everyone in our community."

Similarly, Holand's Academic Page uses a number of the linguistic devices discussed in the Genre analysis to center students. The page consists of 14 bullet points, making up 52 lines of text. In this complete text sample about the school's academic program, the participant *teacher* is used only 9 times (all nine uses are as a participant). *Student* is only used four times, also always as a participant. However, like Holand's

1989 and BD&M' 2015 introduction statements, the section is written using second person direct address. The four uses of *student* are used as generalized clarifications after statements of direct address. For example, "Teachers are ready and willing to help you outside of class; students visit faculty in the dorms and call faculty at home for help." As a result of the second person direct address format, *you* is the most common participant and modifier. *You* is used 31 times in the text sample (17 times as a participant and 14 times as a modifier). Beyond the frequency of usage, other linguistic devices also center students. As demonstrated in the Genre analysis, the passive voice is used in this text sample to center students: "You'll be prepared to take AP tests." Possibly the most revealing linguistic device is the frequent use of *your* as a premodifier. This usage signals possession in constructions like "Your teachers," "Your classrooms," and "Your homework." The final statement on the page contains five of the nine uses of *teachers* in the document. However, the repeated use of *your* modifies *teachers,* placing emphasis on student possession as well as teachers' skills: "Your art teachers are artists, in and outside of school; your music teachers are musicians; your English teachers are writers, your drama teachers are performers, set designers, and directors, and so forth. All your teachers are scholars in their fields." As in the *First Impressions Genre* analysis, multiple linguistic devices are used in these text samples to center students.

Martial's introduction statement on the *Upper School Program* also uses various linguistic devices to center students. Unlike Holand's discussion of Academics, Martial's text sample is written in the third person singular, so *you* is not a common participant. Also, the usage of *student* and *teacher* is relatively balanced (student is used more often, but not by an overwhelming ratio). Instead, this text sample uses more subtle linguistic devices to turn the focus from the institution and teachers back onto students. For

example, the text sample begins with the sentence: "The Upper School provides students with the preparation to meet the challenges of a rapidly changing world through the lens of a Quaker education." In this example, the nominalization *preparation* reduces the functional interpretation of direct action taken by the institution on behalf of students. The more direct and active construction would use the verb *prepares*: The upper School *prepares* students to meet the challenges of a rapidly changing world. The alternative construction uses the much more direct and common construction of *participant* (actor) + *process* (material). The alternative construction functions to signal a continuous action as well as the direct impact made by the actor. Similarly, the following line only hints at teacher or institutional impact on students: "We encourage our students to participate fully in the life of the School." The students are the ones actively participating while the school only encourages. The final line of the statement functions similarly: "The Upper School is an exciting, energetic, and fun environment that provides a scaffolding for students to build their own unique experiences as they grow and develop into young adults." The text sample begins and ends with statements built around the verb *provides*. The school *provides* "preparation" and "scaffolding," but the students engage in the active processes of *building, growing,* and *developing*.

Use of Images to Center Students

All three schools also use nonlinguistic devices to center students. For instance, student images dominate the webpages. It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to give this feature of the discourse adequate space for analysis. So, I will only provide a rudimentary *counting* of images from each webpage. Table 4.35 counts the number of photographs shown on the main pages from each school's header tabs. For example, Martial's webpage has seven header-tabs: *Lower School, Middle School, Upper School,*

About SFS, Admissions, Arts, Athletics and *Support SFS*. The photographs are divided

into four categories: category 1: student image, category 2: teacher image, category 3:

place based image (a building, field, etc.), category number 4: other. Combined, the three

schools include 107 images of students on these main pages, 21 images of teachers, 6

images of place, and 9 images that fall into the "other" category. At almost a 10:1 ratio

between student and teacher/coach images, it is clear that non-linguistic features are used

to center students.

Table 4.35: Image Counts from School Webpages

School	Header-Tab	Number of Images			
		Student	Teacher	Place	Other
Martial	Lower School	2	0	2	0
	Middle School	3	0	1	0
	Upper School	4	0	1	0
	Admissions	1	0	0	0
	About SFS	1	0	0	0
	Arts	1	0	0	0
	Athletics	1	0	0	0
	Support SFS	1	0	0	0
BD&M	About	3	1	1	1
	Admissions	2	1	3	0
	Our Campuses	5	2	0	0
	Academics	5	0	0	0
	Arts	4	1	0	0
	Athletics	5	1	0	0
	News and Events	12	4	1	2
	Support	3	1	0	2
Holand	Main Page	24	6	1	1
	About	1	0	0	0
	Academics	5	3	0	0
	Admissions	1	0	0	0
	Athletics	35	1	0	1
	Arts	1	0	0	0
	News	6	0	0	2
Totals		107	21	6	9

Inclusion of Student Voice

School websites also place a premium on student voice. The schools' websites all include embedded videos, in which students describe the school, discuss school values, or provide anecdotes of their school experiences. For example, BD&M includes a video on the *Mission and Values* Tab. The video begins with Eliza (pseudonym) speaking to the camera and saying, "Before I came to BD&M, I had no idea how big the world was. You don't understand how big the world is and how diverse it is…but then I started to understand that I was a little piece in this huge world." The video continues with other students (only students are included in the video), who all discuss one of the school's stated values. Similarly, Martial includes a video on its *Sustainability* page. The page begins with three students sitting together, one of whom begins, "our generation is the one that will have to deal with the consequences of all those before us." Like BD&M's video, only students are featured in the short film.

In addition to sharing student-centered videos, Holand also includes a number of student quotations on their webpage. The *Students* page includes a student statement after each bullet pointed item. For example, the bullet point *Embracing Diversity* begins with the school's language, followed by a student quotation:

> **Embracing Diversity -** To us, growing and learning
> among individuals who share widely divergent life stories,
> and appreciating their respective cultures, is an invaluable
> aspect of a true education.
> *Everyone here is a different person, but it's easy at Holand*
> *to form friendships with all kinds of people. Some people*
> *are talkative and like to say what's on their mind; others*

might be more shy. We all have different backgrounds, but

being who you are is easy here, trying new things, having

fun with new experiences and people. I find it all very cool

and awesome. – Holand Students

Combining the institutional language with student voice not only centers students in the

discourse, but it allows for the continued development of a familiar tone. Here, the

institution's formal language around the issue of diversity is contrasted with the

vernacular language of a student. *The Pursuit of Excellence* follows the *Embracing*

Diversity bullet point:

The Pursuit of Excellence - Holand's energy comes from

striving to meet our own expectations. Seeking to meet the

highest standards—in performance, athletic competition,

artistic expression, leadership activity, intellectual

exploration, and in understanding our world—is a cultural

reality at Holand and a lifelong legacy for our students.

I'm a science and math guy. I want to be a doctor. Every

year I go to Haiti to help at a clinic there, and I want to

work there as a doctor when I'm older. My favorite class

right now is Genetics. It's completely lab-based, and so

much fun. Learning science in the Pritzker Science Center

is second to none. Few schools have the resources we have

here, and those resources support what I plan to do in the

future. – Holand Student

As is the case in the *First Impressions Genre,* the school websites' center students in the discourse through the use of specific linguistic features. The school websites also center students by including a high proportion of student images, student videos, and student quotations.

Summary Chapter 4, Part 2

Analysis of the complete data set reveals that the schools' discursive practices around issues of diversity *do* conform over time. However, the language of diversity does not become less formal. In fact, the language of diversity becomes more formalized over time, contrasting with the increased familiarity achieved in the larger data set. The discourse on diversity does shift to reflect fewer questions and more direct statements of institutional achievement as well as an absence of direct calls for institutional and individual social action.

Analysis of the complete data set also reveals that the schools' discursive practices around students, teachers, and alumni *do* suggest that community members are uniquely talented and ethical. In particular, analysis of school alumni magazines reveals that documents position all members of the school community (not just students) as ethical and motivated for social justice. Similar to the movement away from institutional self-questioning around issues of diversity, the alumni magazines also move away from profile articles in which alumni either directly question their former schools or their current positions in the world. More-recent alumni profiles are much more likely to feature self-assured assessments of *do-gooding* carried out by alumni. Furthermore, these alumni are often in positions of power when engaged in social justice work.

Finally, analysis of the complete data set reveals that the schools' discursive practices *do* center students through the use of linguistic devices. Furthermore, school

websites center students by routinely including direct quotations as a way to highlight

"student voices" and through non-linguistic devices such as photographic imagery.

Chapter 5: Discussion

Introduction

Fairclough's framework for discourse analysis includes three dimensions: textual analysis, process analysis, and social practice analysis. Textual analysis describes the properties of a text. The detailed SFL analysis of the *First Impressions Genre* constitutes this study's textual analysis. Process analysis builds upon the textual analysis in order to unpack the text's message. The Genre analysis in *Chapter 4 Part 1* and the broader reading of the complete data set in *Chapter 4 Part 2* constitute this study's process analysis. The final stage of Fairclough's framework is social practice analysis. More so than in the first stages of analysis, social practice analysis requires researchers to explicitly draw upon critical social theory as well as linguistic theory (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). The goal of social practice analysis is to understand how localized discourse (such as the discourse of social justice in elite schools) influences - and is influenced by - larger social, cultural, and political discursive movements. Throughout this discussion, I place the research findings into their larger cultural context. Then I describe the implications for this study, as well as possible next steps.

Centering Students and the Misappropriation of Student-Centered Justice

The *First Impression Analysis* and broader analysis of the research data demonstrate that students are centered within elite school discourses. The prevalence of passive voice, accompaniment circumstances, and nominalizations all help mitigate the role of the teacher while simultaneously highlighting the role of the student. This dynamic is further demonstrated by the scarcity of processes that mean "teach," as opposed to the relatively high usage of processes that mean "learn." In other words, students learn, but teachers do not teach. This sentiment is well stated in Martial's 1980

text sample, "The School's aim is to elicit the best from within each student rather than to impose direction." Similarly, Holand's 1987 text sample states, "Whether it is mastering a banana kick in soccer or a quadratic equation in mathematics, learning is not something that is done to or for students."

This finding is not surprising. Any basic understanding of a school should include a strong focus on students; after all, there are almost always more students than adults in any school building! However, the analysis also shows that over time the discourse *increases* its focus on students through linguistic functions and the increased prevalence of student voices featured in the discourse. Furthermore, the increased focus over time corresponds with a decrease in discussions of other aspects of the institutions as well as an increased likelihood of naming students as innately ethical and moral.

This focus on students reveals two ways elite schools' conceptualize social justice. First, drawing heavily on democratic and student-centered theories of learning, these schools conflate learning theory with justice-minded social theory. Second, the focus on students and, in particular, the focus on *diverse students* reveals a privileging of *interpersonal* theories of justice as opposed to *structural* theories of justice.

Dewey is often credited as the founder of the "child-centered" movement of education. Modern critics contend that child-centered education coddles students or overly emphasizes personal experience at the exclusion of broadening student acquisition of new knowledge. These criticisms could be challenged in their own right, but they can certainly be challenged due to their misguided analysis of Dewey's primary thinking. Dewey believed "that the pupil have a genuine situation of experience -- that there be a continuous activity in which he is interested for its own sake… that he have opportunity and occasion to test his ideas by application, to make their meaning clear and to discover

for himself their validity" (2007, p. 133). Student participation and voice, then, are the bedrock of democratic education. Such a pedagogic stance is clearly the goal of all three, sample schools. As BD&M says on their *Welcome Page*: "BD&M has earned a well-deserved reputation for forward-thinking approaches to education. Teaching and learning are not by rote here. Our classrooms and labs and studios crackle with life." Similarly, Holand's *Academics Page* states, "Learning is discussion-based not lecture-based; intense conversation in the classroom makes the class exciting. You make connections and discoveries you never imagined." Finally, Martial's *Academic Page* echoes the sentiments of self-directed, student-centered learning, saying, teachers "provide structures for students to be active decision-makers and self-advocates in a supportive and joyful environment."

Cochran-Smith's social justice framework (2004) states that teachers for social justice "work with (not against) individuals, families and communities." The movement to center students as well as movements to give voice to students has a long and important history in education theory. Kohlberg (1989) argues that providing students opportunities to engage in dialogue and self-reflection is a significant part of moral development. Griffiths (2003) argues that increased opportunities for students to tell their stories and find their voices leads to empowerment and opportunities for increased self-esteem derived through self-fulfillment, as opposed to social comparisons. Centering students and allowing for student voice is supposed to prompt students to believe in the value of their own ideas, develop confidence in their own critical reasoning skills, and engage in self-directed learning.

The theory of social justice based on student-centered learning imagines a number of positive outcomes. These outcomes include increased knowledge, self-confidence, democratic participation, self-reliance, and acceptance of diverse opinion.

First, student-centered learning theory imagines that by engaging in self-directed learning, students will simply *learn more* and, increased knowledge will translate into social improvements. The language from Martial's Admissions Page echoes this sentiment: "In this special community, pre-kindergarten through grade 12, our students let their lives speak as they are challenged to think deeply and critically while reflecting individually and collectively. Our classrooms are lively as purposeful teaching and learning takes place in a manner that promotes care for the world we occupy and justice within our society." In this example, it becomes clear that method and outcome are linked – that is, students are not simply taught to "care for the world." Just as important, is *how* they are taught. Individual *deep and critical thinking* in a *lively environment* "promotes care for the world." Similarly, Holand's *Student Page* includes language that connects student-centered learning with expected long-term success: "Holand students participate in numerous experiences and relationships that ultimately affirm their aptitudes, values and abilities. Holand alumni put their well-developed skills to work in the most competitive colleges in the country and pursue the broadest possible array of advanced studies and professional careers."

Second, student-centered learning theory assumes that engaging in student-centered learning will help students develop self-confidence. Holand's *Mission Statement* includes the following: "Our active learning environment, in and out of the classroom, develops creative and critical thinkers, unafraid to express their ideas." Here, "Active learning" develops "creative and critical thinkers" as well as *confident*

individuals "unafraid to express their ideas." BD&M expresses a similar idea on their *Admissions Page*: "We are a place where it's cool to be smart, where students are engaged, and where they learn to find their voice and to use it." By "being engaged", students develop self-confidence, which is here represented by the outcome "find their voice."

Third, by allowing for student voice, students will learn that *having a right to speak* is an essential human right and will thus be more prone to advocate for this right in contexts beyond school (Green, 2008). Holand's *Academic Statement* includes the following: "You'll develop your own point of view, and you'll learn to respect others' differing points of view." Similarly, Martial includes the following statement on their *Upper School Welcome Page*: "Our diverse community celebrates many different points of view, interests and backgrounds, but all of our students have in common a passion for learning and a respect for both individual and community." In both examples, the independent learning environment allows for the eventual acceptance of "different points of view."

Finally, student-centered pedagogy encourages the critical thinking and self-reliance necessary to resist repressive authority (Freire, 2000) and encourages the values and skills required for democratic citizenship (VanDerPloeg, 2012). It is much more difficult to find examples from the sample schools that align with these desirable outcomes. Martial does include references to "respect for consensus" and the "spirit of the meeting" – both Quaker beliefs about governance through sustained dialogue and eventual consensus. However, these statements are not directly associated with any discussion of teaching philosophy.

The text samples primarily align with the first three purposes of student-centered teaching. Clearly, the objective of these institutions is to use student-centered pedagogy and a focus on student voice in order to increase knowledge and confidence. The text samples *do not* connect student-centered pedagogy to the more directly political and, in the case of Freire, revolutionary possibilities. Increased student learning and the development of self-confidence is clearly not a problem. However, what is revealed in this analysis, is the way the sample schools conflate *social justice theory* (developing skills for democratic participation and social action) with individual *learning theory* (increasing knowledge and gaining self-confidence). In this way, the social-justice discourse cloaks the reality of individualistic learning and student success. Again, student success may not be a problem, but, given the context, individual success is the expectation as privilege is transferred from generation to generation. Therefore, centering students in the discourse and conflating student-centered learning theory with emancipatory social justice theory serves primarily as a mechanism to maintain privilege.

Within an elite context, student-centered discourse practices should not be considered justice-minded discourse practice; they are, in-fact, discourse practices which serve to reinforce privilege and elite status for both the institutions and the students. As the language reveals, student-centered discourse is used to highlight the qualities already present in students and not intended to help students who - under different circumstances - may not be "given a voice" to develop skills, confidence, and power.

The Commodification and Purchasing of "Diverse Experiences"

Elite private schools do serve a diverse demographic of students. Not all students who attend elite private schools are from the upper class. Not all students who attend elite private schools are from historically privileged racial and cultural groups. For those

students who represent historically marginalized groups or who come from middle or lower class families, the focus on student-centered theory may represent a socially just position. As Cochran-Smith's framework for social justice education states, socially just educators "enable significant work within communities of learners…build on what students bring to school with them - knowledge and interests, cultural and linguistic resources - …teach skills, bridge gaps…work with (not against) individuals, families and communities…diversify forms of assessment…and make inequity, power, and activism explicit parts of the curriculum" (pp. 66-67). A scholarship to an elite high school can provide access to these circumstances, which are not often available in local public schools. In this sense, student-centered discourse does play a role in promoting social change, since the discourse centers *all* students (not just those with privilege) and thus encourages upward social mobility for some students. However, the discourse, particularly the discourse related to issues of diversity, does not link student-centered pedagogy with any explicit goal of promoting student success for historically underserved students.

As discussed in chapter 4, the discourse on diversity functions in five ways: 1) Diversity is a *thing,* it is something that can be "central to Holand's Academy's mission." 2) The institution creates a diverse community. 3) The institution creates respect for diversity. 4) Diversity is defined through a list. In this instance the list includes the following: "race, ethnicity, gender, age, sexual orientation, family structure, socio-economic status, physical ability, and religious and political affiliation." 5) Diversity can operate as an actor. In this instance it "fosters mutual respect, responsibility and empathy in our School."

The discourse does not connect diversity to any motivation for increasing marginalized students access to school resources. Instead, the discourse primarily commodifies diversity into a school attribute that improves student culture, learning, and ethics. Diversity as a tool for ethical development is highlighted in Holand Academy's *Vision Statement*. The three-part statement concludes with the claim that Holand will "continue to enroll diverse, multi-dimensional students; help them develop their passion for learning; and explicitly cultivate mutual caring, respect, and understanding among them." Similarly, Martial and BD&M connect diversity to improved "student growth":

From Martial's 2015 *Diversity Statement*: "Martial Friends believes that diverse perspectives and meaningful inquiry fuel academic excellence and *promote personal growth*." (emphasis added)

From BD&M's 2015 *Diversity Statement*: "[diverse] perspectives and experiences contribute to the *growth of the individuals* who call BD&M their alma mater and shape the classroom and extracurricular experience." (emphasis added)

These examples from all three sample schools link diversity to student growth, which can be assumed to mean student ethical growth, as well as to "academic excellence" (Martial) and "classroom and extracurricular experiences" (BD&M).

The discursive message is that diversity helps all members of the community. Diversity increases intellectual pursuits, it provides opportunities for student growth, and it encourages ethical development. As stated by BD&M, diversity provides an important and even necessary "experience" for all members of the community.

Conceptualizing diversity as an "experience" is a key aspect of the schools'

discourse. In his discussion of the new elite and the ways modern elites create privilege,

Khan (2011) argues that the modern version of elite schooling teaches students three

lessons of privilege: 1) Students learn to emphasize the importance of an open society

and to explain success in this open society by hard work and talent. Although society is

open, students also learn that hierarchies are an "enduring, natural presence…[and]

within the open society there are winners and losers. But unlike the past where these

positions were ascribed through inheritance, today they are achieved." 2) Students learn

that "experiences matter." Students "who act as if they already hold the keys to success

are rejected as entitled…privilege is not something you are born with; it is something you

learn to develop and cultivate." 3) Students learn that privilege means being at ease:

"being comfortable in just about any social situation" (Khan, 2011, p. 15). The discourse

of diversity in the three sample schools intersect with all three of Khan's "lesson of

privilege."

The schools' diversity discourse is primarily focused on interpersonal actions.

Justice theories often differentiate between interpersonal, structural, and cultural

explanation for injustice. For example, interpersonal racism refers to direct racist acts

between individuals as opposed to structural racism, which refers to racist policies and

institutional practices that exist *in spite of* benevolent interpersonal actions. Focusing on

interpersonal justice (how individuals can get along) helps teach students Khan's third

lesson: "being at ease." Holand Academy includes a student perspective after its

statement on "embracing diversity." The student's quotation reads: "Everyone here is a

different person, but it's *easy* at Holand to form friendships with all kinds of people…We

all have different backgrounds, but *being who you are is easy* here, trying new things,

having fun with new experiences and people. I find it all very cool and awesome"

(emphasis added). The discourse on diversity primarily focuses on the goal of *getting*

along and by achieving this goal, students learn to "be at ease" in the presence of diverse

people. This is, according to Khan, one of three ways students learn privilege and it is

clearly a skill embedded within the schools' claims that they prepare students for the 21st

century. As BD&M says, on their *Academics Page:*

> We're future oriented and forward thinking—for instance,
> we offer Russian, Chinese, and Arabic as well as more
> commonly taught languages. Students also have access to a
> number of school exchange or international travel
> opportunities to locales that include Paris, Moscow, and
> Morocco. You can also study for a semester on the coast of
> Maine, in the city of Rome, or in the mountains of
> Colorado (or the Swiss Alps!).
>   A BD&M education is one that will prepare you
> extremely well for college. But more important, it will lay
> the groundwork for a fulfilling life in the world you're
> going to inherit a few years down the road.

Diversity of people, of experience, of language, of location will all put students in the

privileged position to succeed in the cut-throat world they will "inherit a few years down

the road." Similarly, Martial's *Upper School Page* says, "The Upper School provides

students with the preparation to meet the challenges of a rapidly changing world." Part of

that preparation is to learn to be at ease with diverse people. Holand Academy makes

this point most directly, and, importantly, the following statement is found on the

school's *Diversity Page*: "Today's Holand students will become leaders in their world,

with its dynamic demographic changes and globally experienced trends—economic,

social, environmental and political. We aim to educate our students to experience and

value the enriching roles of culture, identity and difference." Although this statement is

found on the school's *Diversity Page,* becoming "leaders in their world" is given primary

position and valuing "culture, identity, and difference" comes last. For each school, educating students to value "culture, identity, and difference" – to be at ease given "dynamic demographic changes" - is deeply connected with students' future ability to become "leaders in their world."

Khan's second lesson of privilege is that "experiences matter." For the new elite, "there is a shift from the logic of the old elite–who you are – to that of the new elite-what you have done." (Khan, 2011, P. 15). Lineage, class, and race are not enough to achieve privileged status. Privilege must be earned through experience. Of course, lineage, class and race provide opportunities to participate in the right type of experiences. By framing diversity as a commodity that the school *creates,* participating in the diverse community becomes part of this learning *experience*. As BD&M state, "[diverse] perspectives and experiences contribute to the *growth of the individuals* who call BD&M their alma mater and shape the classroom and extracurricular experience." Here, diversity is both the *experience* itself (the commodity) and the result ("classroom and extracurricular experience)." Participating in these experiences is a necessary activity in the creation of modern day privilege. In fact, spending four years in a diverse high school community may be the single biggest difference between elite private schools and elite public schools that are, due to their location, much more likely to be homogeneous.

Khan argues that the new elite reframe entitlements into experience in order to justify their privilege and understand their social standing. In this sense, students learn to believe that international travel, participation in "high cultural" events, athletic and artistic success as well as their hard work are all *experiences* that make them uniquely qualified and deserving of success. Obviously, money helps grant access to each of these experiences. The role of money is no different when considering who has the ability to

enjoy a *diverse high school experience.* If experiences are an important mechanism for learning privilege among the new elite, it follows that the elite are willing to pay for diversity. In fact, the exorbitant tuition costs at elite private schools, the fundraising auctions, the endowment campaigns all siphon money from the majority of students who pay full tuition to scholarship funds. The price of tuition pays for many experiences: the chance to study abroad, the chance to study hard with equally dedicated peers and in small classes, the chance to excel at dance, lacrosse, pottery, or sailing, and the chance to *experience* diversity.

Those who pay full price to attend a private school are paying not only to redistribute their wealth to the poor or to grant access to their cultural capital to those without it, but they are then benefiting from the experience of working with them. It becomes a diversity marketplace and, not surprisingly, those with the most are the only ones who can afford this top-level product! An ironic tension emerges between the reality of this *structural* redistribution of wealth and the discourse of interpersonal diversity espoused by the schools. Are students aware of the economic processes of redistribution that are making their diverse school experience a possibility? Considering that the schools' discourse around diversity is primarily concerned with kindness, individual values, and personal integrity as well as the fact that direct declarations of social action have fallen out of the schools' discourse, it is safer to assume that this language *does not* teach students to see and understand the reality of their situation. Instead, students are much more likely to learn that kindness and acceptance (interpersonal values) allow for the positive and diverse experiences described by the schools.

The Discourse of New Capitalism and Social Justice

Over the last 25 years, elite private schools have increased their focus on certain social issues such as discussions of diversity and sustainability. However, as language on diversity and sustainability has increased, language for direct social and political action has decreased. This trend represents a fundamental tension in the discourse of social justice in elite private schools. On the one hand, certain social issues have been centered in institutional discourse. On the other hand, the language of new-capitalism has also gained traction within elite private school discourse. In this section I discuss how the findings reveal a movement towards the language of new capitalism and, in particular, how this language is directly linked to the language of social justice within the discourse.

According to Gee, learning is "a process of entry into and participation in a Discourse" (Gee, 1996, P. 15). By capital "D" Discourse, Gee means ways of using language in "particular settings and at specific times, so as to display or to recognize a particular social identity" (Gee, 1996, p. 10). The Discourse of Social Justice in elite schools certainly fits this definition. So far in this discussion, I have tried to demonstrate how this Discourse creates a certain "social identity" in elite schools. In particular the discourse of social justice centers students and thus, using language associated with learner-centered pedagogy, may reinforce privileged students *self-centered* self-concepts. Also, the discourse of social justice may teach students to recognize their diverse school as one of many experiences that makes them uniquely deserving of privileged status. Possibly most important though, is the way the discourse of social justice aligns with aspects of the Discourse of New Capitalism. In this way, "gaining entry into and participating in" the Discourse of Social Justice in elite schools is simultaneously a movement towards "gaining entry into and participation in" the Discourse of New

Capitalism. This relationship may preclude any positive effects concerning the increased focus on the discourse of social justice in elite schools since New Capitalism is at odds with most justice-oriented goals.

New Capitalism is a term used to describe the social and economic trends of the past 30 years. What is termed *new* must be compared to the *old*. In the old capitalist state, often referred to as *Fordism*, large corporate entities and government bureaucracies controlled the flow of capital. Although these bureaucracies were often criticized for their oversized power, they were at least *stable*. The stability of mammoth corporations corresponded with the stability and guarantees of the government's social welfare state. As a result of a sudden rise in global productivity - new consumer goods such as computers and new service industries like global finance - the stability of Fordism has eroded. In the new capitalist era "the economy is global and makes use of new technology; mammoth government and corporate bureaucracies are becoming both more flexible and less secure institutions. The social guarantees of the welfare states of an earlier era are breaking down, capitalism itself has become economically flexible, highly mobile, its corporate structures ever less determinate in form and in time" (Sennet, 1997. P. 161). As a result of these structural shifts, the way people work has changed: "short-term jobs replace stable careers, skills rapidly evolve; the middle class experiences anxieties and uncertainties that were, in an earlier era, more confined to the working classes."(Sennet, 1997, P. 161).

For most workers, the new capitalist regime provides uncertainty, stress, lower pay, and limited guarantees of long-term support through either privately funded retirement plans or government-supported social services. For some – those who possess just the right set of skills, social acumen, and cultural standing (in other words, the elite) -

the new capitalist regime provides opportunities to thrive! According to Sennett (2004), individuals must "address three challenges" if they are to thrive in the new marketplace and navigate its subsequent "fragmentary social conditions" (P. 4). First, "if institutions no longer provide a long-term frame, the individual may have to improvise his or her life-narrative, or even do without any sustained sense of self." Second, "in the modern economy, the shelf life of many skills is short; in technology and the sciences, as in advanced forms of manufacturing, workers now need to retrain on average every eight to twelve years." Third, "the emerging social order militates against the ideal of craftsmanship, that is, learning to do just one thing really well; such commitment can often prove economically destructive. In place of craftsmanship, modern culture advances an idea of meritocracy which celebrates potential ability rather than past achievement" (p. 5). Looking at institutional discourse from elite private schools reveals a focus on all three of these necessary qualities for success in the ever-changing, new capitalist society.

As already discussed, the focus on student-centered learning is primarily a pedagogic mechanism to increase student learning in elite schools and not a social justice stance intended to provide access and voice to marginalized groups. Moreover, the specific *type* of learning encouraged by the student-centered approach is exactly the type of learning needed for success in the new capitalist regime. BD&M students get involved in their learning, develop agile, inquisitive minds, and graduate well prepared for the next stage of their lives. As Sennet argues, individuals must learn to "immerse their life narratives" and continually develop new skills and knowledge. In other words, they must learn to "find their voice" and, consistently, *redefine* their voice. Furthermore, they must develop chameleon-like abilities to match their ever-changing work and social environments. This goal is well summarized on BD&M's *Upper School* page:

"Students get involved in their learning, develop agile, inquisitive minds, and graduate well prepared for the next stage of their lives."

Developing "agile, inquisitive minds" should not be discouraged. Again, this should be the primary function of a school. The challenge in the elite school context becomes how this preparation establishes advantages for elite students (especially those students who come from wealth). Furthermore, if success at the very top in the new capitalist regime is linked to fragmentation, uncertainty, and material want in the eroding middle class and lower class, then preparation for success must be critically examined and questioned in regards to its macro-level social implications. This is, of course, if individuals or institutions want to take seriously claims of social responsibility. What is most troubling is not only that elite schools speak in the discourse of fast capitalism (21st century skills, life-long learning, agility, global-marketplaces), but that this discourse is so often linked to the purported discourses of social justice. Like the previous examples of student-centered learning and diversity, the discourse of social justice intersects with the discourse of new capitalism in elite schools in a way that promotes privilege and elitism more than it questions negative social structures.

BD&M's webpage includes a listing of the schools core values. Values number six and seven, are rewritten below. The first draws heavily upon the discourse of new capitalism. The second draws heavily on the discourse of social justice. What is striking is not only their immediate proximity to each other, but, upon further examination, how the two discourses overlap, forming unity between the two bullet points:

- We value a program that reinforces key characteristics for 21st-century success—especially creativity, curiosity, resilience, and teamwork.

- We value the importance of helping students develop keen

  ethical standards in their behavior, habits of thought, and

  decision making.

Both repeated sentence structure helps the two statements cohere. Not only that, but the

lists that conclude both statements map onto each other – *ethical behavior* and *habits of*

thought from statement two links with *creativity* and *curiosity* in sentence one. *Ethical*

decision making from statement two links with *resiliency* and *teamwork* in statement two.

Such linkages show not only the intersection of the discourse, but inform the way the

discourses reinforce each other in a manner that supports privileged positions in the new

capitalist marketplace. Being *creative*, *resilient*, and a good *team-member* are not just

important skills to learn for 21st century success, but also markers of *ethical* behavior and

thought. Given this construction and linkage, the schools' discourse practice reinforces

the idea that elite students "can have it all" – i.e., they can be successful in the new

capitalist regime and the skills and dispositions that allow for this success simultaneously

mark these individuals as *ethical*.

The following posting comes from Martial's *Diversity Page*. As in the example

from BD&M, in this news item, advertising an on-campus speaker, the discourse of new

capitalism is entangled with the discourse of social justice:

> What are the unique challenges you face as parents in
>
> supporting your child's ability to interact effectively across
>
> differences in the 21st Century? What are cultural
>
> competency skills that can support you in preparing our
>
> students for success in an ever increasingly diverse world?
>
> Research findings on diversity confirm that socializing with

individuals of different ethnic, cultural or religious

backgrounds contributes positively to a student's cognitive

and academic development, intellectual self-confidence and

self-esteem.

What is the purpose of an engaging in a diverse education? Here, diversity is linked

directly to preparation for "success in an ever increasingly diverse world" and affects

communication "across differences in the 21st century. Similarly, Martial's *Upper School*

page begins with the following statement: "The Upper School provides students with the

preparation to meet the challenges of a rapidly changing world through the lens of a

Quaker education. Our rigorous academic program, combined with the many

opportunities to learn outside the classroom, is designed to instill a sense of social

responsibility and to generate resiliency in the face of adversity." Again, the discourse of

new capitalism is intertwined ("preparation to meet the challenges of a rapidly changing

world" and "generate resiliency in the face of adversity" with the discourse of social

justice ("through the lens of a Quaker education" and "instill a sense of social

responsibility"). Where one discourse ends and the other begins is impossible to

articulate in these statements. What becomes clear is that the discourse of social justice is

not *competing* with counter discourses of privilege and elitism, but that they are

enmeshed into a single entity.

Implications of this Study

This research began with the following questions: As revealed through

institutional documents, what are the discursive challenges and opportunities for enacting

socially just education within elite high schools? The research reveals a number of

challenges as well as some possibilities. The possibilities first: The increased focus on

students, as well as the continual progression of discussions of diversity, reveal that these institutions are capable of responding to goals and changes in mission. This is a great strength. As the nation begins to recognize the increased threat of economic inequality, possibly these schools will respond with the same vigor shown in their movements to enroll and champion increasingly diverse populations of students. Possibly, these same schools will now turn their discursive focus to issues of economic inequality. However, as school discourse has become more focused on diversity, sustainability, service, and student-centered learning, they have simultaneously used this language to reinforce their own privileged status as institutions and as individuals. This poses the greatest challenge. If nothing else, this research should encourage elite schools to ask themselves the following question: is it possible to maintain our elite status if our mission requires us to work towards a more just world?

Elite schools and universities would benefit from analyzing their own institutional documents. In particular, this research demonstrates the usefulness for analyzing changes in institutional language over time. Too often, institutions succumb to the belief that all progress is inherently good. Closely reviewing institutional language over time may elucidate when changes have not been for the best, or, at least, this process may encourage richer conversation about why changes have been made. In particular, this research demonstrates that increased attention to institutional discourse regarding issues of justice and diversity, as well as the increased tendency to center students in institutional discourse, *does not* necessarily correlate with actual social improvements. In fact, the discourse of social justice in elite institutions has been found through this research to reinforce discourses of elitism and privilege.

Suggestions For Further Study

This research reveals that the discourse of social justice is entangled with counter discourses of privilege and elitism. Previous research has suggests that an emphasis on multiculturalism can inadvertently entrench stereotypes (Kumashiro, 2015). Seider's (2008) research on social justice curriculum suggests that teaching privileged students about justice-oriented social issues can unintentionally scare students into holding more tightly onto their privileges. Similarly, this research demonstrates that shifts over time towards a more centralized discussion of justice within institutional documents may in fact reinforce discourses of privilege and elitism. Continued use of critical discourse analysis techniques should be used to investigate this phenomenon for a larger sample of schools. Furthermore, these techniques should be brought onto school campus where the lived experience of school leaders, teachers and students can be observed with a particular focus on how these community members discuss social justice within their communities and within the greater world. Furthermore, work should investigate how students and faculty interpret the institutional discourse practices. For example, Holand Academy's webpage includes a number of student quotations that follow statements from the institution. This provides a small slice of data to investigate how students interpret and internalize the institutional language. Holand's motto, *Dare to be True* is routinely cited, discussed, and described in the text documents – it is easy to imagine the motto being used on the school grounds just as often. Here is how one student – a student included on the website no less - interprets his school motto. The fist statement is Holand's institutional language and the italicized statement is the student statement. The following is reproduced exactly as it appears on Holand Academy's webpage:

Prepared to Live By Our Motto, "Dare to be True."

Now in its third century, Holand has always developed

strong, independent, confident thinkers. Students graduate

with a clear sense of who they are, what their world is

about and hot to contribute. "Dare to be true" is not only a

core value; it describes Holand culture, and the exhortation

echoes in graduates' lives forever.

Holand follows through on its mission and its motto. It

doesn't say "Dare to Be True" and then make you wear a

tie. (A mandatory tie is a deal-breaker for me.) You're

allowed to be yourself here - to do the things you like to do

and try new things, too. So many schools have good

academics, but the combination of academics, athletics,

arts, different individuals, the culture of support, being so

close to Boston: this combination is unique to Holand.

There's no other place like it. –Holand Academy Student

As this student's interpretation of the school motto shows, students may not be thinking

deeply about issues of justice. Then again, as this dissertation has argued, elite school

discourse does more to reinforce privilege and elitism than it does to combat it! In this

sense, this student has gotten the message.

This dissertation also provides a working model for the analysis of large data sets.

Although extremely helpful for this work and the work of so many scholars, Fairclough's

CDA methodology and Gee's discourse analysis methodology are most often employed

when considering short text samples. The detailed textual analysis suggested and

modeled by these scholars becomes less feasible when using critical discourse analysis to investigate large data sets. Important questions concerning education can rarely be answered through the analysis of a small data set. In her "Agenda for CDA," Rogers (2004) writes:

> future analyses should let ideologies emerge from the data, rather than imposing ideologies onto the data…to avoid critiques that DCA is a loosely grounded methodology where the analyst knows his or her conclusions before conducting the analysis, researchers must be committed to studying the relationship between linguistic form and function. For educational researchers, this also means committing to learning more about language structure and analysis.   (P. 253)

When conducting background research for this dissertation, I also found that education research using CDA methodologies routinely suffered from insufficiently detailed textual analysis. Often such work overlooked textual analysis completely, moving directly to the critical analysis stage or the work placed too much of an analytic burden onto singular textual features – arguing, for example, that the use of a single verb or passive constructive holds the key to some greater insight. However, these shortcomings may not stem directly from researchers' limitations as linguists (as Rogers suggests), but from discourse analysts failure to address the challenges of working with large data sets. If education research wants to investigate large data sets - something that is absolutely necessary when asking worthwhile questions about social domains - then they will need better models for how this work can be conducted in a systematic fashion. I was able to

find no such models when I began this dissertation. The five-part process of analysis used

in this work was developed primarily out of necessity. I believe the model could prove

useful in future studies and, through future work, this model can be improved

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Appendix A: Introduction Sections With Participant and Modifier Breakdown

1980 Martial Introduction Statement

The Martial Friends School is a coeducational day school [[offering an accelerated curriculum to about 1,000 students from age four through the twelfth grade.]] ||| As one of more than 70 independent schools in the greater Washington, D.C. area, it is among the six largest independent day schools in the United States. |||

The distinguishing characteristic of Martial Friends is the Quaker philosophy of education || on which it was founded in 1883 || and which continues to guide the entire life of the school. |||

Friends schools in this country, about 50 in number, date from as early as 1689. ||| Some are maintained by official bodies of the Religious Society of Friends; || others, including Martial Friends, are independent organizations [[supervised by boards of trustees, some or all of whose members are Friends.]] |||

Central to the Quaker philosophy of education is the Friends belief [[that there is that of God in every person.]] ||| In an environment [[that emphasizes spiritual and human values,]] the Quaker theory of education celebrates the uniqueness of the individual student and the teacher || and stresses the development of each person's greatest potential. |||

Along with the emphasis on the individual is the awareness [[that, || just as teachers instruct most effectively in different ways, students learn best in different ways.]] ||| Throughout the School, therefore, a variety of learning environments is made available || to enhance both the student's learning and the teacher's endeavors in their joint search for truth. |||

In every area of school life, the School strives || to instill a deep sense of responsibility in students || as they progress through the grades. ||| [[A gradual increase in the amount of free time in the student schedule affords]] opportunities to exercise judgment. ||| The School stresses the importance of simplicity, friendliness and vigorous creativity. ||| As in other areas of development, the School's aim is to elicit the best from within each student || rather than to impose direction. ||| Students are encouraged to look to their own consciences || as they participate in decisions [[that affect their own lives as well as the welfare of their community.]] |||

The expectation of academic excellence and achievement in the disciplines, development of study habits, participation in strong programs in the arts and physical education and utilization of the nation's capital as a School laboratory contribute to the balance and vitality of the 14-year educational offering at Martial Friends. |||

Within the framework of an institution [[in which almost every graduate proceeds immediately to college,]] the School feels its first obligation is || to provide students the opportunity for full intellectual, personal and social growth [[that will enable them to work towards a more just and humane society.]] |||

1989 Martial Introduction Statement

For more than a century, <u>The Martial Friends School</u> has offered <u>a coeducational program of academic excellence in a Quaker setting</u>. ||| <u>The talents and interests of Martial Friends students</u> enable <u>them</u> || to benefit from and contribute to a challenging college preparatory program. ||| <u>Scholarship, creativity, and a love of learning</u> are fostered; || <u>independent thinking and receptivity to the ideas of others</u> are encouraged. ||| <u>Students</u> work closely with outstanding teachers [[<u>whose characters and lives</u> exemplify the values of a Friends education.]] ||| <u>The faculty</u> uses <u>a variety of styles of teaching</u> || and accommodates <u>different styles of learning</u>. ||| <u>The School's Quaker philosophy</u> provides <u>a framework for all aspects of its program</u> || and creates <u>an environment</u> [[in which <u>spiritual and humane values</u> are emphasized.]] ||| <u>At the core of Quakerism</u> is the <u>belief</u> [[that there is <u>"that of God"</u> in each person.]] ||| Therefore, [[<u>cooperation with others, acceptance of individual difference, decision-making by consensus, and peaceful resolution of conflict</u>]] are stressed throughout the School. <u>Martial Friends</u> is well known for its commitment to <u>pluralism</u>. || From the conviction [[that <u>the quality of education and the richness of life</u> are enhanced in a diverse community,]] <u>the School</u> seeks <u>students, teachers, and administrators from many cultural, racial, religious, and economic backgrounds</u>. || It is <u>the mission</u> of the Martial Friends School || to nurture <u>each student's unique gifts and talents</u> || and to encourage <u>him or her</u> || to use <u>them</u> in a life of service to others. |||

2015 Martial Welcome Message From Website

Martial Friends School (SFS) is a PK-12, co-educational Quaker day school with campuses in Washington, D.C., and Bethesda, Maryland. ||| Founded in 1883, || the School is a nonprofit, tax-exempt institution [[governed by an independent Board of Trustees.]] |||

Facilities on the 15-acre Wisconsin Avenue campus in the Tenleytown section of Northwest Washington include the Earl G. Harrison Jr. Upper School Building; Bruce Stewart and Andra Jurist Middle School Building; Meeting House; The Robert and Arlene Kogod Center for the Arts; Richard Walter Goldman Memorial Library; Zartman House (Administration); Campus Services (Security, Information Technology, and Buildings and Grounds); Sensner Building (Fox Den Cafe and School Store); bi-level underground parking lot; a semi-underground bi-level Athletic Center with indoor and outdoor tracks; Wannan Gymnasium; three athletic fields, including two with all-weather turf surfaces; and five tennis courts. |||

The five-acre Edgemoor Lane campus in Bethesda includes the Manor House (Administration and Clark Library); the Groome Building (classrooms and multi-purpose room); the Science, Art, and Music (SAM) Building; Gymnasium; Bethesda Friends Meeting House; and athletic fields and two playground areas with climbing equipment. ||| For the 2014-2015 school year, 1,150 students (569 boys and 581 girls) are enrolled. ||| Forty-seven percent of the student body are students of color. ||| Twenty-four percent of the student body receive $6.6 million of need-based financial assistance. ||| The School employs 155 teachers and 112 administrative and support staff. ||| Tuitions for the 2014-2015 school year are $35,264 (prekindergarten-grade 4) and $36,264 (grades 5-12). |||

Martial Friends School is committed as an institution to the ideal of diversity with regard to age, economic background, ethnicity, gender, physical disability, political affiliation, race and sexual orientation in its student body, faculty and staff. ||| The School does not discriminate in the administration of its admissions, financial aid or loan practices; curricular offerings, including inter-scholastic athletics and physical education; other School-sponsored programs and activities; or in the hiring and terms of employment of administrators, faculty and staff. ||| Except for special considerations [[that may be given to members of the Religious Society of Friends because of the School's Quaker affiliation,]] the School does not discriminate on the basis of religion.

Martial Friends School is an educational community [[inspired by the values of the Religious Society of Friends || and guided by the Quaker belief in "That of God" in each person.]] ||| We seek academically talented students of diverse cultural, racial, religious, and economic backgrounds. || We offer these students a rich and rigorous interdisciplinary curriculum [[designed || to stimulate creative inquiry, intellectual achievement and independent thinking in a world increasingly without borders. ||| We encourage these students || to test themselves in athletic competition and || to give expression to their artistic abilities. We draw strength from silence—and from the power of individual and collective reflection. || We cultivate in all members of our community high personal expectations and integrity, respect for consensus, and an understanding of how diversity enriches us, || why stewardship of the natural world matters, || and why service to others enhances life. ||| Above all, we seek to be a school [[that nurtures a genuine love of learning and teaches students "to let their lives speak."]] |||

1980 Holand Introduction Statement

In 1978 <u>Holand Academy</u> was chartered by the Great and General Court of Massachusetts || to provide <u>education</u> for the families [[[then living in the small colonial village <u>of Holand and</u> on the farms [[<u>scattered through the forested Blue Hills valley</u>.]]] ||| <u>We</u> are <u>proud</u> || to have inherited <u>the traditions of the New England land-grant academies,</u> [[<u>which were</u> this country's first secondary schools.]] |||

<u>The Academy</u> now includes about <u>fifty building</u> on its one hundred and twenty-five acre campus [[<u>equidistant from Boston, the sea, and the Blue Hills Reservation</u>.]] ||| <u>It</u> has over <u>eight hundred students</u> in kindergarten through twelfth grade. ||| <u>The Lower School</u>, || which includes the first six grades, || is <u>entirely coeducational</u>. ||| <u>The Upper School</u> begins with Class VI, the seventh grade. ||| <u>Boarders</u> are enrolled beginning in Class IV, grade nine. ||| <u>Over one hundred and twenty-five teachers</u> make up <u>the faculties of the Academy</u>. |||

[[What is most worth noting about Holand]] is <u>its diverseness</u>. ||| <u>Visitors to the school</u> often ask: || Is <u>it</u> <u>coeducational</u> or <u>single –sex</u>? ||| Is <u>it</u> <u>a boarding school</u> or a <u>day school</u>? ||| Is it a <u>big</u> or <u>a small school</u>? ||| Is <u>it</u> a <u>country</u> or <u>a city school</u>? ||| In fact, <u>Holand is all of these</u>. ||| As <u>one of its teachers</u> remarked, || "<u>Holand</u> is <u>not an either/or school</u> || but <u>a both/and school</u>." |||

Though <u>Holand was</u> originally <u>coeducational</u>, || <u>separate Upper Schools</u> were established in 1901. || Today, <u>the Academy</u> has returned to extensive coeducation || while still respecting <u>distinctions between boys and girls</u>. ||| <u>Many customs and procedures</u> are peculiar to each group, || just as certain <u>courses</u> have deliberately been kept <u>single-sex</u>, principally in the younger grades. ||| <u>Holand has</u> profited from the <u>perspective of its unusual history;</u> || <u>its present structure</u> enables <u>it</u> || to give <u>boys and girls</u> the <u>chance to learn</u> both together and separately. |||

<u>Holand values</u> <u>the close relationship of its day and boarding students</u> || and <u>the participation of day student families in the life of the school</u>. ||| <u>The numbers in the top four classes</u> are almost <u>equally balanced</u> between boarders from many states and foreign countries, and day students [[<u>living in the greater Boston area.</u>]] ||| <u>All the programs of the seven-day school</u> are <u>available to day students</u>, || and <u>the home life of day school families</u> is open to boarders. |||

Viewed overall, <u>Holand is</u> <u>a big school</u>. ||| <u>Students and faculty, a community of nearly a thousand</u>, must learn [[<u>to deal with all sorts of people</u>]] || and have <u>many choices</u> to make. Yet <u>students</u> find <u>their own centers of gravity</u> within the smaller <u>units of the Academy</u>: <u>morning assemblies, homerooms, Houses, teaching sections, athletic teams</u>. |||

<u>Holand students</u> can enjoy <u>many of the best features of both city and outdoor life</u>. ||| <u>Boston</u> is only <u>a half an hour away by subway</u>, || and <u>many activities</u> involve <u>the rich offering of the city</u>. ||| <u>A few minutes from the school in the other direction</u> sits <u>the nearly six thousand acre Blue Hills Reservation</u>, [[which is used for many of our outdoor programs.]] |||

<u>Holand's organization</u> and <u>composition</u> are <u>valuable</u> || only as <u>they</u> serve <u>its central purpose,</u> [[[which is to offer <u>a strong academic training and an environment</u> [in which <u>students</u> can learn and grow.]]] ||| <u>The school</u> is committed equally <u>to a rigorous academic program</u> || and <u>to that care for the individuals</u> [[which encourages <u>the development of self-reliance, integrity</u>, and <u>compassion</u>.]] ||| <u>Its deepest hope</u> is [[that, in ordinary and extraordinary times, <u>its students</u> will discern || and then stand for a purpose higher than themselves.]] |||

1987 Holand Introduction Statement

Holand Academy is a rigorous yet compassionate academic community, [[where talent, curiosity and decency combine || to produce a lively student body.]] ||| It is a place [[where critical reasoning is required || and where imaginative thinking is encouraged.]] ||| In a classroom, with twelve students and a teacher, there is a premium placed on the verbal exchange of ideas and information between the teacher and students, and among the students themselves. ||| There is neither bombast nor arrogance in the classrooms, || but rather a genuine appreciation for ideas. ||| [[A willingness to take intellectual risks, || to try out fresh notions,]] is critical in order to thrive at Holand. |||

As the morning assembly convenes each day, the demands of a full schedule begin. ||| Throughout the day, Holand students are stretched and stimulated || as they take on a challenging Physics course, participate in an afternoon's play rehearsal or compete in a squash match. ||| Whether discussing in the common rooms in the evening the pros and cons of Contra aid, || or debating the selection of a sonnet for the literary magazine, || a student's day is a full one. |||

[[A carefully selected adviser, and individually planned course of study, and a low student-teacher ratio]] provide each student with [[access to a readily available faculty.]] ||| The faculty understands [[that learning is something that comes from within.]] ||| Whether it is mastering a banana kick in soccer or a quadratic equation in mathematics, || learning is not something [[that is done to or for students.]] ||| It is the quieter moments, therefore, [[[that advisers and teachers seek, || when they can personally listen to and understand the ideas [[that students are beginning to form and to refine.]]] |||

The students, in turn, find time || to practice, || to rewrite || and to rethink their emerging understanding. ||| This is the real "work" [[that students do.]] || It is not simply in completing assignments for the next day's discussion or downing carbohydrates for the upcoming game; || it is in [[the contemplative replaying or sustained rehearsing of moves or ideas]] || that learning takes place. ||| A balance is sought: time for exchanges and time for private thought. ||| At Holand, there is ample space for both. |||

The weekend brings competitive athletic play, dances, bicycle rides through the Blue Hills, quiet moments with friends, movies, study and sleep. ||| For some the lure of Cambridge and Boston means || that Saturday morning are spent browsing through record shops and bookstores, || followed by lunch at a small café, || or visiting an art opening at the Fogg Museum, || followed by brunch in "The Square." ||| For others, Boston seems miles away, || and they find themselves rooted to and engaged by the tranquility of the campus. ||| In either case, Holand is a place [[where students are free to select from a variety of experiences each weekend,]] ||| never feeling compelled || to follow the pack || nor to conform to the social expectations that may be dictated by a more isolated setting. |||

Holand is a healthy, lively school. ||| There is not one type of student [[who is readily identified as a Holandian.]] ||| Diversity prevails, || as students enter the academy from over 35 different states and territories, and 34 different countries. ||| Day students, [[drawn to Holand by its intellectual rigor, international student body and breadth of extracurricular opportunity,]] join boarding students, [[whose appreciation for challenge combines with their fascination for Boston and their desire to find a home-away-from-home.]] ||| The students blend together as one student body, || whether playing on teams, || writing newspaper copy, || refining a Mozart quarter, || or planning the weekend's events. ||| Close friendships are cemented through the common enthusiasms [[students explore.]] ||| In the evening, the intimacy of dormitory life allows the faculty further opportunity || to attend to the needs of and concerns of their students. ||| It is in the evening [[that each Holand student, therefore, returns "home."]] |||

2015 Holand Introduction Statement

Welcome to Holand Academy. |||

We are delighted || to share Holand with you. ||| You'll find [[that students at Holand are friendly, happy, and completely engaged with their work and their many activities.]] As one student told me, || "I love the balance of this place. || Academic standards are very high || and we work tremendously hard, || but we definitely have fun and laugh along the way." || He is right. || At Holand, you'll find a powerful, challenging academic experience together with a warm, supportive environment. ||| You'll work in small classes, with skilled, caring faculty || to develop your analytical skills, your perspectives, your creativity and your awareness. |||

The power of the Holand experience grows out of remarkable relationships. ||| Our teachers, coaches, house heads, advisors and friends get to know students well. ||| They will inspire you, involve you and help you find out [[who you really are.]] ||| Holand students love how different we all are: || what our families and our backgrounds bring to the School community, || and how the talents around us make our community so exciting.]]

After immersing themselves in Holand's opportunities, in and out of the classroom, || Holand students graduate with the confidence in themselves and the competence || to succeed at the most selective colleges and universities in the country. Beyond these further academic pursuits, "Dare to be true" is the idea Holand graduates never lose; || they apply their spirit, skills and commitment to meaningful professions of all kinds.

My family roots in Holand's history and my career in independent schools have led me to an abiding respect for Holand's academic strength and vibrant educational environment. ||| Helping the School community fulfill Holand's mission - || to cultivate a love of learning and a respect for others, || to embrace diversity and the pursuit of excellence - || is a commitment [[I eagerly undertake.]] ||| I am happy to be engaged in the full life of an extraordinary school. |||

We hope to have the chance to meet you in person very soon. || Come visit and learn first hand || why students at Holand love their School, || and feel the respect and support among students and faculty. ||| We invite you to share Holand with us. |||

Sincerely,

Head of School

1980 BD&M Introduction Statement

Buckingham Browne & Nichols School, a coeducational day school, was formed on January 1, 1974, the result of a merger between two Cambridge schools, Buckingham (established 1889) and Browne & Nichols (established 1883). The new school has three distinct and geographically separate divisions – Lower, Middle and Upper – offering a coordinated college-preparatory program to its students from kindergarten through the twelfth grade. When a class moves to the Middle School in the seventh grade, its size nearly doubles, a number of new students also enter in the following three grades. While each of the three schools has its own special character and set of goals, appropriate to the age group that it serves, the school endeavors to effect continuity of program with smooth transitions from one division to the next. Students may remain for the full fourteen years; those who leave find themselves well-prepared to enter other schools of their choice.

In a statement of purposes and objectives of the school the Board of Trustees recently wrote, BD&M's principal purpose is to develop an enthusiasm for learning and a respect for excellence through a distinguished academic program. An understanding and committed faculty teaches the basic academic skills and a regard for traditional academic values, while encouraging students to develop personal initiative, independence of mind, and the ability to make good choices and decisions."

As a coeducational day school Buckingham Browne & Nichols offers a full program seeking a harmony among academic subjects, arts, and physical education. The school remains committed to preparing students for further education, although we stand ready to support individuals whose objective might indicate another direction. Traditional academic goals remain at the center of our commitment. The clear, accurate, forceful use of English, both as a spoken and as a written form, is the pursuit of all our students. Historical perspective and understanding are encouraged, as is a working knowledge of a foreign language. The social sciences, political theory and practice, economics, geography, anthropology, music and art have an important place in the curriculum. Every student receives a grounding in mathematics, the language of signs, measurement, and relationship and the discipline of the scientific method.

Excellence, a sense of competence, and a sense of self-respect come in differing ways to different individuals. For one student excellence comes as a consequence of a special academic interest. For another, it comes in an art studio or on the playing field. Our students are taught to develop their ability to work hard in a focused way to achieve their goals. Through this process the experience of excellence is available to all.

Our program encourages students to understand and be true to themselves; for the students' values, ethical behavior, and moral sensitivity are important concerns of our school. Honesty, personal courage, and a commitment to the well-being of the community are essential qualities for healthy individuals and institutions.

The Cambridge-Boston community, within which Buckingham Browne & Nichols is located, provides opportunities, too, for creative and enriching academic and social experience. We constantly endeavor to participate in and with this larger community, seeking not only the personal growth and development of our students, but also their development of a sense of service to others and of a sense of responsibility for our world. We expect each individual to prize self-esteem above self-advancement, to be direct rather than evasive and to become a constructive participant in his/her society.

1996 BD&M Introduction Statement

Welcome to BD&M,

Welcome to Buckingham Browne & Nichols. ||| As you tour our campuses, || talk with our students and faculty || and look through this book, || we hope you will begin || to understand the distinctive characteristics of BD&M. ||| Our community is composed of lively and energetic learners, from a wide variety of backgrounds, points of view and geographic locations. ||| [[What brings us together as one school]] is our shared excitement about learning. ||| Our classrooms and curriculum - imaginative, vital, well-designed for each individual student - create an atmosphere [[in which it is stimulating to think || and safe enough to ponder, struggle and risk.]] ||| [[The interests and talents of our students, faculty and parents || and their respect for one another]] enhance every aspect of the educational experience. ||| We are fortunate to be located in Cambridge, a rich, culturally alive urban setting, || and we also delight in the expanse of our three campuses and in our playing fields. BD&M is a vibrant haven ... [[one that encourages individuals of all ages || and supports inquiry and growth.]] |||
We hope [[that your visit with us will be a good one.]] Please ask us any questions you may have || as you begin to understand our school and our community.]]

Sincerely,

Head of School

2015 BD&M Introduction Statement

Buckingham Browne & Nichols is a day school in Cambridge [[that engages boys and girls in grades pre-K (called Beginners) through 12 in a rich and invigorating educational experience of the highest quality.]] ||| The school excels at [[helping students discover their unique talents and passions and develop them to the fullest.]]

The curriculum is challenging, forward-thinking, innovative, and flexible, || designed to help qualified students from a range of backgrounds and with a range of talents and interests || reach new levels of accomplishment. ||| Co-curricular opportunities in athletics, the arts, community service, and other areas add important dimensions to students' learning. |||

Students learn on three age-appropriate and developmentally appropriate campuses. ||| The Lower School (Beginners through grade 6) and Middle School (grades 7 and 8) are a short walk from Harvard Square. ||| The Upper School (grades 9 through 12), on the banks of the Charles River, is about a mile away. ||| At every grade, we take full advantage of the range of opportunities [[our location affords us.]] |||

We are a community of engaged learners and compassionate people [[who embrace the school's motto: "Honor, Scholarship, Kindness."]] ||| This creates an environment [[[where students become active citizens in our school community, || and where they feel comfortable [[[taking the kinds of intellectual risks [[that are vital to learning and growth.]]] |||

BD&M has an eclectic student body with students from a wide range of backgrounds throughout the Greater Boston area. ||| [[The diversity of interests, experiences, and perspectives students bring with them to BD&M]] is one of our greatest strengths. They learn from gifted faculty and from each other || as they embrace the challenges of a premier educational experience. |||

Students come to BD&M with intellectual curiosity and an eagerness to learn. ||| They leave with a clearer sense of what's possible, || well prepared for the next step in their lives, || and with a very good idea of which direction to take it.

Appendix B: Introduction Statements with Process Breakdowns

1980 Martial Introduction

The Martial Friends School *is* a coeducational day school [[offering an accelerated curriculum to about 1,000 students from age four through the twelfth grade.]] ||| As one of more than 70 independent schools in the greater Washington, D.C. area, it *is* among the six largest independent day schools in the United States. |||

The distinguishing characteristic of Martial Friends *is* the Quaker philosophy of education || on which it was founded in 1883 || and which continues to guide the entire life of the school. |||

Friends schools in this country, about 50 in number, date from as early as 1689. ||| Some are maintained by official bodies of the Religious Society of Friends; || others, including Martial Friends, *are* independent organizations [[supervised by boards of trustees, some or all of whose members *are* Friends.]] ||||

Central to the Quaker philosophy of education *is* the Friends belief [[that there *is* that of God in every person.]] ||| In an environment [[that emphasizes spiritual and human values,]] the Quaker theory of education celebrates the uniqueness of the individual student and the teacher || and stresses the development of each person's greatest potential. |||

Along with the emphasis on the individual *is* the awareness [[that, || just as teachers instruct most effectively in different ways, students learn best in different ways.]] ||| Throughout the School, therefore, a variety of learning environments is made available || to enhance both the student's learning and the teacher's endeavors in their joint search for truth. |||

In every area of school life, the School strives || to instill a deep sense of responsibility in students || as they progress through the grades. ||| [[A gradual increase in the amount of free time in the student schedule affords]] opportunities to exercise judgment. ||| The School stresses the importance of simplicity, friendliness and vigorous creativity. ||| As in other areas of development, the School's aim *is* to elicit the best from within each student || rather than to impose direction. ||| Students are encouraged to look to their own consciences || as they participate in decisions [[that affect their own lives as well as the welfare of their community.]] |||

The expectation of academic excellence and achievement in the disciplines, development of study habits, participation in strong programs in the arts and physical education and utilization of the nation's capital as a School laboratory contribute to the balance and vitality of the 14-year educational offering at Martial Friends. |||

Within the framework of an institution [[in which almost every graduate proceeds immediately to college,]] the School feels its first obligation *is* || to provide students the opportunity for full intellectual, personal and social growth [[that will enable them to work towards a more just and humane society.]] |||

1989 Martial Introduction Statement

For more than a century, The Martial Friends School <u>has offered</u> a coeducational program of academic excellence in a Quaker setting. ||| The talents and interests of Martial Friends students <u>enable</u> them || to benefit from and contribute to a challenging college preparatory program. ||| Scholarship, creativity, and a love of learning <u>are</u> <u>fostered</u>; || independent thinking and receptivity to the ideas of others <u>are encouraged</u>. ||| Students <u>work</u> closely with outstanding teachers [[whose characters and lives <u>exemplify</u> the values of a Friends education.]] ||| The faculty <u>uses</u> a variety of styles of teaching || and accommodates different styles of learning. ||| The School's Quaker philosophy <u>provides</u> a framework for all aspects of its program || and <u>creates</u> an environment [[in which spiritual and humane values <u>are emphasized</u>.]] ||| At the core of Quakerism *is* the belief [[that there *is* "that of God" in each person.]] ||| Therefore, [[cooperation with others, acceptance of individual difference, decision-making by consensus, and peaceful resolution of conflict]] <u>are stressed</u> throughout the School. Martial Friends <u>is well known</u> for its commitment to pluralism. || From the conviction [[that the quality of education and the richness of life <u>are enhanced</u> in a diverse community,]] the School <u>seeks</u> students, teachers, and administrators from many cultural, racial, religious, and economic backgrounds. || It *is* the mission of the Martial Friends School || <u>to nurture</u> each student's unique gifts and talents || and <u>to encourage</u> him or her || <u>to use</u> them in a life of service to others. |||

2015 Martial Introduction Statement

Martial Friends School (SFS) *is* a PK-12, co-educational Quaker day school with campuses in Washington, D.C., and Bethesda, Maryland. ||| <u>Founded</u> in 1883, || the School *is* a nonprofit, tax-exempt institution [[<u>governed</u> by an independent Board of Trustees.]] |||

Facilities on the 15-acre Wisconsin Avenue campus in the Tenleytown section of Northwest Washington <u>include</u> the Earl G. Harrison Jr. Upper School Building; Bruce Stewart and Andra Jurist Middle School Building; Meeting House; The Robert and Arlene Kogod Center for the Arts; Richard Walter Goldman Memorial Library; Zartman House (Administration); Campus Services (Security, Information Technology, and Buildings and Grounds); Sensner Building (Fox Den Cafe and School Store); bi-level underground parking lot; a semi-underground bi-level Athletic Center with indoor and outdoor tracks; Wannan Gymnasium; three athletic fields, including two with all-weather turf surfaces; and five tennis courts. |||

The five-acre Edgemoor Lane campus in Bethesda <u>includes</u> the Manor House (Administration and Clark Library); the Groome Building (classrooms and multi-purpose room); the Science, Art, and Music (SAM) Building; Gymnasium; Bethesda Friends Meeting House; and athletic fields and two playground areas with climbing equipment. ||| For the 2014-2015 school year, 1,150 students (569 boys and 581 girls) <u>are enrolled</u>. ||| Forty-seven percent of the student body <u>are students</u> of color. ||| Twenty-four percent of the student body <u>receive</u> $6.6 million of need-based financial assistance. ||| The School <u>employs</u> 155 teachers and 112 administrative and support staff. ||| Tuitions for the 2014-2015 school year <u>are</u> $35,264 (prekindergarten-grade 4) and $36,264 (grades 5-12). |||

Martial Friends School <u>is committed</u> as an institution to the ideal of diversity with regard to age, economic background, ethnicity, gender, physical disability, political affiliation, race and sexual orientation in its student body, faculty and staff. ||| The School <u>does not discriminate</u> in the administration of its admissions, financial aid or loan practices; curricular offerings, including inter-scholastic athletics and physical education; other School-sponsored programs and activities; or in the hiring and terms of employment of administrators, faculty and staff. ||| Except for special considerations [[that <u>may be given</u> to members of the Religious Society of Friends because of the School's Quaker affiliation,]] the School <u>does not discriminate</u> on the basis of religion.

Martial Friends School *is* an educational community [[<u>inspired</u> by the values of the Religious Society of Friends || and <u>guided</u> by the Quaker belief in "That of God" in each person.]] ||| We <u>seek</u> academically talented students of diverse cultural, racial, religious, and economic backgrounds. || We <u>offer</u> these students a rich and rigorous interdisciplinary curriculum [[<u>designed</u> || to <u>stimulate</u> creative inquiry, intellectual achievement and independent thinking in a world increasingly without borders. ||| We <u>encourage</u> these students || to <u>test</u> themselves in athletic competition and || to <u>give</u> expression to their artistic abilities. We <u>draw</u> strength from silence—and from the power of individual and collective reflection. || We <u>cultivate</u> in all members of our community high personal expectations and integrity, respect for consensus, and an understanding of how diversity <u>enriches</u> us, || why stewardship of the natural world <u>matters</u>, || and why service to others enhances life. ||| Above all, we <u>seek</u> to be a school [[that <u>nurtures</u> a genuine love of learning and <u>teaches</u> students "to let their lives speak."]] |||

1980 Holand Introduction Statement

In 1978 Holand Academy <u>was chartered</u> by the Great and General Court of Massachusetts || <u>to provide</u> education for the families [[then <u>living</u> in the small colonial village of Holand and on the farms <u>scattered</u> through the forested Blue Hills valley.]] ||| We <u>are proud</u> || <u>to have inherited</u> the traditions of the New England land-grant academies, [[which *were* this country's first secondary schools.]] |||

The Academy now <u>includes</u> about fifty buildings on its one hundred and twenty-five acre campus [[equidistant from Boston, the sea, and the Blue Hills Reservation.]] ||| It *has* over eight hundred students in kindergarten through twelfth grade. ||| The Lower School, [[which <u>includes</u> the first six grades,]] *is* entirely coeducational. ||| The Upper School <u>begins</u> with Class VI, the seventh grade. ||| Boarders <u>are enrolled</u> beginning in Class IV, grade nine. ||| Over one hundred and twenty-five teachers <u>make up</u> the faculties of the Academy. |||

[[What *is* most worth noting about Holand]] *is* its diverseness. ||| Visitors to the school often <u>ask</u>: || *Is it coeducational or single –sex?* ||| *Is it a boarding school or a day school?* ||| *Is it a big or a small school?* ||| *Is it a country or a city school?* ||| In fact, Holand is all of these. ||| As one of its teachers <u>remarked</u>, || "Holand is not an either/or school || but a both/and school." |||

Though Holand was originally coeducational, || separate Upper Schools <u>were established</u> in 1901. || Today, the Academy <u>has returned</u> to extensive coeducation || while still <u>respecting</u> distinctions between boys and girls. ||| Many customs and procedures *are* peculiar to each group, || just as certain courses <u>have</u> deliberately <u>been kept</u> single-sex, principally in the younger grades. ||| Holand has <u>profited</u> from the perspective of its unusual history; || its present structure <u>enables</u> it || <u>to give</u> boys and girls the chance to learn both together and separately. |||

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Holand's organization and composition *are* valuable || only as they <u>serve</u> its central purpose, [[[which *is* <u>to offer</u> a strong academic training and an environment [in which students <u>can learn</u> and grow.]]] ||| The school <u>is committed</u> equally to a rigorous academic program || and to that care for the individuals [[which <u>encourages</u> the development of self-reliance, integrity, and compassion.]] ||| Its deepest hope *is* [[that, in ordinary and extraordinary times, its students <u>will discern</u> || and then <u>stand</u> for a purpose higher than themselves.]] |||

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The students, in turn, find time || to practice, || to rewrite || and to rethink their emerging understanding. ||| This *is* the real "work" [[that students do.]] || It *is* not simply in completing assignments for the next day's discussion or downing carbohydrates for the upcoming game; || it *is* in [[the contemplative replaying or sustained rehearsing of moves or ideas]] || that learning takes place. ||| A balance *is* sought: time for exchanges and time for private thought. ||| At Holand, there *is* ample space for both. |||

The weekend brings competitive athletic play, dances, bicycle rides through the Blue Hills, quiet moments with friends, movies, study and sleep. ||| For some the lure of Cambridge and Boston means || that Saturday morning are spent browsing through record shops and bookstores, || followed by lunch at a small café, || or visiting an art opening at the Fogg Museum, || followed by brunch in "The Square." ||| For others, Boston *seems* miles away, || and they find themselves rooted to and engaged by the tranquility of the campus. ||| In either case, Holand is a place [[where students *are* free to select from a variety of experiences each weekend,]] ||| never feeling compelled || to follow the pack || nor to conform to the social expectations that may be dictated by a more isolated setting. |||

Holand is a healthy, lively school. ||| There *is* not one type of student [[who is readily identified as a Holandian.]] ||| Diversity prevails, || as students enter the academy from over 35 different states and territories, and 34 different countries. ||| Day students, [[drawn to Holand by its intellectual rigor, international student body and breadth of extracurricular opportunity,]] join boarding students, [[whose appreciation for challenge combines with their fascination for Boston and their desire to find a home-away-from-home.]] ||| The students blend together as one student body, || whether playing on teams, || writing newspaper copy, || refining a Mozart quarter, || or planning the weekend's events. ||| Close friendships are cemented through the common enthusiasms [[students explore.]] ||| In the evening, the intimacy of dormitory life allows the faculty further opportunity || to attend to the needs of and concerns of their students. ||| It *is* in the evening [[that each Holand student, therefore, returns "home."]] |||

2015 Holand Introduction Statement

Welcome to Holand Academy. |||

We *are* delighted || to share Holand with you. ||| You'll find [[that students at Holand are friendly, happy, and completely engaged with their work and their many activities.]] As one student told me, || "I love the balance of this place. || Academic standards *are* very high || and we work tremendously hard, || but we definitely *have* fun and laugh along the way." || He *is* right. || At Holand, you'll find a powerful, challenging academic experience together with a warm, supportive environment. ||| You'll work in small classes, with skilled, caring faculty || to develop your analytical skills, your perspectives, your creativity and your awareness. |||

The power of the Holand experience grows out of remarkable relationships. ||| Our teachers, coaches, house heads, advisors and friends get to know students well. ||| They will inspire you, involve you and help you find out [[who you really *are*.]] ||| Holand students love how different we all *are*: || what our families and our backgrounds bring to the School community, || and how the talents around us make our community so exciting.]]

After immersing themselves in Holand's opportunities, in and out of the classroom, || Holand students graduate with the confidence in themselves and the competence || to succeed at the most selective colleges and universities in the country. Beyond these further academic pursuits, "Dare to be true" *is* the idea Holand graduates never lose; || they apply their spirit, skills and commitment to meaningful professions of all kinds.

My family roots in Holand's history and my career in independent schools have led me to an abiding respect for Holand's academic strength and vibrant educational environment. ||| Helping the School community fulfill Holand's mission - || to cultivate a love of learning and a respect for others, || to embrace diversity and the pursuit of excellence - || *is* a commitment [[I eagerly undertake.]] ||| I am happy to be engaged in the full life of an extraordinary school. |||

We hope *to have* the chance to meet you in person very soon. || Come visit and learn first hand || why students at Holand love their School, || and feel the respect and support among students and faculty. ||| We invite you to share Holand with us. |||

Sincerely,

Head of School

1980 BD&M Introduction Statement

Buckingham Browne & Nichols School, a coeducational day school, *was formed* on January 1, 1974, the result of a merger between two Cambridge schools, Buckingham (established 1889) and Browne & Nichols (established 1883). The new school *has* three distinct and geographically separate divisions – Lower, Middle and Upper – offering a coordinated college-preparatory program to its students from kindergarten through the twelfth grade. When a class moves to the Middle School in the seventh grade, its size nearly doubles, a number of new students also enter in the following three grades. While each of the three schools has its own special character and set of goals, appropriate to the age group that it serves, the school endeavors to effect continuity of program with smooth transitions from one division to the next. Students may remain for the full fourteen years; those who leave find themselves well-prepared to enter other schools of their choice.

In a statement of purposes and objectives of the school the Board of Trustees recently wrote, BD&M's principal purpose *is to develop* an enthusiasm for learning and a respect for excellence through a distinguished academic program. An understanding and committed faculty teaches the basic academic skills and a regard for traditional academic values, while encouraging students to develop personal initiative, independence of mind, and the ability to make good choices and decisions."

As a coeducational day school Buckingham Browne & Nichols offers a full program seeking a harmony among academic subjects, arts, and physical education. The school remains committed to preparing students for further education, although we stand ready to support individuals whose objective might indicate another direction. Traditional academic goals remain at the center of our commitment. The clear, accurate, forceful use of English, both as a spoken and as a written form, *is* the pursuit of all our students. Historical perspective and understanding are encouraged, as is a working knowledge of a foreign language. The social sciences, political theory and practice, economics, geography, anthropology, music and art *have* an important place in the curriculum. Every student receives a grounding in mathematics, the language of signs, measurement, and relationship and the discipline of the scientific method.

Excellence, a sense of competence, and a sense of self-respect come in differing ways to different individuals. For one student excellence comes as a consequence of a special academic interest. For another, it comes in an art studio or on the playing field. Our students are taught to develop their ability to work hard in a focused way to achieve their goals. Through this process the experience of excellence *is* available to all.

Our program encourages students to understand and be true to themselves; for the students' values, ethical behavior, and moral sensitivity *are* important concerns of our school. Honesty, persona courage, and a commitment to the well-being of the community *are* essential qualities for healthy individuals and institutions.

The Cambridge-Boston community, within which Buckingham Browne & Nichols *is* located, provides opportunities, too, for creative and enriching academic and social experience. We constantly endeavor to participate in and with this larger community, seeking not only the personal growth and development of our students, but also their development of a sense of service to others and of a sense of responsibility for our world. We expect each individual to prize self-esteem above self-advancement, to be direct rather than evasive and to become a constructive participant in his/her society.

1996 BD&M Introduction Statement

Welcome to BD&M,

Welcome to Buckingham Browne & Nichols. ||| As you tour our campuses, ||
talk with our students and faculty || and look through this book, || we hope
you will begin || to understand the distinctive characteristics of BD&M. |||
Our community is composed of lively and energetic learners, from a wide
variety of backgrounds, points of view and geographic locations. ||| [[What
brings us together as one school]] *is* our shared excitement about learning. |||
Our classrooms and curriculum - imaginative, vital, well-designed for
each individual student - create an atmosphere [[in which it *is* stimulating
to think || and safe enough to ponder, struggle and risk.]] ||| [[The interests
and talents of our students, faculty and parents || and their respect for one
another]] enhance every aspect of the educational experience. ||| We are
fortunate to be located in Cambridge, a rich, culturally alive urban
setting, || and we also delight in the expanse of our three campuses and in
our playing fields. BD&M *is* a vibrant haven ... [[one that encourages
individuals of all ages || and supports inquiry and growth.]] ||||
We hope [[that your visit with us *will be* a good one.]] Please ask us any
questions you may have || as you begin to understand our school and our
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Head of School

2015 BD&M Introduction Statement

Buckingham Browne & Nichols *is* a day school in Cambridge [[that engages boys and girls in grades pre-K (called Beginners) through 12 in a rich and invigorating educational experience of the highest quality.]] ||| The school excels at [[helping students discover their unique talents and passions and develop them to the fullest.]]

The curriculum *is* challenging, forward-thinking, innovative, and flexible, || designed to help qualified students from a range of backgrounds and with a range of talents and interests || reach new levels of accomplishment. ||| Co-curricular opportunities in athletics, the arts, community service, and other areas add important dimensions to students' learning. |||

Students learn on three age-appropriate and developmentally appropriate campuses. ||| The Lower School (Beginners through grade 6) and Middle School (grades 7 and 8) *are* a short walk from Harvard Square. ||| The Upper School (grades 9 through 12), on the banks of the Charles River, *is* about a mile away. ||| At every grade, we take full advantage of the range of opportunities [[our location affords us.]] |||

We *are* a community of engaged learners and compassionate people [[who embrace the school's motto: "Honor, Scholarship, Kindness."]] ||| This creates an environment [[[where students become active citizens in our school community, || and where they feel comfortable taking the kinds of intellectual risks [[that *are* vital to learning and growth.]]] |||

BD&M has an eclectic student body with students from a wide range of backgrounds throughout the Greater Boston area. ||| [[The diversity of interests, experiences, and perspectives students bring with them to BD&M]] *is* one of our greatest strengths. They learn from gifted faculty and from each other || as they embrace the challenges of a premier educational experience. |||

Students come to BD&M with intellectual curiosity and an eagerness to learn. ||| They leave with a clearer sense of what's possible, || well prepared for the next step in their lives, || and with a very good idea of which direction to take it.

Appendix C: Introduction Statements with Circumstance Breakdowns

1980 Martial Introduction Statement

The Martial Friends School is a coeducational day school [[offering an accelerated curriculum **to about 1,000 students from age four through the twelfth grade.**]] ||| As one of more than 70 independent schools in the greater Washington, D.C. area, it is **among** the six largest independent day schools in the United States. |||

The distinguishing characteristic of Martial Friends is the Quaker philosophy of education || on which it was founded **in 1883** || and which continues to guide the entire life of the school. |||

Friends schools in this country, about 50 in number, date **from as early as 1689**. ||| Some are maintained by official bodies of the Religious Society of Friends; || others, including Martial Friends, are independent organizations [[supervised **by boards of trustees**, some or all of whose members are Friends.]] |||

Central to the Quaker philosophy of education is the Friends belief [[that there is that of God in every person.]] ||| **In an environment** [[that emphasizes spiritual and human values,]] the Quaker theory of education celebrates the uniqueness of the individual student and the teacher || and stresses the development of each person's greatest potential. |||

Along with the emphasis on the individual is the awareness [[that, || just as teachers instruct **most effectively in different ways**, students learn **best in different ways.**]] ||| **Throughout the School**, therefore, a variety of learning environments is made available || to enhance both the student's learning and the teacher's endeavors in their joint search for truth. |||

In every area of school life, the School strives || to instill a deep sense of responsibility in students || **as they progress through the grades**. ||| [[A gradual increase in the amount of free time in the student schedule affords]] opportunities to exercise judgment. ||| The School stresses the importance of simplicity, friendliness and vigorous creativity. ||| **As in other areas of development**, the School's aim is to elicit the best **from within each student** || rather than to impose direction. ||| Students are encouraged to look to their own consciences || as they participate in decisions [[that affect their own lives as well as the welfare of their community.]] |||

The expectation of academic excellence and achievement in the disciplines, development of study habits, participation in strong programs in the arts and physical education and utilization of the nation's capital as a School laboratory contribute **to the balance and vitality of the 14-year educational offering at Martial Friends**. |||

Within the framework of an institution [[in which almost every graduate proceeds immediately to college,]] the School feels its first obligation is || to provide students the opportunity for full intellectual, personal and social growth [[that will enable them to work towards a more just and humane society.]] |||

1989 Martial Introduction Statement

For more than a century, The Martial Friends School has offered a coeducational program of academic excellence in a Quaker setting. ||| The talents and interests of Martial Friends students enable them || to benefit **from** and contribute **to a challenging college preparatory program.** ||| Scholarship, creativity, and a love of learning are fostered; || independent thinking and receptivity to the ideas of others are encouraged. ||| Students work **closely with outstanding teachers** [[whose characters and lives exemplify the values of a Friends education.]] ||| The faculty uses a variety of styles of teaching || and accommodates different styles of learning. ||| The School's Quaker philosophy provides a framework for all aspects of its program || and creates an environment [[in which spiritual and humane values are emphasized.]] ||| At the core of Quakerism is the belief [[that there is "that of God" **in each person**.]] ||| Therefore, [[cooperation with others, acceptance of individual difference, decision-making by consensus, and peaceful resolution of conflict]] are stressed **throughout the School**. Martial Friends is well known **for its commitment to pluralism**. || **From the conviction** [[that the quality of education and the richness of life are enhanced **in a diverse community,**]] the School seeks students, teachers, and administrators from many cultural, racial, religious, and economic backgrounds. || It is the mission of the Martial Friends School || to nurture each student's unique gifts and talents || and to encourage him or her || to use them **in a life of service to others**. |||

2015 Introductory Statement

Martial Friends School (SFS) is a PK-12, co-educational Quaker day school with campuses in Washington, D.C., and Bethesda, Maryland. ||| Founded in 1883, || the School is a nonprofit, tax-exempt institution [[governed **by an independent Board of Trustees.**]] |||

Facilities on the 15-acre Wisconsin Avenue campus in the Tenleytown section of Northwest Washington include the Earl G. Harrison Jr. Upper School Building; Bruce Stewart and Andra Jurist Middle School Building; Meeting House; The Robert and Arlene Kogod Center for the Arts; Richard Walter Goldman Memorial Library; Zartman House (Administration); Campus Services (Security, Information Technology, and Buildings and Grounds); Sensner Building (Fox Den Cafe and School Store); bi-level underground parking lot; a semi-underground bi-level Athletic Center with indoor and outdoor tracks; Wannan Gymnasium; three athletic fields, including two with all-weather turf surfaces; and five tennis courts. |||

The five-acre Edgemoor Lane campus in Bethesda includes the Manor House (Administration and Clark Library); the Groome Building (classrooms and multi-purpose room); the Science, Art, and Music (SAM) Building; Gymnasium; Bethesda Friends Meeting House; and athletic fields and two playground areas with climbing equipment. ||| For the 2014-2015 school year, 1,150 students (569 boys and 581 girls) are enrolled. ||| Forty-seven percent of the student body are students of color. ||| Twenty-four percent of the student body receive $6.6 million of need-based financial assistance. ||| The School employs 155 teachers and 112 administrative and support staff. ||| Tuitions for the 2014-2015 school year are $35,264 (prekindergarten-grade 4) and $36,264 (grades 5-12). |||

Martial Friends School is committed as an institution to the ideal of diversity with regard to age, economic background, ethnicity, gender, physical disability, political affiliation, race and sexual orientation in its student body, faculty and staff. ||| The School does not discriminate **in the administration of its admissions, financial aid or loan practices; curricular offerings, including inter-scholastic athletics and physical education; other School-sponsored programs and activities**; or **in the hiring and terms of employment of administrators, faculty and staff**. ||| **Except for special considerations [[that may be given to members of the Religious Society of Friends because of the School's Quaker affiliation,]]** the School does not discriminate **on the basis of religion.**

Martial Friends School is an educational community [[inspired **by the values of the Religious Society of Friends || and guided by the Quaker belief in "That of God" in each person.**]] ||| We seek academically talented students of diverse cultural, racial, religious, and economic backgrounds. || We offer these students a rich and rigorous interdisciplinary curriculum [[designed || to stimulate creative inquiry, intellectual achievement and independent thinking **in a world increasingly without borders**. ||| We encourage these students || to test themselves in athletic competition and || to give expression to their artistic abilities. We draw strength **from silence—and from the power of individual and collective reflection**. || We cultivate **in all members of our community** high personal expectations and integrity, respect for consensus, and an understanding of how diversity enriches us, || why stewardship of the natural world matters, || and why service to others enhances life. ||| Above all, we seek to be a school [[that nurtures a genuine love of learning and teaches students "to let their lives speak."]] |||

1980 Holand Introductory Statement

In 1978 Holand Academy was chartered **by the Great and General Court of Massachusetts** || to provide education **for the families** [[[then living in the small colonial village of Holand and on the farms [[scattered through the forested Blue Hills valley.]]] ||| We are proud || to have inherited the traditions of the New England land-grant academies, [[which were this country's first secondary schools.]] |||

The Academy now includes about fifty building **on its one hundred and twenty-five acre campus** [[equidistant from Boston, the sea, and the Blue Hills Reservation.]] ||| It has over eight hundred students **in kindergarten through twelfth grade**. ||| The Lower School, || which includes the first six grades, || is entirely coeducational. ||| The Upper School begins **with Class VI, the seventh grade**. ||| Boarders are enrolled **beginning in Class IV, grade nine.** ||| Over one hundred and twenty-five teachers make up the faculties of the Academy. |||

[[What is **most worth** noting **about Holand**]] is its diverseness. ||| Visitors to the school often ask: || Is it coeducational or single –sex? ||| Is it a boarding school or a day school? ||| Is it a big or a small school? ||| Is it a country or a city school? ||| **In fact**, Holand is all of these. ||| As one of its teachers remarked, || "Holand is not an either/or school || but a both/and school." |||

Though Holand was **originally** coeducational, || separate Upper Schools were established **in 1901**. || **Today**, the Academy has returned **to extensive coeducation** || while still respecting distinctions between boys and girls. ||| Many customs and procedures are peculiar **to each group**, || just as certain courses have deliberately been kept single-sex, **principally in the younger grades**. ||| Holand has profited from the perspective of its unusual history; || its present structure enables it || to give boys and girls the chance to learn **both together and separately**. |||

Holand values the close relationship of its day and boarding students || and the participation of day student families in the life of the school. ||| The numbers in the top four classes are **almost** equally balanced **between boarders from many states and foreign countries, and day students [[living in the greater Boston area**.]] ||| All the programs of the seven-day school are available **to day students**, || and the home life of day school families is open **to boarders**. |||

Viewed overall, Holand is a big school. ||| Students and faculty, a community of nearly a thousand, must learn [[to deal with all sorts of people]] || and have many choices to make. Yet students find their own centers of gravity **within the smaller** units of the Academy: morning assemblies, homerooms, Houses, teaching sections, athletic teams. |||

Holand students can enjoy many of the best features of both city and outdoor life. ||| Boston is only a half an hour away by subway, || and many activities involve the rich offering of the city. ||| A few minutes from the school in the other direction sits the nearly six thousand acre Blue Hills Reservation, [[which is used **for many of our outdoor programs.]]** |||

Holand's organization and composition are valuable || only as they serve its central purpose, [[[which is to offer a strong academic training and an environment [in which students can learn and grow.]]] ||| The school is committed **equally** to a rigorous academic program || and to that care for the individuals [[which encourages the development of self-reliance, integrity, and compassion.]] ||| Its deepest hope is [[that, **in ordinary and extraordinary times**, its students will discern || and then stand **for a purpose higher than themselves**.]] |||

1987 Holand Introductory Statement

Holand Academy is a rigorous yet compassionate academic community, [[where talent, curiosity and decency combine || to produce a lively student body.]] ||| It is a place [[where critical reasoning is required || and where imaginative thinking is encouraged.]] ||| **In a classroom, with twelve students and a teacher,** there is a premium placed **on the verbal exchange of ideas and information between the teacher and students, and among the students themselves**. ||| There is neither bombast nor arrogance **in the classrooms**, || but rather a genuine appreciation for ideas. ||| [[A willingness to take intellectual risks, || to try out fresh notions,]] is critical in order to thrive at Holand. |||

As the morning assembly convenes **each day**, the demands of a full schedule begin. ||| **Throughout the day**, Holand students are stretched and stimulated || as they take on a challenging Physics course, participate **in an afternoon's play rehearsal** or compete **in a squash match**. ||| Whether discussing **in the common rooms in the evening** the pros and cons of Contra aid, || or debating the selection of a sonnet for the literary magazine, || a student's day is a full one. |||

[[A carefully selected adviser, and individually planned course of study, and a low student-teacher ratio]] provide each student with [[access to a readily available faculty.]] ||| The faculty understands [[that learning is something that comes from within.]] ||| Whether it is mastering a banana kick **in soccer** or a quadratic equation **in mathematics**, || learning is not something [[that is done to or for students.]] ||| It is the quieter moments, therefore, [[[that advisers and teachers seek, || when they can personally listen to and understand the ideas [[that students are beginning to form and to refine.]]] |||

The students, in turn, find time || to practice, || to rewrite || and to rethink their emerging understanding. ||| This is the real "work" [[that students do.]] || It is not simply **in completing assignments for the next day's discussion or downing carbohydrates for the upcoming game**; || it is **in [[the contemplative replaying or sustained rehearsing of moves or ideas**]] || that learning takes place. ||| A balance is sought: time for exchanges and time for private thought. ||| At Holand, there is ample space for both. |||

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Students learn **on three age-appropriate and developmentally appropriate campuses**. ||| The Lower School (Beginners through grade 6) and Middle School (grades 7 and 8) are a short walk **from Harvard Square**. ||| The Upper School (grades 9 through 12**), on the banks of the Charles Rive**r, is about a mile away. ||| **At every grade**, we take full advantage of the range of opportunities [[our location affords us.]] |||

We are a community of engaged learners and compassionate people [[who embrace the school's motto: "Honor, Scholarship, Kindness."]] ||| This creates an environment [[[where students become active citizens **in our school community**, || and where they feel comfortable [[[taking the kinds of intellectual risks [[that are vital to learning and growth.]]] |||
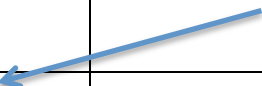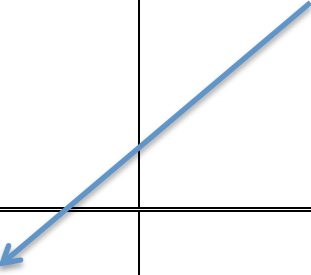
BD&M has an eclectic student body with students from a wide range of backgrounds throughout the Greater Boston area. ||| [[The diversity of interests, experiences, and perspectives students bring **with them to BD&M**]] is one of our greatest strengths. They learn **from gifted faculty and from each other** || as they embrace the challenges of a premier educational experience. |||

Students come **to BD&M with intellectual curiosity and an eagerness to learn**. ||| They leave **with a clearer sense of what's possible**, || well prepared for the next step in their lives, || and **with a very good idea of which direction to take it.**

Appendix D: Theme Rheme Breakdown with Progressions

Martial 1980 Theme Rheme Tracking with Progressions

The Martial Friends School	is a coeducational day school offering an accelerated curriculum to about 1,000 students from age four through the twelfth grade.	**Theme 1**	**Rheme 1**
As one of more than 70 independent schools in the greater Washington, D.C. area,	it is among the six largest independent day schools in the United States.	**Theme 2**	**Rheme 2**
The distinguishing characteristic of Martial Friends	is the Quaker philosophy of education *on **which** it was founded in 1883 **and** which continues to guide the entire life of the school.*	**Theme 3**	**Rheme 3**
Friends schools in this country, about 50 in number,	date from as early as 1689.	**Theme 4**	**Rheme 4**
Some	are maintained by official bodies of the Religious Society of Friends;	**Theme 5**	**Rheme 5**
others, including Martial Friends,	are independent organizations *supervised by boards of trustees, some or all of **whose** members are Friends.*	**Theme 6**	**Rheme 6**
Central to the Quaker philosophy of education	is the Friends belief ***that** there is that of God in every person.*	**Theme 7**	**Rheme 7**
In an environment that emphasizes spiritual and human values,	the Quaker theory of education celebrates the uniqueness of the individual student and the teacher and stresses the development of each person's greatest potential.	**Theme 8**	**Rheme 8**
Along with the emphasis on the individual	is the awareness ***that,** just as teachers instruct most effectively in different ways, students learn best in different ways.*	**Theme 9**	**Rheme 9**

Throughout the School, **therefore**, a variety of learning environments	is made available to enhance both the student's learning and the teacher's endeavors in their joint search for truth.	**Theme 10**	**Rheme 10**
In every area of school life,	the School strives to instill a deep sense of responsibility in students *as they progress through the grades*.	**Theme 11**	**Rheme 11**
A gradual increase in the amount of free time in the student schedule	affords opportunities to exercise judgment.	**Theme 12**	**Rheme 12**
The School	stresses the importance of simplicity, friendliness and vigorous creativity.	**Theme 13**	**Rheme 13**
As in other areas of development,	the School's aim is to elicit the best from within each student rather than to impose direction.	**Theme 14**	**Rheme 14**
Students	are encouraged to look to their own consciences *as they participate in decisions that affect their own lives as well as the welfare of their community*.	**Theme 15**	**Rheme 15**
The expectation of academic excellence and achievement in the disciplines, development of study habits, participation in strong programs in the arts and physical education and utilization of the nation's capital as a School laboratory	contribute to the balance and vitality of the 14-year educational offering at Martial Friends.	**Theme 16**	**Rheme 16**
Within the framework of an institution *in **which** almost every graduate proceeds immediately to college,*	the School feels its first obligation is to provide students the opportunity for full intellectual, personal and social growth *that will enable them to work towards a more just and humane society*.	**Theme 17**	**Rheme 17**

Martial 1989 Theme Rheme Tracking with Progressions

For more than a century,	The Martial Friends School has offered a coeducational program of academic excellence in a Quaker setting.	**Theme 1**	**Rheme 1**
The talents and interests of Martial Friends students	enable them to benefit from and contribute to a challenging college preparatory program.	**Theme 2**	**Rheme 2**
Scholarship, creativity, and a love of learning	are fostered;	**Theme 3**	**Rheme 3**
independent thinking and receptivity to the ideas of others	are encouraged.	**Theme 4**	**Rheme 4**
Students	work closely with outstanding teachers *whose characters and lives exemplify the values of a Friends education.*	**Theme 5**	**Rheme 5**
The faculty	uses a variety of styles of teaching and accommodates different styles of learning.	**Theme 6**	**Rheme 6**
The School's Quaker philosophy	provides a framework for all aspects of its program and creates an environment in which spiritual and humane values are emphasized.	**Theme 7**	**Rheme 7**
At the core of Quakerism	is the belief *that* there is "that of God" in each *person.*	**Theme 8**	**Rheme 8**
Therefore, cooperation with others, acceptance of individual difference, decision-making by consensus, and peaceful resolution of conflict	are stressed throughout the School.	**Theme 9**	**Rheme 9**
Martial Friends	is well known for its commitment to pluralism.	**Theme 10**	**Rheme 10**
From the conviction that the quality of education and the richness of life are enhanced in a diverse community,	the School seeks students, teachers, and administrators from many cultural, racial, religious, and economic backgrounds.	**Theme 11**	**Rheme 11**
It	is the mission of the Martial Friends School to nurture each student's unique gifts and talents and to encourage him or	**Theme 12**	**Rheme 12**

	her to use them in a life of service to others.		

Martial 2015 Theme Rheme Tracking with Progressions

Martial Friends School (SFS)	is a PK-12, co-educational Quaker day school with campuses in Washington, D.C., and Bethesda, Maryland.	**Theme 1**	**Rheme 1**
Founded in 1883,	the School is a nonprofit, tax-exempt institution *governed by an independent Board of Trustees*.	**Theme 2**	**Rheme 2**
Facilities on the 15-acre Wisconsin Avenue campus in the Tenleytown section of Northwest Washington	include the Earl G. Harrison Jr. Upper School Building; Bruce Stewart and Andra Jurist Middle School Building; Meeting House; The Robert and Arlene Kogod Center for the Arts; Richard Walter Goldman Memorial Library; Zartman House (Administration); Campus Services (Security, Information Technology, and Buildings and Grounds); Sensner Building (Fox Den Cafe and School Store); bi-level underground parking lot; a semi-underground bi-level Athletic Center with indoor and outdoor tracks; Wannan Gymnasium; three athletic fields, including two with all-weather turf surfaces; and five tennis courts.	**Theme 3**	**Rheme 3**
The five-acre Edgemoor Lane campus in Bethesda	includes the Manor House (Administration and Clark Library); the Groome Building (classrooms and multi-purpose room); the Science, Art, and Music (SAM) Building; Gymnasium; Bethesda Friends Meeting House; and athletic fields and two playground areas with climbing equipment.	**Theme 4**	**Rheme 4**

For the 2014-2015 school year,	1,150 students (569 boys and 581 girls) are enrolled.	**Theme 5**	**Rheme 5**
Forty-seven percent of the student body	are students of color	**Theme 6**	**Rheme 6**
Twenty-four percent of the student body	receive $6.6 million of need-based financial assistance.	**Theme 7**	**Rheme 7**
Tuitions for the 2014-2015 school year	are $35,264 (prekindergarten-grade 4) and $36,264 (grades 5-12).	**Theme 8**	**Rheme 8**
Martial Friends School	is committed as an institution to the ideal of diversity with regard to age, economic background, ethnicity, gender, physical disability, political affiliation, race and sexual orientation in its student body, faculty and staff.	**Theme 9**	**Rheme 9**
The School	does not discriminate in the administration of its admissions, financial aid or loan practices; curricular offerings, including inter-scholastic athletics and physical education; other School-sponsored programs and activities; or in the hiring and terms of employment of administrators, faculty and staff.	**Theme 10**	**Rheme 10**
Except for special considerations *that may be given to members of the Religious Society of Friends **because** of the School's Quaker affiliation*,	the School does not discriminate on the basis of religion.	**Theme 11**	**Rheme 11**
Martial Friends School	is an educational community *inspired by the values of the Religious Society of Friends and guided by the Quaker belief in "That of God" in each person.*	**Theme 12**	**Rheme 12**
We	seek academically talented students of diverse	**Theme 13**	**Rheme 13**

	cultural, racial, religious, and economic backgrounds		
We	offer these students a rich and rigorous interdisciplinary curriculum *designed to stimulate creative inquiry, intellectual achievement and independent thinking in a world increasingly without borders.*	**Theme 14**	**Rheme 14**
|We	encourage these students to test themselves in athletic competition and to give expression to their artistic abilities.	**Theme 15**	**Rheme `5**
We	draw strength from silence—and from the power of individual and collective reflection.	**Theme 16**	**Rheme 16**
We	cultivate in all members of our community high personal expectations and integrity, respect for consensus, and an understanding of how diversity enriches us, why stewardship of the natural world matters, and why service to others enhances life.	**Theme 17**	**Rheme 17**
Above all, we	seek to be a school *that nurtures a genuine love of learning and teaches students "to let their lives speak."*	**Theme 18**	**Rheme 18**

Holand1980 Theme Rheme Tracking with Progressions

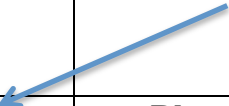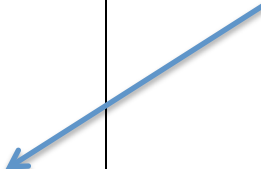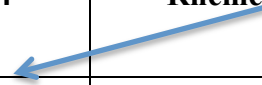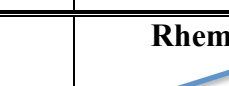| In 1978	Holand Academy was chartered by the Great and General Court of Massachusetts to provide education for the families then living in the small colonial village of Holand and on the farms *scattered through the forested Blue Hills valley.*	**Theme 1**	**Rheme 1**
We	are proud to have inherited the traditions of the New England land-grant academies, *which were this country's first secondary schools.*	**Theme 2**	**Rheme 2**

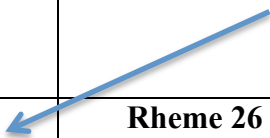|		Theme 3 →	Rheme 3
The Academy	now includes about fifty buildings on its one hundred and twenty-five acre campus *equidistant from Boston, the sea, and the Blue Hills Reservation.*	**Theme 3**	**Rheme 3**
The Upper School	begins with Class VI, the seventh grade.	**Theme 4**	**Rheme 4**
Boarders	are enrolled beginning in Class IV, grade nine.	**Theme 5**	**Rheme 5**
Over one hundred and twenty-five teachers	make up the faculties of the Academy.	**Theme 6**	**Rheme 6**
What is most worth noting about Holand	is its diverseness.	**Theme 7**	**Rheme 7**
Visitors to the school	often ask:	**Theme 8**	**Rheme 8**
Is	it coeducational or single –sex?	**Theme 9**	**Rheme 9**
Is	it a boarding school or a day school?	**Theme 10**	**Rheme 10**
Is	it a country or a city school?	**Theme 11**	**Rheme 11**
In fact, Holand	is all of these.	**Theme 12**	**Rheme 12**
As one of its teachers	remarked,	**Theme 13**	**Rheme 13**
"Holand	is not an either/or school but a both/and school."	**Theme 14**	**Rheme 14**
***Though** Holand was originally coeducational,*	separate Upper Schools were established in 1901.	**Theme 15**	**Rheme 15**
Today,	the Academy has returned to extensive coeducation ***while** still respecting distinctions between boys and girls.*	**Theme 16**	**Rheme 16**
Many customs and procedures	are peculiar to each group,	**Theme 17**	**Rheme 17**
just as certain courses	have deliberately been kept single-sex, principally in the younger grades.	**Theme 18**	**Rheme 18**
Holand	has profited from the perspective of its unusual history;	**Theme 19**	**Rheme 19**
its present structure	enables it to give boys and girls the chance to	**Theme 20**	**Rheme 20**

	learn both together and separately.		
Holand	values the close relationship of its day and boarding students and the participation of day student families in the life of the school.	**Theme 21**	**Rheme 21**
The numbers in the top four classes	are almost equally balanced between boarders from many states and foreign countries, and day students living in the greater Boston area.	**Theme 22**	**Rheme 22**
All the programs of the seven-day school	are available to day students,	**Theme 23**	**Rheme 23**
and the home life of day school families	is open to boarders.	**Theme 24**	**Rheme 24**
Viewed overall,	Holand is a big school.	**Theme 25**	**Rheme 25**
Students and faculty, a community of nearly a thousand,	must learn to deal with all sorts of people and have many choices to make.	**Theme 26**	**Rheme 26**
Yet students	find their own centers of gravity within the smaller units of the Academy: morning assemblies, homerooms, Houses, teaching sections, athletic teams.	**Theme 27**	**Rheme 27**
Holand students	can enjoy many of the best features of both city and outdoor life.	**Theme 28**	**Rheme 28**
Boston	is only a half an hour away by subway,	**Theme 29**	**Rheme 29**
and many activities	involve the rich offering of the city.	**Theme 30**	**Rheme 30**
A few minutes from the school in the other direction	sits the nearly six thousand acre Blue Hills Reservation, **which** is used for many of our outdoor programs.	**Theme 31**	**Rheme 31**
Holand's organization and composition	are valuable only **as they serve its central purpose, which** is to offer a strong academic training and an environment in which students can learn and grow.	**Theme 32**	**Rheme 32**
The school	is committed equally to a rigorous academic	**Theme 33**	**Rheme 33**

	program and to that care for the individuals ***which encourages the development of self-reliance, integrity, and compassion.***		
Its deepest hope	is that, in ordinary and extraordinary times, its students will discern and then stand for a purpose higher than themselves.	**Theme 34**	**Rheme 34**

Holand1987 Theme Rheme Tracking with Progressions

Holand Academy	is a rigorous yet compassionate academic community, ***where** talent, curiosity and decency combine to produce a lively student body.*	**Theme 1**	**Rheme 1**
It	is a place ***where** critical reasoning is required and where imaginative thinking is encouraged.*	**Theme 2**	**Rheme 2**
In a classroom, with twelve students and a teacher,	there is a premium placed on the verbal exchange of ideas and information between the teacher and students, and among the students themselves.	**Theme 3**	**Rheme 3**
There	is neither bombast nor arrogance in the classrooms,	**Theme 4**	**Rheme 4**
but rather,	a genuine appreciation for ideas.	**Theme 5**	**Rheme 5**
A willingness to take intellectual risks, to try out fresh notions,	is critical in order to thrive at Holand.	**Theme 6**	**Rheme 6**
As the morning assembly convenes each day,	the demands of a full schedule begin.	**Theme 7**	**Rheme 7**
Throughout the day,	Holand students are stretched and stimulated ***as** they take on a challenging Physics course, participate in an afternoon's play rehearsal or compete in a squash match.*	**Theme 8**	**Rheme 8**

Whether *discussing in the common rooms in the evening the pros and cons of Contra aid, or debating the selection of a sonnet for the literary magazine,*	a student's day is a full one.	**Theme 9**	**Rheme 9**
A carefully selected adviser, and individually planned course of study, and a low student-teacher ratio	provide each student with access to a readily available faculty.	**Theme 10**	**Rheme 10**
The faculty	understands ***that*** *learning is something that comes from within.*	**Theme 11**	**Rheme 11**
Whether *it is mastering a banana kick in soccer or a quadratic equation in mathematics,*	learning is not something that is done to or for students.	**Theme 12**	**Rheme 12**
It is	the quieter moments, **therefore,** ***that*** *advisers and teachers seek,* ***when*** *they can personally listen to and understand the ideas* ***that*** *students are beginning to form and to refine.*	**Theme 13**	**Rheme 13**
The students, in turn,	find time to practice, to rewrite and to rethink their emerging understanding.	**Theme 14**	**Rheme 14**
This	is the real "work" *that students do*.	**Theme 15**	**Rheme 15**
It is not simply in completing assignments for the next day's discussion or downing carbohydrates for the upcoming game;	***[[that*** *learning takes* ***place]]*** *(Ellipsed Clause)*	**Theme 16**	**Rheme 16**
it is in the contemplative replaying or sustained rehearsing of moves or ideas	*that learning takes place.*	**Theme 17**	**Rheme 17**
A balance	is sought: time for exchanges and time for private thought.	**Theme 17**	**Rheme 17**
At Holand,	there is ample space for both.	**Theme 18**	**Rheme 8**

The weekend	brings competitive athletic play, dances, bicycle rides through the Blue Hills, quiet moments with friends, movies, study and sleep.	**Theme 19**	**Rheme 19**
For some	the lure of Cambridge and Boston means *that Saturday mornings are spent browsing through record shops and bookstores, followed by lunch at a small café, or visiting an art opening at the Fogg Museum, followed by brunch in "The Square."*	**Theme 20**	**Rheme 20**
For others,	Boston seems miles away,	**Theme 21**	**Rheme 21**
and they	find themselves rooted to and engaged by the tranquility of the campus.	**Theme 22**	**Rheme 22**
In either case, Holand	is a place *where students are free to select from a variety of experiences each weekend, never feeling compelled to follow the pack nor to conform to the social expectations that may be dictated by a more isolated setting.*	**Theme 23**	**Rheme 23**
Holand	is a healthy, lively school.	**Theme 24**	**Rheme 24**
There	is not one type of student *who is readily identified as a Holandian.*	**Theme 25**	**Rheme 25**
Diversity	prevails, *as students enter the academy from over 35 different states and territories, and 34 different countries.*	**Theme 26**	**Rheme 26**
Day students, *drawn to Holand by its intellectual rigor, international student body and breadth of*	join boarding students, *whose appreciation for challenge combines with their fascination for Boston and their*	**Theme 27**	**Rheme 27**

extracurricular opportunity,	*desire to find a home-away-from-home.*		
The students	blend together as one student body, **whether** playing on teams, writing newspaper copy, refining a Mozart quarter, or planning the weekend's events.	**Theme 28**	**Rheme 28**
Close friendships	are cemented through the common enthusiasms *students explore*.	**Theme 29**	**Rheme 29**
In the evening,	the intimacy of dormitory life allows the faculty further opportunity to attend to the needs of and concerns of their students.	**Theme 30**	**Rheme 30**
It	is in the evening ***that*** *each Holand student, therefore, returns* "*home.*"	**Theme 31**	**Rheme 31**

Holand2015 Theme Rheme Tracking with Progressions

[You]	Welcome to Holand Academy.		
We	are delighted to share Holand with you.	**Theme 1**	**Rheme 1**
You	'll find ***that*** *students at Holand are friendly, happy, and completely engaged with their work and their many activities*.	**Theme 2**	**Rheme 2**
As one student	told me,	**Theme 3**	**Rheme 3**
"I	love the balance of this place.	**Theme 4**	**Theme 4**
Academic standards	are very high	**Theme 5**	**Rheme 5**
and we	work tremendously hard,	**Theme 6**	**Rheme 6**

but we	definitely have fun and laugh along the way."	**Theme 7** ↓	**Rheme 7**
He	is right.	**Theme 8**	**Rheme 8**
At Holand,	you'll find a powerful, challenging academic experience together with a warm, supportive environment.	**Theme 9**	**Rheme 9**
You	'll work in small classes, with skilled, caring faculty to develop your analytical skills, your perspectives, your creativity and your awareness.	**Theme 10**	**Rheme 10**
The power of the Holand experience	grows out of remarkable relationships.	**Theme 11**	**Rheme 11**
Our teachers, coaches, house heads, advisors and friends	get to know students well.	**Theme 12**	**Rheme 12**
They	will inspire you, involve you and help you find out who you really are.	**Theme 13**	**Rheme 13**
Holand students	love how different we all are:	**Theme 14**	**Rheme 14**
[Holand students] (Ellipsed)	love what our families and our backgrounds bring to the School community, and how the talents around us make our community so exciting.	**Theme 15**	**Rheme 15**
After immersing themselves in Holand's opportunities, in and out of the classroom,	Holand students graduate with the confidence in themselves and the competence to succeed at the most selective colleges and	**Theme 16**	**Rheme 16**

	universities in the country.		
Beyond these further academic pursuits,	"Dare to be true" is the idea Holand graduates never lose;	**Theme 17**	**Rheme 17**
they	apply their spirit, skills and commitment to meaningful professions of all kinds.	**Theme 18**	**Rheme 18**
My family roots in Holand's history and my career in independent schools	have led me to an abiding respect for Holand's academic strength and vibrant educational environment.	**Theme 19**	**Rheme 19**
Helping the School community fulfill Holand's mission - to cultivate a love of learning and a respect for others, to embrace diversity and the pursuit of excellence -	is a commitment *I eagerly undertake.*	**Theme 20**	**Rheme 20**
I	Am happy to be engaged in the full life of an extraordinary school.	**Theme 21**	**Rheme 21**
We	hope to have the chance to meet you in person very soon.	**Theme 22**	**Rheme 22**
[You] (Ellipsed)	Come visit and learn first hand why students at Holand love their School,	**Theme 23**	**Rheme 23**
[You] (Ellipsed)	**and** feel the respect and support among students and faculty.	**Theme 24**	**Rheme 24**

We	invite you to share Holand with us.	**Theme 25**	**Rheme 25**

BD&M 1980 Theme Rheme Tracking with Progressions

Buckingham Browne & Nichols School, a coeducational day school,	was formed on January 1, 1974, *the result of a merger between two Cambridge schools, Buckingham (established 1889) and Browne & Nichols (established 1883).*	**Theme 1**	**Rheme 1**
The new school	has three distinct and geographically separate divisions – Lower, Middle and Upper – offering a coordinated college-preparatory program to its students from kindergarten through the twelfth grade.	**Theme 2**	**Rheme 2**
When a class moves to the Middle School in the seventh grade,	its size nearly doubles,	**Theme 3**	**Rheme 3**
a number of new students **also**	enter in the following three grades.	**Theme 4**	**Rheme 4**
While *each of the three schools has its own special character and set of goals, appropriate to the age group that it serves,*	the school endeavors to effect continuity of program with smooth transitions from one division to the next.	**Theme 5**	**Rheme 5**
Students	may remain for the full fourteen years;	**Theme 6**	**Rheme 6**
those who leave	find themselves well-prepared to enter other schools of their choice.	**Theme 7**	**Rheme 7**
In a statement of purposes and objectives of the school the Board of Trustees	recently wrote,	**Theme 8**	**Rheme 8**
BD&M's principal purpose	is to develop an enthusiasm for learning and a respect for excellence through a distinguished academic program.	**Theme 9**	**Rheme 9**
An understanding and	teaches the basic	**Theme 10**	**Rheme 10**

committed faculty	academic skills and a regard for traditional academic values, *while encouraging students to develop personal initiative, independence of mind, and the ability to make good choices and decisions."*		
As a coeducational day school Buckingham Browne & Nichols	offers a full program seeking a harmony among academic subjects, arts, and physical education.	**Theme 11**	**Rheme 11**
The school	remains committed to preparing students for further education,	**Theme 12**	**Rheme 12**
although we	stand ready to support individuals *whose objective might indicate another direction.*	**Theme 13**	**Rheme 13**
Traditional academic goals	remain at the center of our commitment.	**Theme 14**	**Rheme 14**
The clear, accurate, forceful use of English, both as a spoken and as a written form,	is the pursuit of all our students.	**Theme 15**	**Rheme 15**
Historical perspective and understanding	are encouraged,	**Theme 16**	**Rheme 16**
as is	a working knowledge of a foreign language.	**Theme 17**	**Rheme 17**
The social sciences, political theory and practice, economics, geography, anthropology, music and art	have an important place in the curriculum.	**Theme 18**	**Rheme 18**
Every student	receives a grounding in mathematics, the language of signs, measurement, and relationship and the discipline of the scientific method.	**Theme 19**	**Rheme 19**
Excellence, a sense of competence, and a sense of self-respect	come in differing ways to different individuals.	**Theme 20**	**Rheme 20**
For one student excellence	comes as a consequence of a special academic interest.	**Theme 21**	**Rheme 21**
For another,	it comes in an art studio or on the playing field.	**Theme 22**	**Rheme 22**
Our students	are taught to develop their ability to work hard in a		

	focused way to achieve their goals.	**Theme 23**	**Rheme 23**
Through this process	the experience of excellence is available to all.	**Theme 24**	**Rheme 24**
Our program	encourages students to understand and be true to themselves;	**Theme 25**	**Rheme 25**
for the students' values, ethical behavior, and moral sensitivity	are important concerns of our school.	**Theme 26**	**Rheme 26**
Honesty, persona courage, and a commitment to the well-being of the community	are essential qualities for healthy individuals and institutions.	**Theme 27**	**Rheme 27**
The Cambridge-Boston community, *within which Buckingham Browne & Nichols is located,*	provides opportunities, too, for creative and enriching academic and social experience.	**Theme 28**	**Rheme 28**
We	constantly endeavor to participate in and with this larger community, seeking not only the personal growth and development of our students, but also their development of a sense of service to others and of a sense of responsibility for our world.	**Theme 29**	**Rheme 29**
We	expect each individual to prize self-esteem above self-advancement, to be direct rather than evasive and to become a constructive participant in his/her society.	**Theme 30**	**Rheme 30**

BD&M 1996 Theme Rheme Tracking with Progressions

[You]	Welcome to BD&M,	**Theme 1**	**Rheme 1**
[You]	Welcome to Buckingham Browne & Nichols.	**Theme 2**	**Rheme 2**
As you tour our campuses, talk with our students and faculty and look through this book,	we hope you will begin to understand the distinctive characteristics of BD&M.	**Theme 3**	**Rheme 3**

Our community	is composed of lively and energetic learners, from a wide variety of backgrounds, points of view and geographic locations.	**Theme 4**	**Rheme 4**
What brings us together as one school	is our shared excitement about learning.	**Theme 5**	**Rheme 5**
Our classrooms and curriculum - imaginative, vital, well-designed for each individual student -	create an atmosphere *in which it is stimulating to think and safe enough to ponder, struggle and risk.*	**Theme 6**	**Rheme 6**
The interests and talents of our students, faculty and parents and their respect for one another	enhance every aspect of the educational experience.	**Theme 7**	**Rheme 7**
We	are fortunate to be located in Cambridge, a rich, culturally alive urban setting,	**Theme 8**	**Rheme 8**
and we	also delight in the expanse of our three campuses and in our playing fields.	**Theme 9**	**Rheme 9**
BD&M	is a vibrant haven ... one *that encourages individuals of all ages and supports inquiry and growth*	**Theme 10**	**Rheme 10**
We	hope that your visit with us will be a good one.	**Theme 11**	**Rheme 11**
[You], please,	ask us any questions you may have as you begin to understand our school and our community.	**Theme 12**	**Rheme 12**

BD&M 2015 Theme Rheme Tracking with Progressions

Buckingham Browne & Nichols	is a day school in Cambridge *that engages boys and girls in grades pre-K (called Beginners) through 12 in a rich and invigorating educational experience of the highest quality.*	**Theme 1**	**Rheme 1**
The school	excels at helping students discover their unique talents and passions and develop them to the fullest.	**Theme 2**	**Rheme 2**

The curriculum	is challenging, forward-thinking, innovative, and flexible, designed to help qualified students from a range of backgrounds and with a range of talents and interests reach new levels of accomplishment.	**Theme 3**	**Rheme 3**
Co-curricular opportunities in athletics, the arts, community service, and other areas	add important dimensions to students' learning.	**Theme 4**	**Rheme 4**
Students	learn on three age-appropriate and developmentally appropriate campuses.	**Theme 5**	**Rheme 5**
The Lower School (Beginners through grade 6) and Middle School (grades 7 and 8)	are a short walk from Harvard Square.	**Theme 6**	**Rheme 6**
The Upper School (grades 9 through 12), on the banks of the Charles River,	is about a mile away.	**Theme 7**	**Rheme 7**
At every grade,	we take full advantage of the range of opportunities *our location affords us.*	**Theme 8**	**Rheme 8**
We	are a community of engaged learners and compassionate people *who embrace the school's motto: "Honor, Scholarship, Kindness."*	**Theme 9**	**Rheme 9**
This	creates an environment *where students become active citizens in our school community, and where they feel comfortable taking the kinds of intellectual risks that are vital to learning and growth.*	**Theme 10**	**Rheme 10**
BD&M	has an eclectic student body with students from a wide range of backgrounds throughout the Greater Boston area.	**Theme 11**	**Rheme 11**
The diversity of interests, experiences, and perspectives *students bring with them to BD&M*	is one of our greatest strengths.	**Theme 12**	**Rheme 12**
They	learn from gifted faculty and from each other *as*	**Theme 13**	**Rheme 13**

	they embrace the challenges of a premier educational experience.		
Students	come to BD&M with intellectual curiosity and an eagerness to learn.	**Theme 14**	**Rheme 14**
They	leave with a clearer sense of what's possible, well prepared for the next step in their lives, and with a very good idea of which direction to take it.	**Theme 15**	**Rheme 15**