

CONSEQUENTIAL VALIDITY AND SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION: AN
EXAMINATION OF STANDARDS, ASSESSMENT POLICIES, AND TEACHER
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North Dakota State University's regulations and meets the accepted
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ABSTRACT

Educational quality is a way to influence the future of the American economy (Hanushek, 1986). Large-scale assessments are designed to determine quality in education by measuring student achievement. A connection exists between the standards, teachers, and assessments that form a system of accountability within education. State and national accountability policies place value in certain educational fields, thereby preferring some while excluding others. As a result, accountability systems influence the field of social studies in several unanticipated ways. Consequential validity suggests that assessments should include value implications and relevance (Messick, 1989).

While assessment research examines the disciplines of mathematics, science, and language arts in a more holistic manner, the few social studies assessments are often divided among the field's various disciplines. The purpose of social studies, and its development of standards, is firmly linked to the current state of disunity within the social studies field. These issues are reflected in teacher preparation policies as well as state assessment policies. Social studies advocates have proven that, in other subjects, teachers and instructional methods are influenced by assessment. Fortunately, the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) provides an opportunity to determine whether the exclusion of social studies within the state/national accountability system is impacting student achievement in social studies.

The current systems make social studies uniquely positioned for studying the effects of large-scale assessment upon the field. Uses and interpretations of assessment data by researchers have been limited in social studies because the subject is not incorporated into most accountability policies. State policy governs educational standards, teacher licensure, and the extent of assessments upon students. For this study, the social studies NAEP assessment is

divided into three separate tests (U.S. History, Geography, and Civics). By looking at data from the fourth-, eighth-, and twelfth-grade 2010 social studies NAEP tests, this study will investigate some of the unintended consequences of educational assessment culture. I will examine social studies through different lenses and apply the concept of consequential validity to social studies in order to understand the value of social studies within education.

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Along the way, numerous people at NDSU's School of Education contributed in significant and meaningful ways. David Silkenat started me down this path. Though he left before I finished, his direction laid the foundation for Chapter 2 and its monograph. He also made me question my own understanding of social studies. Nate Wood tested my theoretical foundations and pushed me to question everything I knew about education and learning. Nate also explained to me that even negative results can be good research. I would like to also thank my classmates and colleagues who provided me feedback, thoughtful conversation, and inspiration. Of particular note, Christine Okurut-Ibore, Sheri Okland, Veronique Walters, Karla Thoennes, Janna M. Stoskopf, and Kim Bruemmer. I could not have completed this without the help of Lea Roberts, who was always willing to help me find a missing faculty member. Peggy Cossette, the glue that hold the Dean's Office together, would smile when I came in with some new and difficult problem. She was always able to fix it. Thank you, Lea and Peggy.

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PREFACE

Since I started the program, I focused on topics related to social studies education. As a teacher, I have a passion for social studies. I want to see the field improve and not become irrelevant as so many studies indicate. I also have an interest in assessment and specifically the uses for large-scale assessment. When I applied to the program, I thought that I knew exactly what my dissertation would look like and what I would prove. I quickly realized that research generally does not prove anything; it simply provides evidence for future research. Additionally, I realized that your own preconceived conclusions often do not turn out the way you expect. I am still linking social studies education and assessment together, but I am more cognizant that my findings may turn out the exact opposite, or, worse yet, be statistically inconclusive. I plan to study the connection between standards, authentic pedagogy, and large-scale assessment within the field of social studies. This study changes a more traditional line of research by actually looking at what the social studies assessments can tell researchers.

Much of this was written as part of an independent study with David Silkenat. When I started my doctorate, I thought I had a grasp of what social studies are. David asked me to look at both the cognitive notion of teaching social studies (Wineburg, VanSledright, Barton, etc.) as well as the National Standards for History debate in 1994. I started with the teaching aspect of social studies but did not grasp the context from which the researchers were writing. When I switched to the National Standards for History, I realized that I needed to understand the origins of social studies to better frame the debate. I started writing a narrative of why the National Standards for History failed. Nash, Crabtree, and Dunn (1997) gave the impression that the failure of the National Standards for History was not understandable. They decided it was simply that it happened at a bad political movement. Actually, this struggle over social studies

curriculum is a continuation of conflicts from its origins. As a result, I was able to establish a framework for the current theories about standards in social studies education.

But as with everything, I wanted to get back to my own interest in assessment. This dissertation started taking on a life of its own and I also needed to understand why testing mattered to social studies. Standards are only one aspect; large-scale assessments were also something I soon realized that I needed to understand. So, I soon went down that rabbit hole and upon exiting, I have produced a three-artifact dissertation. The following studies are the culmination of nine years of climbing through rabbit holes.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Accountability can alter our perception of value within education. Through accountability systems, policymakers can emphasize certain subjects that they perceive as important (Berliner & Biddle, 1995; Blevins & Talbert, 2016; Epstein, 1993; Moses & Nanna, 2007). Using various techniques to increase this emphasis, policymakers control the curriculum through standards, assessment policies, and teacher licensure (Achinstein, Ogawa, & Speiglman, 2004; Brewer, Knoepfel, & Lindle, 2015; Diamond, 2007; Forte, 2010; Hamilton, 2003; Henry et al., 2014a; Smith, 2014). Increasing the emphasis on these preferred subjects creates an environment where only those subjects are perceived as important to students, parents, and teachers (Pederson, 2007; Schul, 2011; Zhao & Hoge, 2005). Consequently, the perceived value of non-emphasized subjects decreases alongside instructional time and dwindling resources when compared with higher-value subjects (Abrams, Pedulla, & Maddaus, 2003; Spillane, Diamond, Walker, Halverson, & Jita, 2001; Stecher & Barron, 2001; Willis, 2007). For social studies, a quasi-tested subject, the influence of the altered value perceptions on student achievement can change students' understanding of society.

Considering the purpose of general education, Biesta (2009) contends that education prepares students to be able to “do something” within society (p. 39). Policymakers utilize the notion of educational quality to ensure that students can be productive members of society (Booher-Jennings, 2006; Brewer, Knoepfel, & Lidle, 2015; Forte, 2010; Linn, 1993; Marzano & Kendall, 1997; Messick, 1989). To improve education, both federal and state policymakers provide funds to state education agencies, local districts, and individual schools to implement their desired changes. States, districts, and schools are accountable for demonstrating the improvement of student learning (Diamond, 2007). Thus, some form of measurement of student

learning should be a factor in determining educational quality (Adams, 1993). Without a clear purpose, determining educational quality in any field is problematic.

For example, purpose of social studies has varied over the past 100 years according to the needs of various stakeholders (Nelson, 2001). This changing purpose has an enormous impact on the social consequences, value implications, and relevance when examining the field's overall quality. Some scholars consider social studies to be a means of teaching children about the problems in society (Armento, 1981; Carpenter, 2006; Hess, 2002; Ruswik, 2015; Smith, 1943; Stanley, 2005; Thornton, 2005). Other scholars regard social studies as the subject that trains students to be civically cognizant (Cohen, 2013; Fenton, 1967; Kallen, 1915; Longstreet, 1985; Mitsakos, 1981; Rochester, 2003; Westheimer & Kahne, 2003). Still other scholars believe that social studies is a pointless mixture of various social science disciplines thrust together with little concern or attention for those disciplines' differences (Buckles & Watts, 1998; Hertzberg, 1981; Jordan, 1942; Leming, Ellington, & Porter-Magee, 2003; Ravitch, 2002; Weltman, 2000).

Although educators and researchers do not agree upon a common definition for social studies (Nelson, 2001), a general understanding is critical to understanding its value. Generally, the field of social studies is considered the examination of human society through multiple social science disciplines, including history, civics, geography, economics, sociology, psychology, anthropology, and archeology (Nelson, 2001). In this dissertation, social studies is a field that teaches individuals how to relate to their various environments in order to participate in society (see Figure 1.1). This participation includes, but is not limited to, a sensitivity to cultural diversity, engagement in civic responsibility, and concern for social justice.

Within the field of social studies, the issues related to its purpose influence understanding of educational quality, accountability, and measurement by policymakers (Brewer, Knoepfel, &

Lindle, 2015). Yet the connections between the field and its disciplines in relation to this purpose affect the field's value within education. This dissertation will examine the notion of quality within social studies, as well as how value decisions have influenced perceptions of the field.

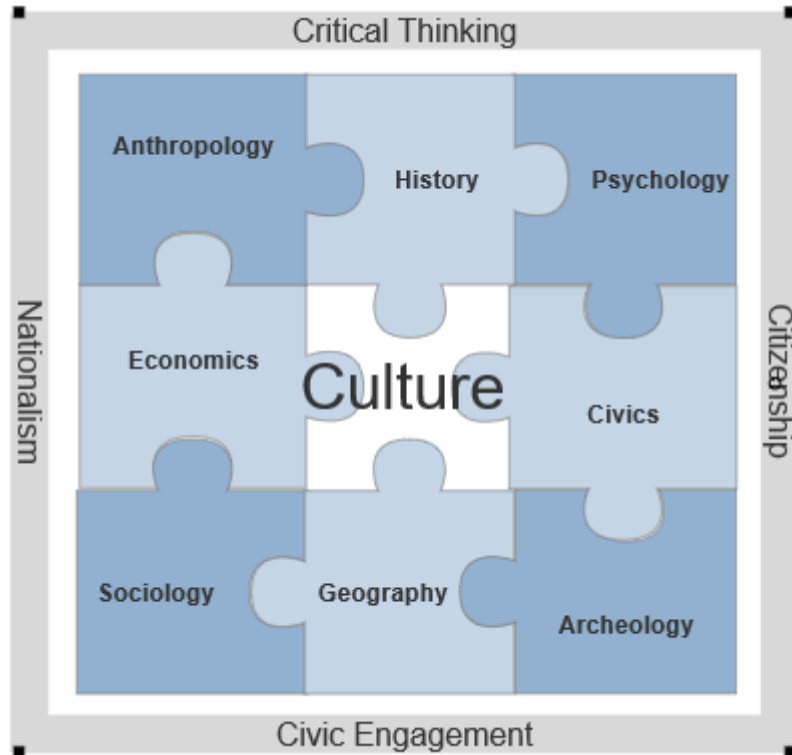


Figure 1.1. Conceptualization of Social Studies

Examining Quality in Education

The notion of quality is a way to understand the current reform efforts in education. Adams (1993) equates educational quality with the effectiveness with which educational objectives are reached; however, determining the educational objectives for the institution of education is harder than identifying the educational objectives of a program or school. For a consensus, stakeholders must agree upon educational objectives. Looking at how Americans view educational quality is a consideration.

Many Americans believe that a quality education drives a strong America (Hanushek, 1986; 2010). Conversely, when Americans perceive a weakening in the country, the overall quality of education is questioned (Jamison, Jamison, & Hanushek, 2007; Schwartz & Robinson, 2000; Vinovskis, 1999). For example, in 1957, when the Soviet Union launched the first satellite, *Sputnik*, prominent Americans questioned the perception of the scientific advantage within the American educational system (Berliner & Biddle, 1995; DeBoer, 2000; Kliebard, 2004). In 1983, a blue-ribbon panel published evidence, *A Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Excellence in Education), demonstrating that the economic recession of the late 1970s and early 1980s was linked to the decline of American education (Guthrie & Springer, 2004; Vinovskis, 1999). In both examples, Americans perceived a decline in the intellectual advantages of the United States over other parts of the globe.

Americans believe that a *golden age*, characterized by high quality education, existed before each crisis (Berliner & Biddle, 1995). These perceived crises, along with others, have been contributing factors in reforming education in order to recapture the *golden age* (Berliner & Biddle, 1995). Further evidence used to prove this decline include surveys documenting the *quality information* that current students were not getting from their education (Halvorson, 2012). Unfortunately, the notion of a *golden age* is a misconception (Berliner & Biddle, 1995; Halvorson, 2012). This *further evidence* often boiled down to adult perceptions of common knowledge that they could not necessarily be attribute to their education but came instead from life experiences. In the specific case of social studies, much of the evidence is recitation of factual knowledge, e.g., reciting the Gettysburg Address or identifying all thirteen original colonies (Halvorson, 2012).

Nevertheless, achieving higher quality in education is still a worthy goal (Paxton, 2003). In the case of *A Nation at Risk* (1983), the committee published evidence regarding the overall decline in American schools. Yet a later investigation revealed that the data, while factual, was also biased to create an illusion of decline (Guthrie & Springer, 2004). Even after discrediting *A Nation at Risk*, state and federal policymakers still advocated for reforming the educational system to reclaim the mythical *golden age*. The justification for improving educational quality is not as important as the need to improve learning to produce effective members of society (Berliner & Biddle, 1995; Hanushek, 1986, 2010).

Making Accountability Part of Quality

As funds for local education moved away from local control to state and federal oversight, policymakers sought ways to control whether their funds were improving student learning. For example, following the publication of *A Nation at Risk*, policymakers funded projects to eliminate certain variances within education (Schmoker & Marzano, 1999). Eventually these projects created a reform effort known as Standards-Based Reforms (SBR). SBR sought to provide teachers with an agreed upon level of *high* quality educational knowledge (Au, 2007; Darling-Hammond, 1994; Hamilton, Stecher, & Yuan, 2008; Schmoker & Marzano, 1999; Schwartz & Robinson, 2000).

However, whether teachers implemented these standards was not clear to policymakers. Student learning did not seem to be improving according to national testing benchmarks (Goertz & Duffy, 2003; Taylor, 1994). Policymakers wanted a system to make students, teachers, schools, districts, and states accountable for improvements in student learning. Thus, accountability policies were created to demonstrate that reform efforts were being implemented and, student learning was improving (Diamond, 2007; Hamilton, 2003; Taylor, 1994).

Policymakers also sought ways to determine the levels at which student learning improved to determine whether their reforms were achieving the desired educational goals (Carney & Loeb, 2002; Popham, 2001; Taylor, 1994). To evaluate the consistency and improving nature of educational quality, policymakers created a cycle of accountability to prove that their reforms were effective (Hanushek & Raymond, 2005; Linn, 1987; Solberg, Mosser, & McDonald, 1997).

Measuring Quality in Education

Policymakers regarded quantitative data from large-scale assessments as their preferred form of measurement gauge the progress of the vast number of students (Dorn & Ydesen, 2015; Fallace & Fantozzi, 2013; Hamilton, Stecher, & Klein, 2002; Kaestle, 2013; Means, Padilla, & Gallagher, 2010). This form of data collection is inexpensive and allows for evaluation of certain learning objectives, including whether educational quality is improving in each classroom, school, and district (Doppen & Yeager, 1998; Forte, 2010; Loveless, 2005; Nagy, 2000). Monitoring each of these levels allows policymakers to make evaluations on the effectiveness of their reforms (Hamilton 2003; Thompson & Cook, 2014).

The use of large-scale assessments provides a plethora of advantages to various levels of stakeholders. Evidence obtained from large-scale assessments can inform policymakers about predictive protentional, general trends, or the effectiveness of policy decisions. One of the most recognized assessment is the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) and American College Testing (ACT) which gauges the potential ability of students to succeed in college (Popham, 2001). The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) provides the federal stakeholders with an understanding of the general trends within education across the nation. Decisions on best practices of another common use of assessments (Wiseman, 2010). Assessments as a policy tool

affects all levels of policy making in education from federal to the classroom which are currently tasked with making data-based decisions from assessment evidence (Hamilton, 2003).

Unfortunately, large-scale assessments do present certain problems. Media outlets, like *Education Week*, *Huffington Post*, *New York Times*, and *Washington Post*, continue to highlight the problems within education. They use state and national testing data to raise the alarm on the continual decline in educational quality (Durant & Dahlin, 2011; Paxton, 2003; Sawchuk, 2013). In addition, media extrapolate from the testing data how American students have fallen behind their international peers, further proving that America has lost its *golden age* of educational superiority (Hanushek, Woessmann, Jamison, & Jamison, 2008; Phillips, 2007; Powers & Wood, 1984). By sensationalizing failing student scores, a fear of insufficiency drives American policymakers to identify problems in an American school system that is deemed in crisis. Additionally, stakeholders determine the effectiveness of teachers, schools, and districts based on how students score on these tests. These types of evaluations were not the intended purpose of the assessments, raising questions about the design of the assessment tool.

When evaluating assessment constructs, designers consider a well-formulated assessment to be both reliable and valid. Reliability is generally understood to be the consistency of measuring a trait or construct over multiple measurement cycles (Carmines & Zeller, 1979). For example, when assessing a construct like reading a clock, an assessment designer wants to show that the student's understanding of the time construct is consistent regardless of the specific question or version of the assessment. Validity, however, generally means that the evidence collected aligns with the designated purpose of the measurement (Crocker & Algina, 2008). For example, when assessing a construct like reading a clock, an assessment designer wants the

responses to demonstrate an understanding of how the hands of a clock are used to explain time. There are many more aspects to measurement, but this dissertation focuses on validity.

Measurement Validity of Large-Scale Assessments

In the discussion of measurement validity¹, researchers identify two distinct types: content and construct. While content validity considers the measurement relevant to the desired field (content), construct validity examines the inferences from the performance that can be grouped into a set of skills or traits (constructs) (Crocker & Algina, 2008). For example, when assessing the understanding of time, an assessment designer wants to demonstrate that a student's ability to read a clock is relevant to mathematical content, whereas the measure in a social studies assessment would be different. Moreover, when interpreting the student learning of reading a clock, an assessment designer wants to demonstrate that the interpretation can be inferred from the assessment's stated purpose. An assessment measuring the algebraic learning of second-graders consistently returns similar low scores (reliable), demonstrates a relevance to mathematics (content validity), and implies that third-graders do not understand algebra (construct validity).

Even though mathematical example assessment appears both reliable and valid, another aspect affects the notion of validity. Specifically, policymakers make interpretations based on assessment evidence; however, inferences by policymakers can go beyond the scope of an assessment's purpose (Baker & Linn, 2004; Brewer, Knoepfel, & Lindle, 2015; Cimbricz, 2002; Hursh, 2005; Kane & Staiger, 2002; Pedulla et al., 2003; Popham, 2001; Young & Zucker, 2004). In the current accountability culture, policymakers make decisions based on assessments that they link with state-structured curriculum (Shepard, 2010). Consequences are attached to

¹ In the remainder of this study, the term "validity" will refer specifically to "measurement validity".

assessment interpretations and uses. Examples of common consequences include students being retained due to non-proficient scores; teachers being evaluated and/or fired based on low student performance; and schools being restricted due to consistent low student scores (Horn, 2003; McDermott, 2007; McDonnell, 2013; Roderick, Jacob, & Bryk, 2002; Roderick & Nagaoka, 2005; Stecher & Barron, 2001). In these three consequential examples, the assessments cannot account for all these purposes, and yet policymakers have used a single assessment to make all data-driven decisions about students, teachers, and schools.

As stated above, validity is about knowledge and skills in relation to the purpose of an assessment, yet when policymakers infer additional value implications and other social consequences beyond the purpose, unintended consequences are created. Messick (1989) refers to this addition of inferences into the concept of validity as *consequential validity* (see Table 1.1). The basic interpretations and uses of validity remain the same but the consequences in the interpretations can include value implications. Likewise, the consequences of the uses include both value implications and social consequences. Value implications are decisions by policymakers about the importance of a particular construct or content (see Figure 1.2). The social consequences are the impact on an individual, school, or subject. Often these social consequences are unintended consequences as demonstrated by the latter two consequential examples above (or possibly on an academic field).

Acknowledging consequential validity in an assessment will not anticipate all potential effects; unintended consequences will arise in most assessments. Messick (1989) hypothesizes about the importance of designing a large-scale assessment while also recognizing the potential unintended consequences. He suggests that even if additional social consequences are inferred, these consequences do not negate the assessment if construct validity is established (Messick,

1985). Policymakers will make evaluative judgments based on their interpretations or uses of the assessment regardless of the intended purpose (Messick, 1989).

Table 1.1

Messick's Theory of Consequential Validity

	Test Interpretation	Test Use
Evidential Basis	Construct Validity	Construct Validity + Relevance / Utility
Consequential Basis	Construct Validity + Value Implications	Construct Validity + Relevance / Utility + Value Implications + Social Consequences

Note. Adapted from “Meaning and Values in Test Validation: The Science and Ethics of Assessment,” by S. Messick, 1989, *Educational Researcher*, 18(2), p. 10.

Consequential Validity Relation with Large-Scale Assessments

Large-scale assessments are a reality of today’s educational world, yet the evaluative judgements by policymakers are the potential problem in the accountability system. Wiseman (2010) explains that ambitious policymakers use assessment to make consequential interpretations about education (such as student learning, teacher quality, principal quality, etc.). Moreover, as policymakers seek to generalize their consequential interpretations, the social consequences contain value implications. These value implications begin to affect areas deemed important within education (Pederson, 2007). If implemented correctly, assessment researchers have theorized the positive aspects of large-scale assessment (Linn, 2008; Pellierrino, 2014; Shepard, 2008). These researchers reasoned that limiting the unintended consequences from assessments will align them with evidential interpretations and uses.

The plethora of measurement data permits opportunities to examine educational quality through different avenues of research. Yet, by emphasizing the assessment, policymakers have allowed the consequences of large-scale assessment to direct policy. Nichols, Glass, and Berliner

(2012) demonstrate a correlation between increasing consequences on state assessments and positive improvements on student achievement on the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP). In another study, Dee and Jacob (2011) have shown that reading scores remained flat when states had no repercussions from their state accountability system. Even though the impact of large-scale assessment suggests positive improvement, Madaus (1988) explained how curricular decisions are negatively influenced by high-stakes assessments. Regardless of unintended impacts, the data have implications upon the quality of education.

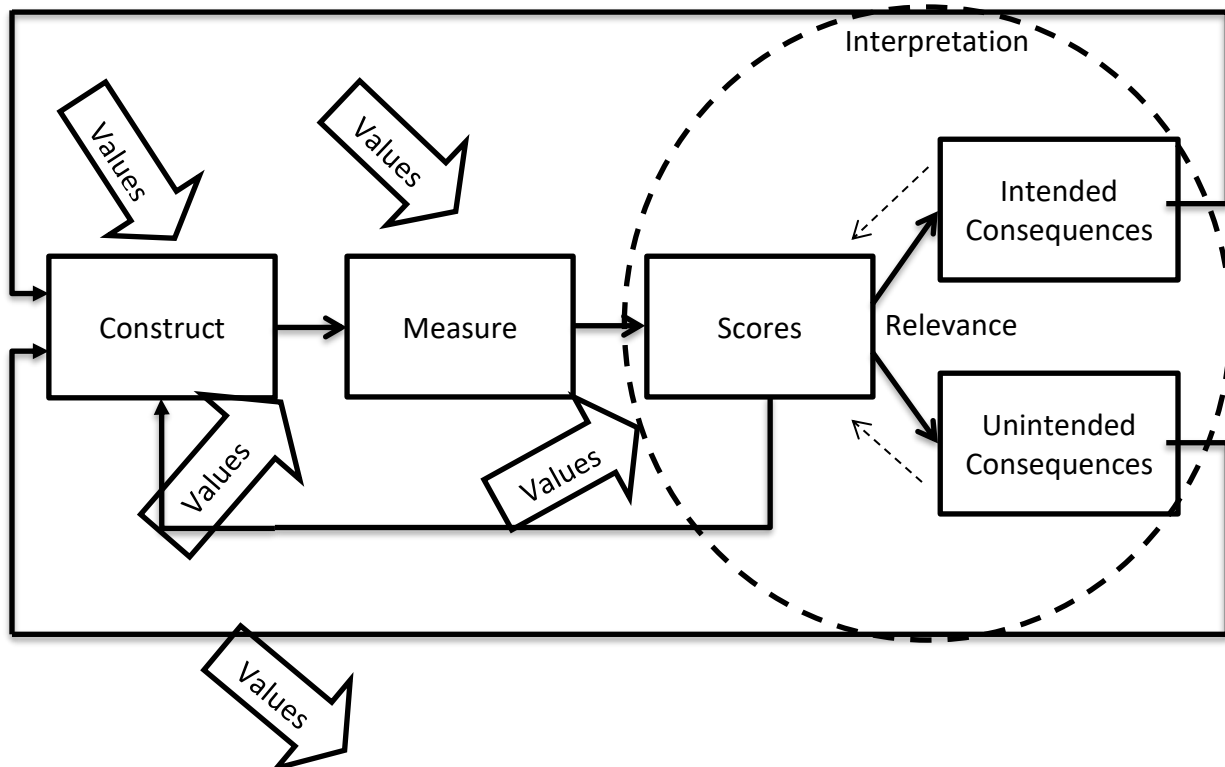


Figure 1.2. Visualization of Consequential Validity

When federal policymakers expanded the federal accountability system with the passage of No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB, 2002), they required measurements to demonstrate consistent improvement in the quality of American education. As part of NCLB, federal policymakers mandated state policymakers create standards in the four core subjects of mathematics, science, social studies, and language arts. By emphasizing these subjects, the

federal policymakers have increased the value placed upon those subjects. Accordingly, state policymakers expanded their state accountability system to comply with the federal mandate (Barbour, Evans, & Ritter, 2007; Brasof, 2012; Jordan, 2007).

However, the federal mandate only required measuring student learning based on the standards of mathematics, science, and language arts. Although social studies is part of the federal requirements for standards, federal policymakers did not require measurement of social studies or its disciplines. A consequence of the federal decision is that state policymakers are left with a quandary about the value of the field of social studies (Bain & Shreiner, 2005; Finn, 2003; Kidwell, 2005; Lobes, 1998; Robelen, 2010; Rutherford & Boehm, 2004; van Hover, Hicks, Stoddard, & Lisanti, 2010).

Examining Quality in Social Studies

While quality is difficult to discern in any content area, quality in social studies is particularly problematic. For example, in the late nineteenth century, book publishers created study guides to assist students in preparing for history exams. In one study guide, 232 practice history questions relied on general recitation of memorized historical facts apart from a single *why* question (Reese, 2013). In another study guide, 339 practice questions on general historical knowledge contained only five critical thinking questions (Reese, 2013). These study guides were considered quality curricular materials (Reese, 2013). Even though various committees acknowledged a desire for a different type of teaching (McLaughlin et al., 1898; National Educational Association, 1893), these high-quality materials relied upon the demonstration of factual content.

Unfortunately, pedagogical methods and attitudes regarding quality in social studies have changed very little over the intervening years (Wineburg, 2001). Rote memorization still

dominates pedagogical methods for teaching (VanSledright, 2011). The preponderance of rote memorization as a pedagogical methodology is connected to the numerous and diverse purposes of social studies. Consequently, developing a unified set of learning objectives is problematic as the purposes do not always agree or align with each other.

When state policymakers developed the mandated standards for history and civics, the results were further complicated by differing fundamental theories within its disciplines. Organizations like the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics tended to guide the development of mathematics standards (Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn, 1997). Social studies standards influenced by at least five different national organizations: National Council of History Education; Council of Economic Education; National Council for Geographic Education; Center for Civic Education; and National Council for the Social Studies. These national organizations agree on some aspects but often disagree on methods, content, and objectives of the standards. The lack of a clear consensus over the standards for social studies undermines the ability to determine the quality for the field.

Accountability Policies Impact on Social Studies

Since the passage of NCLB, social studies researchers have increased the exploration of techniques for evaluating quality within social studies (Barbour, Evans, & Ritter, 2007; Campbell, 2014; Fitchett & Heafner, 2013; House & Lawrence, 1990). Federal policymakers left decisions about evaluating the quality of social studies up to state policymakers. However, only half of the states included social studies as part of their statewide accountability policy (Grant, 2006b). Like the development of standards, these accountability policies varied depending on the states and varied among the evaluated social studies disciplines, grade levels, and consequences.

Social studies researchers debated what the impact of these accountability policies would be on the field (Denton & Sink, 2015; Gerwin & Visone, 2006; Heafner & Fitchett, 2012; Heafner, Lipscomb, & Rock, 2006; Phipps & Adler, 2003; Singer, 2014; Vogler, 2003, 2008; Yeager & van Hover, 2006). Some researchers demonstrated that teachers felt less restrictive in their curricular decisions when social studies policy was low accountability (Grant, 2007; Heafner & Fitchett, 2015; Hutton & Burstein, 2008; van Hover & Yeager, 2007). In fact, teachers believed that they had more curricular freedom to teach social studies in these states (Gerwin & Visone, 2006). However, in elementary grades, teachers felt compelled to spend more time on the tested subjects than on social studies (Pace, 2008; Zhao & Hoge, 2005). Likewise, secondary teachers explained how they were pressured to modify their curriculum to prepare students for tests in other subjects (Boyer, 2009; Misco, Patterson, & Doppen, 2011; Yeager & van Hover, 2006).

However, other researchers suggested that teachers would see a reduction of time and resources devoted to social studies because schools would place more focus on those tested subjects (Gerwin & Visone, 2006; McGuire, 2007; Rock et al., 2006). In higher accountability states, social studies teachers did not feel an overwhelmingly negative impact on their time and resources from a state test of social studies (Heafner, Lipscomb, & Rock, 2006; Heafner, et al., 2007; Vogler, 2008). Conversely, teachers in Massachusetts, which is a low accountability state, perceived an initial reduction in their instructional time to about half its previous level (Levinson, 2012).

Teacher perceptions regarding curricular decisions and resources are valid concerns; furthermore, these perceptions have contributed to a perception of marginalization—the belief that a person or group is perceived as less important in favor of someone or something

considered more valuable. Social studies researchers have long noted that other fields are valued more highly than social studies (Bleazby, 2015; Goodman & Adler, 1985; Gross, 1976; VanFossen, 2005). However, researchers attribute the recent devaluing trend to the importance placed on tested subjects over non-tested subjects (Bolick, Adams, & Willox, 2010; Pederson, 2007; Rock et al., 2006; VanFossen, 2005). Marginalization is a concern for teachers but the impact of marginalization upon student learning in social studies needs further investigation.

Measuring Quality in Social Studies

Without clear guidelines and given the perceived devaluation of social studies, measuring student learning in the field is problematic. Based on NCLB, federal policymakers placed some value on social studies while only requiring states to measure student learning of mathematics, language arts, and science, which is troublesome. Some state policymakers included social studies as part of their state accountability program (Grant, 2006b). Thus, these states have presumably placed value implications upon social studies by including it in their assessment policy.

Researchers can explore notions of quality using assessment data to understand the value implications based on policymakers' decisions. State policymakers value evidence based on their interpretations of large-scale assessment data, yet few recent studies explore these interpretations using social studies assessment data (Baker, 2009; Campbell, 2014; Fleming, 1977; Gaudelli, 2002; Heafner & Fitchett, 2015; Mueller & Colley, 2015; Reich, 2009; Saye et al., 2013). Researchers have corroborated many of the teacher's concerns regarding accountability policies (Doppen, Misco, & Patterson, 2008; Fitchett, Heafner, & Lambert, 2012; Misco, Patterson, & Doppen, 2011; Mueller & Colley, 2015). Perceptions of multiple purposes and marginalization are valid concerns that need to be explored. Nevertheless, researchers also need to examine the

quality of social studies. Assessment data provides researchers with evidence to understand the consequences and unintended consequences of testing upon student learning.

Using the Nation’s Report Card to Measure Quality in Social Studies

The National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) is the nation’s report card, which provides federal policymakers with data on general trends within education. These assessments are low-stakes tests with few social consequences and value implications for the stakeholders (Ha, 2006; Johnson, 1992; Messick, 1985; Stoneberg, 2007; Swanson & Stevenson, 2002). As a part of the administration of the assessment, three supplemental questionnaires are administered to students, teachers, and schools (see Appendix D, Teacher Questionnaire). These questionnaires are then linked with student scores on the NAEP assessments. The information available from these questionnaires provides insight into social backgrounds, academic influences, and local engagement’s influence upon student achievement (Podgursky, 2002; Thiessen, Magda, & Ho, 2010; White, 1994). Background questionnaires are an untapped resource of information for researchers to use for improving interpretations of assessments (Childs & Broomes, 2013).

The NAEP provides a snapshot of evidence that can fill in the gaps regarding the quality of social studies. Since the mid-1980s, the social studies NAEP has been administered regularly in the form of three separate discipline tests: U.S. History, Geography, and Civics. Director Carr (2015) reported that the purpose of the social studies NAEP assessments is to “measure students’ understanding of the origins and evolution of the nation [U.S. History]; their ability to seek and systematically apply the knowledge and skills of geography in life situations [Geography]; and their understanding of American government and the workings of a civil society [Civics]” (para.

2). This statement by Director Carr demonstrates potential areas of investigation in the notion of quality for social studies.

When examining the NAEP scores in conjunction with the questionnaires, researchers can explore the unintended consequences of policymakers' decisions on the field. For example, in an exploratory study using public-use data from the NAEP, a teacher's undergraduate minor was a better indicator of student achievement than a teacher's undergraduate major (Learn, 2012). The early study examines the preparation of teachers. The notion of teacher preparation is part of the criteria for determining whether a teacher is highly-qualified (Ballou & Podgursky, 2000; Clotfelter, Ladd, Vigdor, 2007, 2010; Cochran-Smith, 2002; Croninger, Rice, Rathburn, & Nishio, 2005; Darling-Hammond & Youngs, 2002; Duta, Tomoica, & Panisoara, 2015; Harris & Sass, 2007; Levin, 2004; Moore, 2004; Smith, Desimone, & Ueno, 2005; U.S. Department of Education, 2002; Wilson, Floden, & Ferrini-Mundy, 2001). The preparation of teachers with their undergraduate major and minor intersection is an example of how the NAEP data can inform policy. For this dissertation, the NAEP is used to examine the interaction between student achievement with teacher academic qualifications at the national level within the field of social studies.

Restricted-use NAEP Data

For the two chapters that used NAEP data, the Department of Education provides data about the NAEP in two methods. The first method is a public-access website that permits an examination of aggregated data on an array of information. The second method is a restricted-use database that researchers must apply and provide guarantees on the security of the data. For this study, the restricted-use database was used because limitations were found in an exploratory study using the public-access website. Additionally, the restricted-use data allows for

clarification of variables, student scores, survey variables, and further secondary analysis. For example, in an early study using public-use data led to one conclusion but after examining the various variables from the teacher questionnaire (see Appendix C), another variable appeared more statistically reliable evidence. This variable produced a different conclusion from the preliminary study.

To obtain restricted-use license, I followed the application process as required by National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). The first step is to make a formal request through the NCES's electronic licensee system as a research institution. NCES requires that a Principal Project Officer (PPO), a Senior Official (SO), and Systems Security Officer (SSO) be named in the electronic request. All senior positions must have a direct affiliation with the named institution. For this study, Brent Hill is both the PPO and SSO; the SO is a university official Joycelyn Lucke Love, Assistant Director of Business Development, NDSU Research and Creative Office.

Once approved as a potential licensee, a more detailed license application is filled out and signed by all principal officials (PPO, SO, and SSO). Additionally, the final application required justification for the needed reason for restricted-use data and a security plan for maintaining the data. In the security plan, details include information on the computer (which cannot be connected to the internet), how the data will be secured (room and building), and who has access to the room, computer, and data. Finally, individuals who will be accessing the data are required to have a notarized affidavit establishing their identity. The final application includes: a license application, justification for the data, security plan, and any affidavits.

The next step, after NCES approves the license, is accessing the data. When the data arrived at NDSU, NCES is again contacted to get a password to unencrypt the data. After

unencrypting the data, the data CD is locked away from the computer. If at any point there needs to be changes, NCES must approve any changes to location, security protocols, or individuals in the project.

Once analysis and results are written, the manuscript must be sent to NCES. The data from the manuscript cannot be disseminated to individuals that are not part of the license. The rationale is that NCES verifies that no identifiable information is within the manuscript. Additionally, even after the approval of NCES, any alterations to information regarding the data requires that NCES re-reviews the manuscript. Only after their final approval is the data safe to share with a public audience. In the case of these studies, final approval is needed prior to the dissertation defense.

This study utilizes the 2010 NAEP data for its analysis. Starting in 2006, the National Assessment Governing Board (NAGB) scheduled the U.S. History, Geography, and Civics assessments together on a four-year cycle (NCES, 2017). NAEP also gathers information about those individual students, their teachers (only fourth- and eighth-grade teachers, Appendix D), and their schools participating in that year's NAEP. In the 2006 cycle, NCES assessed fourth-, eighth-, and twelfth-graders on U.S. History and Civics; Geography was assessed in 2001. In 2010, NCES assessed fourth-, eighth-, and twelfth-graders on all three disciplines. In the most recent assessments (2014 and 2018), NAGB decided to only assess eighth grade in the three disciplines (NAGB, 2015). Interestingly, in the 2022 cycle, the NAGB plan to expand the assessment to again include twelfth grade as well as adding an Economics assessment for twelfth-graders only (NCES, 2017). Yet, for this study the 2010 NAEP was used due to the diversity of disciplines and multiple levels that were assessed.

Statement of Problem

Social studies is a field left behind in an age of accountability. While federal legislation mentions the field of social studies, most state policymakers choose to focus accountability of student learning on concepts other than students being culturally aware, civically competent, or socially responsible. The unintended consequence of minimalizing social studies is in opposition to the democratic goal of education: preparing individuals for their role in society.

Statement of Purpose

This study examines several issues related to determining quality in social studies through various approaches by exploring the roles of standards, value decisions by policymakers, and questions of teacher preparation. This dissertation will inform educators and policymakers about the state of social studies education in the preparation of society's stewards.

Organization of Dissertation

This three-artifact dissertation attempts to inform policymakers on the role of value in social studies standards, state assessment policy, and teacher preparation (See Table 1.2). Chapter two is a proposal for a book that examines the evolving nature of social studies standards. The other two artifacts, chapter three and four, are journal manuscripts that use restricted-use assessment data from the NAEP to examine notions of quality in social studies. Chapter three analyzes the notion of value decisions made by state policymakers towards social studies and its impact on student learning in social studies. Chapter four examines the notion of determining highly qualified teachers in social studies through various preparation paths. Detailed descriptions of each product are presented below. The final chapter endeavors to relate the three individual artifacts into a cohesive study.

Table 1.2

Artifacts in this Study

Artifact	Location	Format	Description
1	Ch. 2, App. A & B	Monograph Proposal	Monograph proposal on the development of social studies standards through current crises
2	Ch. 3	Journal Manuscript	Article that explores the notion of state policymakers' commitment to social studies using NAEP scores
3	Ch. 4, App. C, D, & E	Journal Manuscript	Article that explores the notion of highly qualified teachers' criteria in social studies using NAEP scores

Chapter Two - Standards in Social Studies

Standards are a set of guidelines for teachers to facilitate instruction of students in a consistent manner, presuming a certain level of quality. During the 1990s, federal policymakers funded the development of standards intending improvement in education by 2000. Marzano and Kendall (1998) examined the federally funded core subjects and determined students would be alarmingly required to be in school for 22 years to accomplish every standard and benchmark in only those subjects. An examination of only the social studies standards, which had five different groups generating standards, combined into a single document of over 1,300 pages (Evans, 2004). Since No Child Left Behind (2002), state policymakers are required to develop their own set of social studies standards, mostly from those 1,300 pages.

From the earliest discussions of curriculum to the arrival at Common Core, the field of social studies has struggled with the formation of unified standards. Several studies examine the early formation of social studies curriculum through the 1990s standard reforms. Since the standards reforms, social studies scholars have focused upon the unintended consequences of accountability and assessment policies upon the field, like a devaluation of the field. This artifact contends that many of the unintended consequences that plague the field stem from a paradigm

shift that occurred prior to the passage of NCLB. By examining the evolution of standards and controversies within social studies education, a more complete picture will be available to understand the current devaluing of the field.

Chapter Three - Social Studies within State Policy

Unlike other core subjects, state policymakers have more freedom regarding the inclusion of social studies within their state accountability systems. Only about half of the states assess social studies at some level as part of their state policy. The inclusion of social studies in their assessment policy indicates a level of commitment towards social studies as a subject. By testing the field, stakeholders can recognize the value placed on social studies (Pederson, 2007).

In 2010, the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) provided an opportunity for states to appraise student learning in three disciplines in social studies. About 30,000 students participated in each of the discipline assessments. Student achievement scores were then related to state accountability policy. If a state assessed social studies at some level in 2004 and 2014, this demonstrated a level of commitment towards social studies. The results indicate that students from non-tested states generally scored higher in fourth and eighth grades. However, students from tested states generally scored higher in twelfth grade.

In the current age of accountability, policymakers implemented state accountability systems to measure student learning (Devito & Koenig, 2001); in fact, most stakeholders focus on a single measurement: student scores on standardized tests. In the rationale underlying these assessments, some value interpretations are intended while others have unintended consequences. The social consequences of value decisions by state policymakers indicate an impact on the overall quality of social studies.

Chapter Four - Preparing Social Studies Educators

According to the Department of Education, a highly-qualified teacher is an individual with a university degree, state teaching certification, and a knowledge in the field in which they are teaching. Most teachers enter the profession from a traditional teacher preparation program at a university where they earn a bachelor's degree, apply for state certification, and pass a state content assessment. However, with the diversity of academic backgrounds of those entering the teaching profession, policymakers need to understand the interaction between these qualifications on student achievement.

As part of the background for the 2010 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), information was gathered about participants to understand the general trends within social studies education. This study utilizes the student scores in conjunction with the teacher background questionnaire. The examination explores various aspects of a teacher's academic background based on the federal definition of highly qualified teacher.

The results inform best practices for preparing social studies teachers as well as provide guidance concerning hiring practices for social studies positions. Additionally, this will further the conversation regarding the qualifications for teachers and their impact on student achievement.

Chapter Five - Social studies assessment: Closing the cycle

The key aspect to an assessment cycle is reflection and revision. These three artifacts help to inform policymakers about the state of social studies as well as possible implications for the future of the field. In chapter two, the standards of social studies have had a contentious evolutionary history that influences the overall value of the field and its disciplines within education. In third chapter, state policymakers have great influence in deciding the value of the

field by including it in their accountability process. The results of these decisions have mixed results on student learning for social studies. For local leaders who are charged with hiring highly qualified teachers for their students, chapter three shows that traditional assumptions about which inputs makes a highly qualified teacher reinforces their beliefs but there is new evidence about a teacher's academic concentration that should influence hiring practices. Assessment is a part of education, examining the unintended consequences of assessment is an important part of the reflection and revision of the assessment cycle that this scholarship addresses.

Scholarly Contribution

By examining social studies, this dissertation looks at several ways to examine notions of quality in education. By studying the evolution of standards, the second chapter will explore how standards have contributed to the problems of value for the field. In the next artifact, the problem of value in the field can be seen through the value implications created by state policymakers. Chapter four will address how state policymakers can improve the quality of teacher preparation for the field. Social studies quality can be explored using the evidence collected by state and federal departments of education.

As Biesta (2009) suggests, education is about the future and preparing students to “do something.” The purpose for social studies is about preparing students to be citizens, both at home and globally. Retired Justice Sandra Day O'Connor pointed out that most states do not include civics in their graduation requirements (Martinez, 2012). Furthermore, numerous groups bemoan the decline in civic engagement within society (Bernicker, 2016; Bluey, 2008; Coley & Sum, 2012; McDermott, 2015; Mirel, 2002). There is no *golden age* of civic engagement, yet social studies teaches the skills for students to do their civic duty. These skills include an

awareness to cultural differences, responsibilities as a citizen, and the ability to address societal problems. The impact of poor quality in social studies education could have far-reaching consequences on the way today's students become citizens who cannot perform those skills.

Glossary

Federal Timeline Terms

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) is a federal legislation initiative passed in 1965. President Johnson initiated the federal legislation to provide states with federal funds to address the education gaps within schools. This act also banned the notion of creating a federal standardized curriculum. Numerous educational programs and initiatives arose from ESEA.

National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) is the federal assessment since the passage of the ESEA. The first assessments were conducted in 1969 with the intention of monitoring the long-term trends in education. All assessment data is held by the National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES), which is part of the Institute of Educational Statistics (IES) within the Department of Education. Decisions about the framework, sample, and testing cycle are decided by the National Assessment Governing Board (NAGB). The U.S. History, Geography, and Civics are currently administered about every four years (2010, 2014, 2018, & 2022).

A Nation at Risk is the published findings of a blue-ribbon panel called by President Reagan to examine the state of education within the United States. Reagan's intention was to justify the elimination of the Department of Education; however, the conclusions of the panel decried the decline of education within America. The conclusions would lead to more federal funding and the beginning of more accountability for education.

Charlottesville Education Summit happened in 1989 between President George H.W. Bush and most governors to discuss education reform efforts. The summit acknowledged the need to develop national education goals (national standards). Many of the decisions would form the basis for the America 2000 proposal, including the development of national standards in the core subjects.

Goals 2000 is a series of federal initiatives to address the perceived fall in educational quality started in the 1980s. Started with President Bush's *America 2000* proposal, policymakers called for both national standards and assessments in mathematics, English, science, history, and geography. However, the national assessments were quickly defunded by the federal government. Centers were allocated funds to create standards, but soon after their announcement, other subjects received funding: foreign languages, civics, economics, and the arts. The two legislative pieces became Goals 2000: Educate America Act and Improve America's Schools Act (reauthorization of ESEA) as the legislative framework for the standards movement (Schwarz & Robinson, 2000). The national standards failed to be adopted in favor of voluntary national standards based on the various federal funded standards projects.

No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB, 2002) is the first major update to ESEA after numerous reauthorizations. One change includes the mandatory inclusion that of state-level adopted content standards for all subjects. The major shift is the state-level accountability system were required to include annual assessments of Reading, Mathematics, and Science (by 2008) in addition to other state-determined measurements. Finally, states needed to train all teachers to be "highly qualified."

“Highly Qualified” Teacher is the requirement that all newly hired teachers obtain a bachelor’s degree, state teacher certification (including passing a licensing examination), and demonstrate competence in the subject area that are instructing.

Common Core State Standards Initiative (commonly called Common Core) is state-led movement to implement minimum common standards through all states. A common assessment will be developed along the lines of the Common Core. Most states initially adopt the Common Core, but some back out upon the implementation of the common assessment. Partnership for Assessment of Readiness for College and Careers (PARCC) & Smarter Balanced Assessment Consortium (SBAC) are the two organizations tasked with creating common assessments that are aligned with the Common Core.

Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) is the federal reauthorization that updated NCLB in 2015. States are given more control over their notion of accountability for school performance.

Education Terms

Accountability is the belief that stakeholders (e.g., students, teachers, schools, or school districts) are responsible for improving student achievement and should be rewarded or sanctioned for their success or lack of.

Alternative Certification program is non-traditional pathway for teacher candidates to obtain certification or licensure. Typically, candidates must already hold an undergraduate degree in a content area. These programs include schools of education, school districts (e.g., New York City Fellows, Academy for Urban School Leadership-Chicago), Federal or state programs (e.g., Troops to Teachers, Arkansas Teacher Corps), and private organizations (e.g., Teach for America, TEACH-NOW). Additionally, emergency

(English Language Learners), or other high-need areas (Math or Science) provide other pathways in teaching.

Anthropology is a social science discipline that examines the unwritten record of humanity to understand the development of humanity and its interactions.

Archeology is a social science discipline that examines the geologic record to understand the development of humanity.

Certification is a state-issued license certifying that the teacher has completed the necessary basic training courses and passed the teacher exam. Teacher preparation programs recommend candidates for certification to the state. Traditionally, candidates are trained in schools of education at a college or university as part of their undergraduate program.

Civic Engagement is the idea that students are instructed in their role and responsibilities as citizens within society.

Civics is educating of individuals to understand their role in political system including their rights and duties.

Discipline is a specific content area of study. Some examples are history, geometry, biology, writing, and geography.

Economics is a social science discipline that examines how various forms of trading and financial decisions influence the interactions of humans.

Field is a general term for a school subject that includes several disciplines. Some examples are mathematics, science, social studies, and language arts.

Geography is a social science discipline that examines the interaction of humanity to its location, both physical and relative.

Government is a social science discipline that examines and explains how humanity functions within its organized political decisions.

History is a humanities discipline that examines the “written” and “unwritten” record of the evolution of humanity.

Large-Scale Assessment is the state-level or federal-level tests that measure progress towards content standards.

Pedagogical Content Knowledge (PCK) is a concept formulated by Shulman (1987) that suggests that successful teaching is developed by the effective blending of teachers use of knowledge from both pedagogy (student learning) and content (subject matter). Evidence supports the idea of blending as an effective best practice; yet attaining PCK by teachers is not as easily delineated.

Psychology is a social science discipline that examines how human behavior influences society.

Social Studies is a field that consists of the humanities and social science disciplines of history, government, anthropology, economics, geography, archeology, sociology, and psychology. The field is united together by creating an understanding of culture and society for the purpose of civic engagement.

Sociology is a social science discipline that examines how various groups interact within their institutions.

Standards describe content and skills that students should know and be able to do in each subject at each grade level.

STEM & STEAM are the terms used to describe the educational focus of schools in order to be career ready. These terms respectively refer to Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math or Science, Technology, Engineering, Arts, and Math.

CHAPTER 2: A 120 YEAR EXPERIMENT: THE STANDARDS OF SOCIAL STUDIES

Social studies is a field in crisis. Many social studies educators feel the field reached its apex with the development of the National Standards for History in the 1990s. Starting when the National Standards derailed the standards movement, social studies teachers believe that their subject is being squeezed out of the public school curriculum (Barton, 2009; Kaladis, 2013; Phipps & Adler, 2003). Teachers often refer to this perceived squeeze in terms of resources and instructional time as the *marginalization of social studies* (Burroughs, Groce, & Webeck, 2005; Fitchett, Heafner, & Lambert, 2012; Misco, Patterson, & Doppen, 2011). Teachers and researchers both blame the recent crisis on the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB, 2002) Act and/or standardized tests (Pace, 2011; Pederson, 2007; Rock et al., 2006; Schroeder, 2007). My research contends that blame for the marginalization of social studies does not rest entirely on NCLB or standardized tests. In fact, the development of the field of social studies has played a larger role in establishing the current crisis. This monograph is an examination of the unintended consequences of creating an integrated school field while implementing several conflicting visions for the field.

In *Educational Wastelands*, Professor of History Arthur Bestor (2016/1953) called social studies the “social stew” of education (p. 46). Bestor believed that social studies did not have a purpose in the curriculum. The arguments regarding the definition of social studies predated Bestor’s comments and still plague the field today. Social studies is a blending of various disciplines with the intention of training students to be citizens in the community, nation, and world. These disciplines include the social sciences of history, government, sociology, geography, anthropology, economics, psychology, and archeology. The unity within the field is

the belief that its teachers should train students to be those citizens, yet how to train them is often the cause of struggles among advocates.

This monograph not only retells the development of social studies standards until the mid-1990s, but also continues the narrative beyond where most scholars end. Past scholarship details the evolution of social studies with emphasis on the conflicts between historians and social studies advocates (Herzberg, 1981; Hunt & Metcalf, 1968; Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn, 1997; Saxe, 1991). By making these conflicts the focal point of the narrative, the history of social studies standards generally culminates in the mid-1990s (Evans, 2004; Symcox, 2002; Zimmerman, 2005). Those struggles are an important factor in the development of standards, but other historical aspects of the narrative do influence today's discussion. Moreover, this paradigm of struggles does not address the continuing story of social studies in the aftermath of the failure of the National Standards for History.

Through my exploration of factors that have contributed to the decline in social studies in recent years, I contend that the division of social studies into its separate social science disciplines during the struggle to develop National Standards has had unintended consequences. Various groups, like the Bradley Commission (1989), attempted to promote the interests of a specific discipline (history) to the detriment of the social studies field. Their criticism of social studies was that its nature did not properly instruct students in specific disciplines. Additionally, these critics claimed that the field of social studies was not achieving its stated purpose: civic education. I maintain that the constantly changing notions of citizenship have convoluted the purpose of social studies and further contributed to the disunity in the field.

As a result of this disunity, educators and policymakers began to question why thin resources should be dedicated to the social studies curriculum. By devaluing the field of social

studies in order to promote the disciplines, these advocates inadvertently devalued the social studies field's disciplines themselves. Likewise, social studies and its various constituent disciplines have been marginalized because policymakers lack a clear vision of the field's purpose and value in education.

Audience

The target audience for this monograph consists of all stakeholders with a vested interest in the social sciences with public education. My monograph addresses a segment of the narrative for these stakeholders about the origins of the current marginalization crisis and offers a fresh perspective on the state of the field. With these connections, social studies educators can articulate a more coherent rationale to bring social studies back from the margins. Readers of my monograph will get a synthesized examination of the development of social studies which places the field within the context of the evolving nature of the changing notions of citizenship. Furthermore, the readers will get an analysis of the consequences of the National Standards for History upon the field of social studies.

Various academic and teaching associations that are connected to social studies stand to benefit from a new examination into the current crisis. Potential beneficiaries include academic organizations like the American Historical Association, Organization of American History, World History Association, American Political Science Association, National Geographic Society, and American Association of Geographers; social studies teacher organizations like the National Council for History Education, Organization of History Teachers, Council for Economic Education, Center for Civic Education, National Alliance for Civic Education, Campaign for the Civic Mission of Schools, National Council for Geographic Education, as well

as the National Council of Social Studies which could also benefit from a new understanding of how this marginalization crisis has arisen.

Another target group outside the traditional academic circles would be civic education advocates. Former Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, a board member of iCivics, stressed that teachers "need a focus, a requirement, a concern" for the integration of civic education in social studies (Heffner, 2012). These civic advocacy groups, like iCivics, would be interested in the connections in the monograph between notions of citizenship and social studies. This connection is an assumption but the competing notions of citizenship and its impact on social studies is a new perspective. The readers should understand the connection between the struggles to develop social studies and the struggles to infuse civics into the curriculum.

Scope of the Monograph

This monograph examines how the disagreements over the evolution of social studies education have impacted the field. As questions of quality in schools emerged in the 1980s, a renewed series of disagreements over the evolution of social studies education and its place within the curriculum took place. In Education/History Professor Hazel W. Hertzberg's (1981) monograph *Social Studies Reform, 1880-1980*, she suggested that social studies, an amalgamation of several disciplines under a single umbrella, destroyed the unified curriculum of history education. Hertzberg and her Bradley Commission colleagues advocated for a more discipline-focused approach to teaching the social sciences with an emphasis upon teaching history over other disciplines. In a history-discipline focus curriculum, teachers would be better equipped to educate historically-minded citizens.

On the other side of the debate, Professor of Education David Warren Saxe (1991) argued in his book, *Social Studies in Schools*, that social studies was an outgrowth of a trend within the

social sciences to create a more unified field. In Saxe's schema, neither history nor any other discipline was intended to be privileged within social studies. Blending all the social sciences was poised to accomplish the goal of educating citizens who are trained to critically analyze and address complex societal issues.

Whether Hertzberg's or Saxe's views are correct, the disagreements over social studies education have been dramatic. In both arguments, the goal of social studies is to educate students to be citizens; however, their visions of citizenship conflict. In this monograph, I incorporate the multiple notions of citizenship into the discussion on the evolution of social studies. The definition of citizenship is a changing concept that connects with the politicization of social studies over its development.

Historians, politicians, educators, social scientists, and parents all have competing ideas about citizenship which is at the very foundation of the origins of the field. The perception of the debate centers on issues of content and skills, but in actuality the debate is about how to determine *good* citizenship. Education Professor Keith Barton (2012) claimed current political ideology has fueled this debate in recent years; the political ideologies can be examined within questions about civic education.

The Traditionalists and the Developmentalists provide two contrasting views about citizenships. Traditionalists (e.g., Education Professor Diane Ravitch, Former Assistant Secretary of Education and Professor Chester A. Finn, Historian Allen Nevins) feel that historical content is the best way to teach citizenship. Further, the historical focus should create a shared narrative among Americans that is viewed as critical to citizenship. This group often claims that social studies usurped the traditional role of history in the curriculum. Developmentalists (e.g., Education Professor George Counts, Saxe, Social Studies Education Professor Bruce

VanSledright) tend to focus on determining the skills needed to be a *good* citizen and infusing them into the curriculum. This group is often concerned over the role of education in society and on elementary students. They want to educate students to think critically about questions of citizenship in order to become *good* citizens.

Within the last two decades, the field of social studies has transformed from a struggle over curricular content to a discipline left behind in the schools (Hutton & Burstein, 2008; Linenthal & Engelhardt, 1996; Taylor & Guyver, 2012). I maintain that these disagreements within the field over the organization of social studies in the 1980s and 1990s have had significant consequences. The disagreements influenced the entire National Standards for History process and negatively impacted the role of social studies within schools through today's debates. Since the National Standards, the narrative of social studies in the schools has been a collection of disjointed examples. This monograph attempts to unite the disjointed examples of the unintended consequences from the various cultural wars into a more unified analysis of the state of social studies.

Framing Around Recent Literature

A quick examination of the most recent scholarship (Evans, 2004; Symcox, 2002; Zimmerman, 2005) reveals that current scholars tend to focus the historical narrative towards the development of social studies, especially in the early decades of the twentieth century. Education Professors Ronald W. Evans, Linda Symcox, and Jonathan Zimmerman examine the development of social studies in slightly different ways. In *The Social Studies Wars*, Evans' (2004) interest is in the development of a social studies curriculum following the 1916 Final Report of the Committee on the Social Studies through to its zenith in the National Standards for History. Symcox's (2002) book, *Whose History? The Struggle for National Standards in*

American Classrooms, focuses on the political climate that influenced the development and failure of the National Standards for History. Finally, Zimmerman's (2005) book, *Whose America? Culture Wars in the Public Schools*, defines the evolution of social studies around the notion of a continual conflict in which various stakeholders struggle to control the curriculum with the National Standards for History as the final conflict.

Each of these books contributes to the understanding of the field between the evolution of social studies and the failure of the National Standards for History. Yet, the failure to adopt the National Standards for History represents the culminating event in each. Even if this event is the culmination of social studies, can educators assume that the standards' development has had a positive impact on the field? These authors tend to indicate National Standards for History is the logical conclusion of events that started in 1890s.

This monograph is more critical of the consequences of the National Standards for History as it contributes to the current state of the field. It examines the historical impact of the disunity of social studies as a field as it influences recent educational reforms. In the time since the standards failure, social studies disputes are discussed in isolation from one another. Controversies like the inclusion of Hindu material in California textbooks or the revision of Texas social studies standards are not viewed as part of an interconnected problem for the national field.

At a national level, social studies does appear in some educational reform conflicts. In the latest attempts at national standards, the states have developed the Common Core. However, the Common Core's leadership discontinued their support for their civics standards. Another national controversy has been the recent conflict over the adoption of new Advanced Placement U.S. History framework. Partisans claimed that the framework favored minorities and ignored

traditional history. Both these examples have demonstrated some of the underlying issues confronting social studies standards. Standards are well established in most other core subjects, yet social studies suffers from a disunity that affects its own value within education as well as the value of its various disciplines.

An Outline of the Sections

The book monograph is divided into four sections: the challenges of establishing social studies as a field, aspects of the developing curricular material, discords within the field, and issues of disunity for the field. As a foundation, the first chapter discusses the purpose of social studies standards. The next chapter flows from the introduction as it looks at the critical element of social studies—the concepts of citizenship (See Appendix A). The Madison Conference and the AHA’s Committee of Seven believed that citizenship was at the heart of their curriculum; however, the American ideal of citizenship was changing dramatically during this time period. An examination of the debates about citizenship helps to frame the NEA Committee on the Social Studies of the 1910s.

Section One

This section examines the foundation of social studies in the late nineteenth century through the early twentieth century (See Appendix B). The first chapter within this section starts earlier than most traditional narratives by exploring the evolving disciplines within the social sciences. In the late nineteenth century, social scientists thought in more general conceptions than today’s specialized disciplines. As these early social scientists met to create the first curriculum in Madison, WI, they established a curriculum that utilized their understanding of the social sciences. The Madison Conference justified the inclusion of the social sciences under the easily identified discipline of history for the high school curriculum.

Over the next twenty years, the American Historical Association (AHA) attempted to modify and streamline the Madison Conference's curricular recommendations. Thus, this chapter focuses on the role that historians play in developing the organization of social studies, with particular attention paid to the Committee of Seven. These committees, as well as the Madison Conference, were intent on improving the curricular methods of *history* teachers, particularly regarding the overuse of recitation. These committees' reports provide insight into the purposes of each of these meetings as well as the pedagogical and philosophical changes that each represented.

In the final chapter for this section, I discuss the transition from university-led social scientists and historians guiding the reform efforts to more education-minded individuals guiding the reform efforts. This transition coincides with the general rise of progressivism within America, as well as the educational philosophy of John Dewey. Consequently, the intended purpose of social studies is more closely aligned with an evolving definition of an increasing citizenship. The Committee on the Social Studies provides the last major organizational curriculum for social studies at the national level for 80 years. Additionally, this Committee worked on developing a curriculum for the general population over only college-bound students. By 1920, none of these curricular recommendations or organizations dominated the social studies curriculum, yet these various views lay the foundation for future disagreements.

Section Two

In Section Two, I examine how social studies finally filtered down into the schools as well as the public reaction to the new curriculum. Educators infused various notions of citizenship into the curriculum, especially the idea of social meliorism. Professional teacher associations formed to guide teachers into implementing the new social studies curriculum. In

the 1920s, Harold Rugg produced a textbook series based on the new social studies curriculum, including a blueprint for the new capstone course, *Problems of Democracy*. This chapter examines how the new social studies curriculum was finally operationalized.

The next chapter examines the AHA attempt to limit the influence of social studies and the social meliorism. Instead of tempering the influence, their Commission on Social Studies expanded social meliorism by infusing progressive education thought into its recommendation for curriculum under George Counts, an ideological theorist who guided curricular discussions for the Commission on Social Studies. Counts advocated for the development of an entire school curriculum with social studies at its heart. The implications of the Commission on Social Studies are long lasting on the field as university historians removed themselves from curricular conversations.

Moving into the following chapter, the narrative examines some of the first public battles over the social studies curriculum. These early disagreements included fights about structuring textbooks, the focus of content, and whether social studies should include a social justice component. A push towards more traditional conceptualizations of social studies imprinted itself on the curriculum. This traditional conceptualization also included a more assimilation philosophy towards creating citizens.

In this Section's final chapter, I examine the rise of the "New Social Studies" movement. By the late 1950s, the expanding influence of the social sciences once again infused a more progressive philosophy into the social studies curriculum. The "New Social Studies" movement eventually transformed into another social meliorism movement that shared similarities to the 1930s curricular reforms. The evolution of a more interdisciplinary approach to social studies can be dated to this time period.

Section Three

This section examines the rise and implications of discipline education within social studies, beginning with a backlash against the more interdisciplinary approaches of various “New Social Studies” projects. Some of these interdisciplinary approaches infused a social justice or social meliorism philosophy into the curriculum. The project most closely associated with social meliorism was the popular Harvard social studies project textbook series, *Man: A Course of Study (MACOS)*. Challenges from more traditional political groups led to a Congressional investigation into the use of funds in the *MACOS*’ development. This investigation not only stopped funding for social studies projects, but also for all educational projects. Finally, the “New Social Studies” movement became a critical piece in the disunity for the field of social studies.

The next chapter explores the aftermath of the *MACOS* controversy as education became more politicized. Education debates became more public and political among university intellectuals and policymakers thereby creating a political tool for stakeholders following the publication of *A Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983). In the crisis following *A Nation at Risk*’s publication, social studies was attacked from various sides for not *correctly* preparing students for their roles as citizens. Discipline advocates argued that social studies had corrupted America’s youth, and that a return to a *golden age* where disciplines controlled the curriculum would better prepare students to be *good* citizens.

In the final chapter of this Section, the efforts of discipline advocates culminate with the development of the National Standards for History. Unfortunately, political factions led the subsequent demolition of those same history standards due to their differing opinions about the standards’ purposes. In order to promote history over social studies, discipline advocates had to

devalue the field of social studies within the curriculum. At the time, social studies seemed an easy scapegoat for the lack of historical and civic duty knowledge among discipline advocates. The cultural war that claimed the National Standards for History as a victim should be viewed as part of a continuing narrative, not as the end.

Section Four

This final Section examines the educational reform efforts since National Standards for History. The first chapter in the Section looks at the impact of national reform efforts, particularly No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB), the Common Core, and Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA). A by-product of these reform efforts is an increase attention on accountability system for learning. Even though social studies is part of the federal reforms, the federal mandate on accountability does not include social studies. At the next level, states policymakers vary on their decisions to include social studies within the state accountability system. Only about half of the states include social studies in their state assessment system (Grant & Horn, 2006). At the student and teacher level, these stakeholders are left with questions about the value of social studies within the curriculum. An examination of the recent literature describes this perceived devaluation of social studies as marginalization.

The next chapter discusses the local, state, and national controversies that abound in social studies as they have historically, yet few observers see connections among the various controversies. The politicization of social studies has opened the field to attacks from both the right and the left, which means, many of them are examined in isolation from one another. Arguments over state standards in Texas or issues related to the teaching of Hinduism in California are part of the bigger issue with the disunity of the field of social studies. Boston

provides a case study of some of the issues that local districts face with regards to social studies, including the notion of marginalization, development of standards, and questions of valuation.

For the final chapter, I return to the national level. I examine how accountability and these *isolated* controversies connect to the struggles between the discipline and field advocates with the larger question of marginalization. Also, how citizenship education contributes to the disunity within the field. Politics plays an important role in shaping or reshaping curriculum as in the recent case of the AP U.S. History standards. And finally, citizenship is considered a valued part of education, but it is not more valued than STEM courses. So, unless social studies advocates act, the social studies experiment may soon come to an end as there is no value in teaching it. This perceived lack of value is an unintended consequence of the political debates over the origins of social studies, as well as subsequent disagreements within the field.

Monograph Specifics

Author: Michael Learn

Length: about 55,000 words

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Additional Items

For this monograph proposal, two additional items are needed. The first is the inclusion of my resume which I have not included in this work. The second is a sample chapter. Appendix

A is the sample chapter. Additionally, Appendix B is a current draft of the entire monograph (excluding the sample chapter which is Appendix A). Information regarding IAP publisher is listed below.

The proposal should be emailed to (proposals@infoagepub.com) or mailed to:

IAP

c/o George Johnson

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Conclusion

Going forward, social studies has suffered from the actions taken by individuals who believed that they were doing what they felt was necessary to develop better citizens. Social studies educators are threatened with being marginalized, yet most educators do not understand why it has happened or how to fix it. Former Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor can call for more civics education, but social studies is being left behind. The fact that social studies is not tested is part of the explanation. Pederson (2007) noted that the trend of states testing social studies was decreasing following NCLB, whereas states were increasing their assessment in science and writing even though they were not part of the initial accountability mandate. However, ignoring Justice O'Connor highlights a serious disconnect in the continually fracturing field. Social studies educators must examine those disconnects and cohesively unite in a single voice to restore the field to a place in the curriculum. This book is a step in that process.

CHAPTER 3: THE UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCES OF ACCOUNTABILITY POLICIES ON SOCIAL STUDIES

A quick examination of education-related headlines in any given week reveals the concern that the American education system is in a state of crisis. These concerns rely on a notion that a *golden age* of education existed in America that produced smarter students than we see today. Data to support this contention can be readily found in various sources, including test scores. While the notion of a *golden age* of education is a myth (Berliner & Biddle, 1995; Berliner & Glass, 2014; Halvorsen, 2012; Lee & Howson, 2009), policymakers are compelled to address the perceived failings of American public school systems.

Policymakers' attempt to address the apparent failings of the American educational system are viewed through the achievement gap (Harris & Herrington, 2006), which is the educational disparity between various student categories, particularly among minority students. To address these numerous gaps, the government increased monetary contributions into schools starting in the 1960s. Following the national publication of *A Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983), federal education policymakers requested evidence from states that these federal funds were narrowing the achievement gaps (Vinovskis, 2003). By 2001, the federal government mandated that states education agencies demonstrate that all students were making adequate yearly progress (AYP) in order to receive federal educational grants. This is part of the federal government-based accountability system intended to address the failings of the American education system (Wagner, 1989).

Large-scale assessments are policymaker's popular form of evidence-gathering tool (Au, 2010; Madaus, & Russell, 2010). The implementation of standardized tests is an inexpensive mechanism for control by policymakers (Linn, 1998). Most tests are used to track student

learning; this purpose is an intended use. Align the assessments with state developed standards and the state education agencies control the state curriculum (Linn, 1998). The policymakers make decisions about which aspects of the curriculum are essential based on what they value in their accountability system. By demonstrating their learning of the state-approved curriculum, students fulfill the purported goal of these assessments.

These same assessments are used in ways other than their intended purposes in the government-based accountability system (Harris & Herrington, 2006). Stakeholders use these assessments to make value implications which are an unintended consequence of testing (Messick, 1989). Understanding the unintended consequences is an important consideration when making decisions based on this testing evidence. Controlling for the unintended consequences is extremely difficult due to the value implications within the design of any high-stakes assessment (Biesta, 2010).

The inclusion of certain subjects is a value implication of the accountability system (Levinson, 2012); the exclusion from accountability creates consequences over the value of those excluded subjects. State education agencies must track language arts, mathematics, and science as part of the value directive from the federal government. Each state government places an unintended value on whether include the other excluded school subjects. Social studies rests somewhere in-between the assessed subjects and the non-assessed subjects. About half the state governments assess social studies (Jennings, & Sohn, 2014), the unintended consequences of these decisions represent part of the dilemma facing social studies today (Grant & Salinas, 2008; Schul, 2011).

The consequential validity of accountability for the field of social studies raises the question about the value of social studies as a core subject in America's schools. Social studies

researchers' concern over the value of the subject is expressed in their arguments about marginalization of the field due to testing. Given that some states include social studies as part of their state accountability system, marginalization is not a uniform policy. The unique situation of social studies allows researchers to use student testing data to determine whether the value towards a subject influence student learning.

Accountability Policy at the Federal Level

Concern over accountability arose in concert with the widening achievement gap in public schools. Federal, state, and local policymakers understand the use of accountability differently (Brewer, Knoepfel, & Lindle, 2015). At the federal level, the use of accountability is associated with the ways states and districts utilize federal funds to address their major educational gaps (McDonnell, 2013). At the state level, policymakers use accountability to justify the need for federal educational funds, but state policymakers also use accountability to impose *de facto* control upon districts and schools for politically-approved curricula (McDermott, 2007). At the local level, policymakers use accountability to hold individuals responsible for student learning as well as justification for additional funds (Leithwood, Steinbach, & Jantzi, 2002).

The rise of accountability at the federal level is a recent trend. Within years of the *Nation at Risk*, a series of national bi-partisan efforts led to the passage of a wave of educational legislation designed to increase the level of student learning (Vinovskis, 2015). In the Charlottesville 1989 education summit, President George H.W. Bush and state governors adopted Education Goals 2000 as the foundation for generating a nationally controlled curriculum (Vinovskis, 1999).

These federal initiatives included the development of national standards for public education (Fuhrman, 2003; Fuhrman & Lazerson, 2005). The National Endowment of the Arts tasked and funded national committees to formulate standards in mathematics, science, language arts, history, and geography (Bush, *America 2000*, 1991). Eventually, Congress authorized the expansion of standards to include foreign languages, civics, economics, and the arts (*Goals 2000: Educate America Act*, 1994). Yet, politically-driven arguments about the content of National Standards for History led to a temporary end to impose federal accountability via the standardization of the curriculum (Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn, 1997).

The term *accountability* became a notion associated with non-local attempts to control the curricular decision-making process (Brewer, Knoeppel, & Lindle, 2015). President George W. Bush attempted to address the belief that American students were falling behind their global contemporaries (Berliner & Glass, 2014). President Bush, with bi-partisan congressional support, reauthorized the *Elementary and Secondary Education Act* in 2002, renaming it the *No Child Left Behind Act* (NCLB, 2002) and further expanding the idea of accountability. Instead of forcing a federal accountability policy upon each school, NCLB required states to establish state standards for all subjects. This move relinquished federal accountability and oversight to state education agencies to control the accountability policy. Federal policymakers still wanted a mechanism to visualize student improvement from schools' use of federal funds, but they relied upon state education agencies to control accountability and justify the need for federal funds.

In addition to standards, the federal accountability system sought ways to see measurable evidence on student achievement for the standards through assessments. Included in *America 2000* initiative, policymakers proposed a national assessment in conjunction to the development of national standards. Political concerns over the direction of federal oversight through the

creation of a federal testing policy led to the derailment of *America 2000* legislation (Schwartz & Robinson, 2000). A few years later when national standards re-emerged in the *Goals 2000* (1994) legislation, federal assessments were eliminated from consideration due to their political violability (Schwartz & Robinson, 2000).

As already seen with national standards, federal policy towards assessment shifted with the passage of NCLB. Instead a federal assessment as evidence, the federal government demanded states prove student improvement within their accountability system. The states were required to track student achievement in reading and mathematics beginning in 2004 (NCLB, 2002). By 2008, states needed to track student achievement in science. Thus, federal accountability did not prescribe an assessment but required that states demonstrate student learning was improving (Dee & Jacob, 2011). The state education agencies were provided with some guidelines, but they also received some flexibility on the development of their own accountability policy.

Social Studies at the Federal Level

The field of social studies is in a unique position within the federal government-based accountability system. The NCLB (2002) legislation necessitates that states possess standards for the core subjects of language arts, mathematics, science, history, civics, and economics. Social studies is included as a core subject but not as a single field. States must also track student improvement in mathematics, language arts, and science (Pederson, 2007). Social studies and its disciplines were left out of the federal mandated policy concerning tracking. Thus, the federal government permitted states to make their own decisions regarding social studies accountability.

Consistent with this approach, federal policymakers also developed different National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) strategies for social studies compared to the three

core subjects. The NAEP is a low-stakes assessment that the federal government uses to track general trends in education, its results are also called the Nation's Report Card. Thus, the National Assessment Governing Board (NAGB) established grade level single subject NAEP frameworks for mathematics, language arts, and science and scheduled the mathematics and reading assessments for every other year. The current schedule for social studies is about every four years. Likewise, the NAGB divided the social studies framework from a single field into some of the field's component disciplines. In 2006, NCES administered U.S. History, Civics, and Economics assessments; Geography having been administered in 2001. In the recent assessment cycles of the NAEP social studies—2010, 2014, and 2018—the NAEP consisted of the three disciplines tests: U.S. History, Geography, and Civics (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], n.d.). Eventually, NAGB plans to include Economics in the social studies cycle but the first scheduled assessment is not until 2022; Economics last assessed in 2012.

Recent decisions at the national level provide further insight into the value of social studies. The NAGB discontinued the fourth- and twelfth-grade testing of U.S. History, Geography, and Civics starting in 2014 (Driscoll, 2013; Evers, 2014). According to the NAGB, the decision to curtail social studies is due to budgetary considerations. At the same time, however, they implemented a new STEM assessment in technology (Driscoll, 2013). The NAGB states that social studies is important, but they also hint at a further possible reduction of social studies in favor of sending resources to monitor other areas needed for global competitiveness (Bain, 2004; Driscoll, 2013). However, in 2022 cycle, NAGB anticipate assessing eighth and twelfth-graders in the three previous assessed disciplines and only twelfth-graders in economics. The federal accountability policy is not providing a clear message about their attitude towards the value of social studies.

Accountability Policy at the State Level

Attempts at statewide accountability predate the efforts of the federal government. State education agencies started using assessments to understand the general learning trends within their state (Gipps, 1994). To achieve this understanding, some states implemented norm-referenced assessments for all students (Gipps, 1994). Led by California and New York in the 1970s, state education agencies decided to switch from norm-referenced to formative assessments to evaluate the basic competency of high school students (Grant, 2006a). States provided schools with guidelines for the minimum requirements that the state deemed essential for graduation. The influence of state policymakers was limited to the development of these guidelines and tests to track the general trends within the state education system. State education agencies continued to alter the purposes and uses of these state assessments in attempts to exert more influence over educational trends (Brewer, Knoeppel, & Lindle, 2015; Dorn, 2014).

The passage of NCLB altered the limited influence of state control over accountability and, by the time it was passed, many state education agencies already possessed general standards in most content and grade levels (Hamilton, Stecher, & Yuan, 2008). Having standards was only part of the requirement for states to receive federal education funds. State education agencies had to demonstrate that schools were making “adequate yearly progress” (AYP), or state goals for student learning of the standards (McDonnell, 2013). To demonstrate progress, students had to pass the state assessment.

Attaching stakes to an assessment is an important way to increase pressure in the accountability system. Nichols, Glass, and Berliner (2012) note that increasing state accountability pressure generally correlated to positive improvements in student achievement on the NAEP. Furthermore, reading scores remained flat when states had no repercussions from the

state accountability system (Dee & Jacob, 2009). Nonetheless, federal policymakers increased the pressure on state education agencies by requiring that all students had to pass the state-designed assessment in mathematics, reading, and science (Goertz & Duffy, 2003). The reliance on assessment is one of the controversial aspects of NCLB.

This form of accountability shows student improvement but relying on state assessments as the primary tool might create unintended consequences. Linn (1998) argues that adding stakes to an assessment is an inexpensive way for state policymakers to control the curriculum but not the classroom. According to Pedulla et al. (2003), a general study of the impact of state assessments upon teachers found that as stakes increased teachers would use the test to make curricular decisions. In decreased stakes, teachers relied on the standards to guide curricular decisions. In either case, the accountability structure afforded state education agencies the ability to influence curricular decisions.

As with accountability pressure, the level of commitment towards education as determined by state policy has been explored. Carnoy and Loeb (2002) examine whether a state's level of commitment, as defined in their accountability policy, affects student performance on the NAEP Mathematics. In establishing accountability strength prior to NCLB, the researchers use the following criteria: state level testing, interpretations of the testing (reporting), and repercussions of the accountability policy. Of these criteria, the interpretations and repercussions are central to a state's accountability system. Even though the interpretations should be based on the assessment's intended purpose, the findings indicate that the repercussions often occur because of interpretations on the perceived goals of the state education agenda.

Social Studies at the State Level

All state standards must include social studies. Some states introduced standards prior to the federal mandate. NCLB (2002) mandated the creation of state standards for history, civics, and economics. Stern and Stern (2011) note that 45 states revised their history standards between 2003 and 2010. Further examination of state education agencies websites in 2014 found that 19 states revised their social studies standards between 2011 and 2014. The reexamination of standards in social studies is an example of a state's commitment to the field (Manna, 2006).

NCLB neither extended to the tracking of student progress in those disciplines nor did it include the tracking of student achievement in the entire field of social studies. Thus, state education agencies controlled whether social studies should be part of their state accountability policy (Grant & Horn, 2006). A state's decision to include social studies in its accountability policy displays a further commitment towards the field and provides more control at the state level (Manna, 2006). Nevertheless, this ambiguity between tested and not tested allows for an examination into a state's level of commitment based on their state's accountability decision about social studies.

In any given year, roughly half the states assess social studies at some level or form (Grant & Horn, 2006). For example, social studies assessments peaked in 1998 with 30 states testing elementary grades (O'Connor, Heafner, & Groce, 2007); however, only 12 states administered elementary social studies assessments in 2012 (Fitchett, Heafner, & Lambert, 2012). Grant & Horn (2006) identify 23 states assessing social studies at some level during the 2003-4 academic year. In an examination of the state education agencies' website in 2014, 24 states assessed social studies as part of their state testing policy (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1

Social Studies is included in State Assessment Policy in 2004 and/or 2014

Not Tested (NT)	Tested Once (TO)	Tested Twice (TT)
Alaska ^a	Alabama	California
Arizona	Colorado	Delaware ^a
Arkansas	Florida	Georgia
Connecticut ^a	Hawaii	Kentucky
District of Columbia	Illinois	Louisiana
Idaho ^a	Indiana	Maryland
Iowa	Kansas	Michigan
Maine ^a	North Carolina	Mississippi
Massachusetts	South Dakota ^a	Missouri
Minnesota		New Mexico
Montana		New York
Nebraska ^a		Ohio
Nevada		Oklahoma
New Hampshire		South Carolina
New Jersey		Tennessee
North Dakota ^a		Texas
Oregon		Virginia
Pennsylvania		West Virginia ^a
Rhode Island ^a		Wisconsin
Utah		
Vermont ^a		
Washington		
Wyoming		

Note: Data from 2004 was adapted from “The State of State-level History Tests,” by S.G. Grant and C. Horn, 2006. In S.G. Grant (Ed.), *Measuring History: Cases of State-Level Testing Across the United States*, p 18. Data from 2014 collected from State Education Agency.

^aNAEP data was not collected for these states.

Assuming a state shows a level of commitment to social studies by including it in its testing accountability policy, districts and schools cannot simply marginalize social studies. Fitchett, Heafner, and Lambert (2012) demonstrate that state accountability policy indirectly influences social studies instructional time in elementary education. Yet, they do not address whether this level of commitment is influencing social studies achievement. The accountability at the local levels is an important aspect in understanding the commitment to social studies. In

Eckers (2018), the study examined the impact on student learning of the discontinuation of the elementary social studies assessment by New York state. Student scores from the final year (2009-2010) of the mandatory elementary assessment were compared to similar student groups in 2017-2018 produced a 11% decrease in student scores on the same assessment. The lack of value placed on social studies by some states raises concern over the widening of the social studies education gap.

Accountability Policy at the District Level

From the onset of public education, local school boards held students, teachers, and schools accountable for the locally approved curriculum (Carnoy & Loeb, 2002; Reese, 2013). Local districts began to rely upon funds outside the community primarily from state and federal sources (Loveless, 2006). Non-local stakeholders wanted ways to guarantee the appropriate use of their resources. Thus, non-local stakeholders, primarily state level, have imposed more control over traditionally local decisions through accountability policies. Local stakeholders view the state accountability system as a negative impact on the overall learning environment (Brewer, Knoepfel, & Lindle, 2015).

As part of NCLB (2002), local districts needed to use data to inform educational decisions, but they did not possess the necessary tools or resources to make data-driven decisions (Means, Padilla, & Gallagher, 2010). State education agencies possessed the tools and resources for observing the educational trends whereas local districts and schools often did not possess the tools or training to interpret the evidence. So, this need to provide evidence has forced local stakeholders to rely upon the state apparatus to gather the evidence. Even though local districts retain some curricular decisions, their decisions are highly influenced by the state accountability system. State education agencies gained oversight into educational decisions and thus reduced

the influence of local decisions through the justification of financial resources from the federal government (Walberg, 2004). The state educational agencies do not plan on relinquishing their control of curricular decisions.

In one study, researchers examine an urban district's decisions about instructional time, as it pertains to the administration of additional large-scale assessment to monitor student achievement (Teoh, Coggins, Guan, & Hiler, 2014). They found that these urban districts spend about 1.7% of the school year, or about three full school days (roughly 1260 minutes), administering additional tests to students. The study's calculation of three days fails to include other curricular decisions (e.g., student test preparation, motivational learning) made by the school and teachers in preparation for the tests. Thus, local districts are more concerned about the state assessment than about making local curricular decisions so that they may maintain some control over the state curriculum.

Social Studies at the District Level

At a local level, multiple outside factors influence student learning. Local influence over the curriculum still tends to be a bigger role in non-tested subjects (Pederson, 2007). In the case of non-tested social studies states, local control over the curriculum is higher, and teachers feel that they can explore certain topics in more depth without fear of a state assessment (Pederson, 2007). However, Pace (2008) shows that teachers in lower performing districts in California found that teaching social studies was more limited as district emphasis was on tested subjects.

An example from Boston Public Schools (BPS) illustrates some of these local level trends. In the years following the passage of NCLB, BPS informed their schools to increase preparation for the Massachusetts state test, MCAS (Levinson, 2012). The result within the district was the initial reduction of the instructional time for both science and social studies

classes to half of its previous level. Students and teachers received half the instructional time, but they were required to complete an equivalent amount of academic material (Levinson, 2012). MCAS did not measure student achievement in science and social studies. Without evidence, districts do not value social studies as critical, which contributes to the widening social studies gap. Whether student learning in social studies is decreasing is not possible to identify due to the lack of testing data.

Social Studies Teachers and Accountability

Research into the influence of assessment upon social studies teachers is a critical aspect of the accountability system. Teachers have the most direct contact in the student learning process (Hanushek, 1971; Harris & Sass, 2007; Hattie, 2003; Stronge, 2013). They are also the group most directly affected or unaffected by state accountability policy. Teachers' attitudes towards state accountability systems favor standards reform if the state tests reflect the state standards (Abrams, Pedulla, & Madaus, 2003). But while teachers support testing for student accountability, they do not support testing if accountability includes teachers, schools, or districts (Abrams, Pedulla, & Madaus, 2003).

For social studies, perceptions conflict over whether the field's exclusion produces positive or negative outcomes in the classroom (Gerwin & Visone, 2006; Liberesco, 2006; Pace, 2011; Passe, 2006; Phipps & Adler, 2003; VanFossen & McGrew, 2008; Vogler, 2003). Due to its ambiguous position, researchers examine how testing influences the perceived value of social studies. An examination of teacher attitudes towards elementary social studies in North and South Carolina is a good example (Heafner, Lipscomb, & Rock, 2006). Teachers in South Carolina dedicate instructional time for social studies due to the state social studies assessment. On the other hand, North Carolina teachers wanted to teach social studies but felt pressure to

focus on tested subjects. Additionally, their motivations also differed. South Carolina teachers' motivations were linked to the state assessment in social studies, whereas when North Carolina teachers taught social studies, it was because the teachers felt a personal value for the subject.

Teachers' Views for Testing Social Studies

As in the case of the South Carolina teachers, many teachers believe that there are advantages for testing social studies. The South Carolina teachers commented that they felt they did not have to justify instructional time for social studies, yet social studies educators have noted a national trend in the decrease of instructional time for social studies (Boyer, 2009; Burroughs, Groce, & Webeck, 2005; Fry, 2009; Jordan, 2007; Kaladis, 2013; Pace 2008, 2011; Vogler, 2003). From a teacher's perspective, the reduction in dedicated social studies instructional time is a problem for the field, especially in the elementary levels, directly connected to the rise of state testing accountability (Pace, 2008; Phipps & Adler, 2003; Rock et al., 2006).

Even though teachers perceive this reduction, other studies suggest that instructional time is not shrinking. Over a 20-year period, the Department of Education (Schools and Staffing Survey, 2008) determined that social studies instructional time decreased by roughly 30 minutes a week in the lower elementary grades. Proportionally, though, the same amount of time devoted to reading and mathematics fit into a longer school day, so the relative percentage of the day spent on social studies has altered very little in recent years (Anderson, 2009). Regardless, the perception of shrinking instructional time is real to teachers (Heafner & Fitchett, 2012), and state assessments are viewed as the main reason.

To combat this reduction of instructional time, some teachers favor putting social studies into the state assessment program. Heafner, Lipscomb, and Rock (2006) show that the quantity

of social studies instruction does increase in tested states. The guaranteed instructional time should influence student learning. Fitchett, Heafner, and Lambert (2012) indicate that teachers who spent more time on social studies saw students attain higher scores on the 2010 U.S. History NAEP test. However, the guarantee of additional time does not directly translate into an increase in social studies content. Many teachers use their additional instructional time to simply prepare students for the state assessment (Misco, Patterson, & Doppen, 2011). So, adding a social studies assessment does increase instructional time; however, the additional time does not guarantee an increase in student achievement in social studies.

Teachers' Views for Not Testing Social Studies

As is the case of North Carolina, teachers fear the undue influence of the state assessment. One of their concerns is the altering of pedagogy to teach to the test rather than the subject. Volger (2008) examines instructional decisions among teachers from Mississippi (tested) and Tennessee (non-tested). The results indicate that a Mississippian end-of-course exam influenced teacher pedagogical decisions, whereas the Tennessean teachers' personal attitudes influenced their decisions regarding curriculum. Misco, Patterson, and Doppen (2011) indicate that Ohio teachers, who favored the state standards, attempt to cover all the standards instead of delving into difficult topics. On the other side, a teacher in Florida felt she could go into more depth on important topics as well as topics that interested the students because she was not concerned about the state assessment (Yeager & van Hover, 2006).

This focus on the state assessment leads to the perception that curriculum is limited in states that assess social studies. Social studies instructors believe that they are limited in the curriculum with the state test influencing decisions (Grant, 2007). Yeager and van Hover (2006) note a teacher in a Virginia felt rushed to cover material for the state social studies test.

Moreover, teachers in assessed states feel that state standards and assessments trivialize their content to a list of prescribed facts for the state assessment (Burroughs, Groce, & Webeck, 2005; Rock et al, 2006).

The perception that exclusion from the state accountability policy permits more freedom also has some negative consequences. Because social studies is not tested, teachers often feel negative attitudes towards their subject. For example, a Florida teacher was directed from the administration to teach reading strategies as part of her high school history curriculum (van Hover & Yeager, 2007). Social studies teachers comment on the negative value exhibited to social studies in non-tested states (Ayas, 2009; Gradwell, 2006; Grant, 2007; Harrington, 2009). Even though tested teachers altered their teaching, they also generally felt a higher sense of value for their subject (Burroughs, Groce, & Webeck, 2005; Vogler & Virtue, 2007; Zhao & Hoge, 2005). Teachers gain immense freedom to make decisions about content, but they feel that their content is not considered valuable.

The Perception of Marginalization – Real or Imagined

Teacher perceptions about whether to test social studies are mixed, yet the underlying anxiety over assessment is a concern over the potential of marginalization of the field. Marginalization is the teacher's perception that social studies is being squeezed out of the curriculum, particularly at the elementary level. There is no consensus or data to conclusively address the notion of marginalization, yet social studies researchers have documented many perceived unintended consequences of testing with regards to social studies.

Social studies educators are concerned that policymakers do not value social studies as an essential subject for students (Diamond, 2007; Good et al., 2010; Jones, et al., 1999; MacIver, 2007). Likewise, a perceived unintended consequence of this marginalization is that students do

not exhibit the foundational skills to succeed in upper levels of social studies (Fitchett, Heafner, & Lambert, 2012; Heafner, Lipscomb, & Rock, 2006; Pace, 2011; Rock, et al. 2006; Zhao & Hoge, 2005). Teachers have declared that testing or the lack of testing alters their teaching practices (Gerwin & Visone, 2006; Misco, Patterson, & Doppen, 2011; Wills, 2007). These marginalization perceptions are important sources of evidence for the state of social studies.

In a multiple state study, Passe and Fitchett (2013) gathered several social studies advocates to explore the state of social studies education across the nation. Their research team examine several different consequential aspects of high-stakes testing upon teachers. The findings from their study show that social studies teachers understand the implications of high-stakes testing on their field, yet they do not identify a way to address the perceived crisis (Lee, 2013).

In any case, attitudinal studies provide insightful information into the perceptions of teachers, but these studies do not address whether the lack of perceived value impacts student achievement. Unfortunately, these questions cannot rely on teacher feelings or anecdotes about what is happening to the field. NCLB has created an accountability system that relies upon measurable data, not stories. State accountability policy is central to the examination of the crisis. For accountability, policies reflect state educational commitment to the subject. The field of social studies should be wary of the unintended consequences of large-scale assessment at national, state, and local levels. However, without student data, policymakers at various levels have no need to worry about whether a gap is developing.

Statement of the Problem

Increasing the accountability levels improves student achievement when the subject is included in a state's accountability policy (Carnoy & Loeb, 2002; Nichols, Glass, & Berliner,

2006, 2012). Au (2007) indicates that accountability does not affect student learning in social studies through a meta-analysis. However, most social studies literature (like articles used in Au's study) rely heavily upon attitudinal studies of teachers. Social studies teachers know that testing affects their perceptions and the perceived value of social studies. These beliefs are the perceived consequences of testing, yet the purpose of most tests is to determine whether students are learning. Regardless, education is a data-driven organism that needs to look at learning outcomes.

Statement of Purpose

This study explores empirical evidence on state assessment policy as related to policymakers' value towards social studies. The notion that a state that continually assesses social studies demonstrates a level of commitment. For this study, student achievement is measured by NAEP (a low-stakes assessment) to determine the national trend if state assessment policies affect student achievement within social studies. Student outcomes in social studies should reflect the level of commitment that a state assessment policy has towards the field, thus minimizing the *social studies education gap*.

Research Question

How does a state's assessment policy with regards to social studies demonstrate an impact on student achievement as measured by the NAEP?

Methods

Only about half the states assess social studies in any given year (Grant & Horn, 2006). The federal government provided an opportunity for state policymakers to choose whether to test social studies. Consequently, a state's choice to include social studies in the state assessment policy displays a level of commitment that will be examined through student achievement on the

NAEP. This study uses the NAEP, which is *ex post facto* archival data from the U.S. Department of Education. The sampling process is a random stratification process based on 105 primary sampling units for students and schools (U.S. Department of Education, 2016). Thus, the independent variable is determined by state policymakers' commitment to social studies based on their inclusion of social studies in their state assessment plan. The dependent variable is the student scores from 2010 NAEP.

Determining a State's Value towards Social Studies

Prior to NCLB, two types of accountabilities existed under state education agencies, if a state had an accountability system. Either schools received a public rating (e.g., a report card) or a state education agency imposed consequences upon a school or district if the state assessment results did not meet state expectations. After NCLB, all state education agencies adopted a "consequential accountability" system (Hanushek & Raymond, 2005). Dee, Jacob, and Schwartz (2013) noted the results from these consequential accountability systems increased time spent on tested subjects. Additionally, they compared the two different accountabilities systems prior to NCLB and identified an increase in per student expenditures of nearly \$600 on those tested subjects. Debate on the success or failure of NCLB will continue; nevertheless, its passage impacted policymakers' decisions and stakeholders' impressions (Fusarelli, 2005; Useem, 2007). Inherent in all decisions are "judgments about what is educationally *desirable*" or decisions are about values of stakeholders (Biesta, 2010, p. 12).

For this study, whether a state education agency includes social studies within the state accountability system indicates a value decision towards the field of social studies. Using data collected in 2004 by Grant and Horn (2006), this study identified those states that assessed social studies at any levels. In 2014, data was collected from various state departments of education

websites and was subsequently verified through email by 39 social studies state education specialists. Based on the results of the Grant and Horn (2006) survey and information collected in 2014, four categories were created to identify state policy towards social studies: Not Tested, Tested in 2004, Tested in 2014, and Tested Twice in 2004 and 2014.

If a state did not test in either 2004 or 2014, they were identified as Not Tested (NT) category (23) or little stakeholder value for educational purposes. If a state tested in only 2004 but not 2014, they were assumed to have stopped testing social studies at some point, and they were placed in the previously tested category (4). If a state did not test in 2004 but did test in 2014, they were assumed to start testing social studies at some point and were placed in the currently tested category (5). These latter two categories were collapsed into a single category (9) labelled Tested Once (TO) due to questions over the effect size for the analysis. If a state tested in both 2004 and 2014, they were placed in the Tested Twice (TT) category (19) or a state government shows some value towards the field.

In the 2010 cycle, not all states participated in the social studies assessments. Eleven states were excluded from these analyses because no NAEP assessment data was collected. In all, 40 states (including the District of Columbia) were included in the analysis (see Table 3.2). The final breakdown of the three categories for state commitment that were included in the 2010 NAEP data are: Not Tested (NT), 15 out of 23; Tested Once (TO), 8 out of 9; and Tested Twice (TT), 17 out of 19.

Using the NAEP for Student Achievement

The federal government has tried to track educational trends since the second half of the nineteenth century (Berliner & Glass, 2014; Goldstein, 2015; Lagemann 2002; Mondale & Patton, 2001; Ravitch, 2000; Reese, 2013). As part of the educational reforms of the 1960s,

federal policymakers formalized this tracking policy with the development of the NAEP. The National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) disseminate the NAEP results as the Nation's Report Card. The design and tools of the NAEP have changed over the years as assessment theory changed, but the general purpose has remained the same (DeVito & Koenig, 2001).

Table 3.2

Number of Students Taking 2010 NAEP Related to State Assessment Policy

Grade & Subject	Not Tested (NT) ^a	Tested Once (TO) ^a	Tested Twice (TT) ^a
4 th U.S. History	1520	1250	4250
8 th U.S. History	2670	2300	6850
12 th U.S. History	2800	2000	7610
Total U.S. History	6990	5550	18710
4 th Geography	1530	1260	4240
8 th Geography	2150	1860	5510
12 th Geography	2250	1670	6050
Total Geography	5930	4790	15800
4 th Civics	1560	1240	4290
8 th Civics	2190	1830	5610
12 th Civics	2210	1700	6040
Total Civics	5960	4770	15940

Note: ^a These numbers are rounded to maintain student confidentiality per IES requirements.

The NAEP represents a low-stakes federal accountability system for states, schools, teachers, and students. The purpose for the national assessment is to provide a more generalizable set of labels for exploring student achievement regardless of state policy (Ercikan, 1997; Hamilton, 2003; Linn & Baker, 1996; National Research Council, 2008). The National Assessment Governing Board (NAGB), which oversees the NAEP, developed a framework independent of any state standards. Using the NAEP as a sole measure of student achievement is problematic because the single assessment tries to capture the educational policies of 50 different state-level decisions (Ravitch, 1996).

In this study, the 2010 NAEP was accessed through a restricted-use CD provided from NCES. The 2010 NAEP consisted of three discipline areas: U.S. History, Geography, and Civics. For each discipline, the NAEP contained student data from three grades: fourth, eighth, and twelfth. NCES displayed all student scores on a scale. Both the U.S. History and Geography were based on scale scores from 0-500, whereas the civics test used a 0-300 scale score. As conveyed in the Nation’s Report Card (U.S. Department of Education, NCES, 2011), the average scores for students by discipline and grade level are shown in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3

NAEP Scale Scores by Discipline and Grade Level

Subject	Fourth	Eighth	Twelfth	Total Students ^a
U.S. History	214	266	288	31250
Geography	213	261	282	26520
Civics	157	151	148	26670

Note: Adapted from U.S. Department of Education, NCES, 2011.

^a These numbers are rounded to maintain student confidentiality per IES requirements

Determining Student Scores on the NAEP

When analyzing the NAEP, individual raw scores are not provided (even in the restricted-use datasets), but plausibility scores are. National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES), who reports the NAEP results, used a cross-sectional matrix sampling where student scores are estimates, not raw scores. Thus, the procedural recommendation by NCES is to determine an individual’s score by devising a script with the 62 replicate weights, original student weights (ORIGWT), cluster variable (JKUNIT), and strata variable (REPGRP1). However, this process may not reflect accurate population estimates due to the sampling techniques (Wu, 2005).

Wu (2005) states that NCES includes plausibility scores to determine population estimates when it is a general focus. Plausible values “are random numbers that are drawn from

the distribution of scores that could be reasonably assigned to each individual” (Monseur & Adams, 2009, p.6). So, the plausibility scores are not actual scores, but rather they are generated approximations of various weighted scores (Marchant, 2015). These scores are “better suited to describing the performance of the population than is a set of scores that are optimal at the individual student level” (Monseur & Adams, 2009, p. 6). For this study, the focus is on the general population and not on the individual student level scores.

The NAEP datasets contain five plausible scores for determining student potential scores. These scores, in turn, provide estimates for various demographic groupings and potential scores for students. According to Marchant (2015), a common shortcut to estimate student scores is to average the five plausibility scores. Marchant (2015) notes a slight variance from the NCES-recommended procedure and the averaging of the plausibility values. Marchant (2015) also suggests that due to some of the limitations of the NAEP datasets, the averaging of plausibility values may be a preferable method to determine general population information. Thus, we averaged the five plausibility scores to derive a student score.

Potential Bias with NAEP

Several factors reduced the number of student records from the final analysis. Because this study is concerned with state policy, 32 records were not used in the analysis due to the fact that they were part of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and not necessarily influenced by state policy. Also, the database did not contain plausibility scores for all students. For this analysis, the U.S. History assessed about 31,250 total students in approximately 1,490 schools across the three grades; Geography assessed about 26,520 students in approximately 1,490 schools; and Civics assessed about 26,670 students in approximately 1,470 schools.

Even though the number of states in the NT and TT categories was about equal, the number of students in the TT states are always at least twice the number of students from NT states. Part of the explanation for the disparity is that of the 10 most populous states in 2010, six are in the TT category, three are in the TO category, and one is in NT category. Thus, the number of student records is disproportionately coming from TT states.

Results

This study consists of a univariate analyses of variance tests to explore the influence of a state’s commitment to social studies. A state’s commitment is determined by its assessment policy. To compare states, the 2010 NAEP student scores in U.S. History, Geography, and Civics were used to compare the level of commitment. An analysis for each discipline and grade produced nine analyses. A brief summary of the results is provided in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4

Student Mean Scores from 2010 NAEP by State Accountability Plans

Grade & Subject	<u>Not Tested (NT)</u>		<u>Tested Once (TO)</u>		<u>Tested Twice (TT)</u>	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
4 th U.S. History	214.752	31.389	213.204	30.496	209.474	33.193
8 th U.S. History	265.457	27.297	265.136	27.929	262.865	28.707
12 th U.S. History	287.126	30.800	285.294	31.037	287.894	30.851
4 th Geography	215.489	29.463	210.384	30.449	207.803	32.083
8 th Geography	262.542	29.812	260.966	29.345	256.611	30.130
12 th Geography*	281.465	25.638	280.327	24.872	280.358	25.548
4 th Civics	157.776	28.314	156.318	28.160	152.521	30.371
8 th Civics	151.486	32.294	151.864	31.653	147.626	33.261
12 th Civics	146.269	34.159	143.368	34.331	148.341	33.390

Note: 12th Grade Geography was not significant.

Fourth-Grade U.S. History

Looking at the fourth-grade U.S. History NAEP, the analysis reveals a statistical significance for the state policy influence on fourth-grade student scores ($F_{(2, 7023)} = 17.62; p < .001$). *Post hoc* comparisons using the Tukey's HSD test indicated that the mean student scores for NT states ($M = 214.752, SD = 31.389$) and for TO states ($M = 213.204, SD = 30.496$) are significantly different compared to the mean student scores for TT states ($M = 209.474, SD = 33.193$). However, the mean student scores for NT and TO states is not significantly different ($p = .421$). The results also display a small practical significant ($\eta^2 = .005$) accounting for a less than one percent of the interaction of the total variance (Cohen, 1988).

These results suggest that a lack of state commitment to social studies has a positive effect on student achievement in U.S. History (see Figure 3.1). Specifically, the results suggest that states with no state commitment (NT) demonstrate that their decision not to assess social studies does not negatively impact student achievement on the fourth-grade U.S. History NAEP. The fourth-grade NAEP demonstrates that when a state shows some commitment to social studies, students do not increase their achievement on the U.S. History assessment.

Eighth-Grade U.S. History

Looking at the eighth-grade U.S. History NAEP, the analysis reveals a statistical significance for the state policy influence on eighth-grade student scores ($F_{(2, 11809)} = 10.86, p < .001$). *Post hoc* comparisons using the Tukey's HSD test indicated that the mean student scores for NT states ($M = 265.457, SD = 27.297$) and for TO states ($M = 265.136, SD = 27.929$) are significantly different compared to the mean student scores for TT states ($M = 262.865, SD = 28.707$). However, the mean student scores for NT and TO states is not significantly different (p

= .915). The results also display a small practical significant ($\eta^2 = .002$) accounting for a less than one percent of the interaction of the total variance (Cohen, 1988).

As with the fourth-grade results, these results suggest that a lack of state commitment to social studies has a positive effect on student achievement (see Figure 3.1). Specifically, the results suggest that states with no state commitment (NT) demonstrate that their decision not to assess social studies does not negatively impact student achievement on the eighth-grade U.S. History NAEP. The eighth-grade NAEP demonstrates that when a state shows some commitment to social studies, students do not increase their achievement on the U.S. History assessment.

Twelfth-Grade U.S. History

Looking at the twelfth-grade U.S. History NAEP, the analysis reveals a statistical significance for the state policy influence on twelfth-grade student scores ($F_{(2, 12405)} = 5.69, p = .003$). *Post hoc* comparisons using the Tukey's HSD test indicated that the mean student scores for TO states ($M = 285.294, SD = 31.037$) are significantly different compared to the mean student scores for TT states ($M = 287.894, SD = 30.851$). However, the mean student scores for students in TO states ($p = .106$) and students in TT states ($p = .498$) compared with mean scores of NT students ($M = 287.126, SD = 30.800$) is not significantly different. The results also display a small practical significant ($\eta^2 = .001$) accounting for a less than one percent of the interaction of the total variance (Cohen, 1988).

These results suggest that a state commitment to social studies does appear in the twelfth-grade U.S. History assessment (see Figure 3.1). Specifically, the results suggest that states with partial commitment (TO) demonstrate that their policy is negatively impacting student achievement on the twelfth-grade U.S. History NAEP. Moreover, twelfth-graders are demonstrating an improvement when state policy is committed to social studies.

Fourth-Grade Geography

Looking at the fourth-grade Geography NAEP, the analysis reveals a statistical significance for the state policy influence on fourth-grade student scores ($F_{(2, 7019)} = 34.13, p < .001$). *Post hoc* comparisons using the Tukey's HSD test indicated that the differences between the mean student scores for NT states ($M = 215.489, SD = 29.463$) and for TO states ($M = 210.384, SD = 30.449$) are significantly different when compared. Likewise, the difference between student scores for NT and TT states ($M = 207.803, SD = 32.083$) is significantly different when compared. Furthermore, the difference between the mean student scores for TO states ($p = .027$) and TT states is significantly different when compared. The results also display a small practical significant ($\eta^2 = .010$) accounting for a less than one percent of the interaction of the total variance (Cohen, 1988).

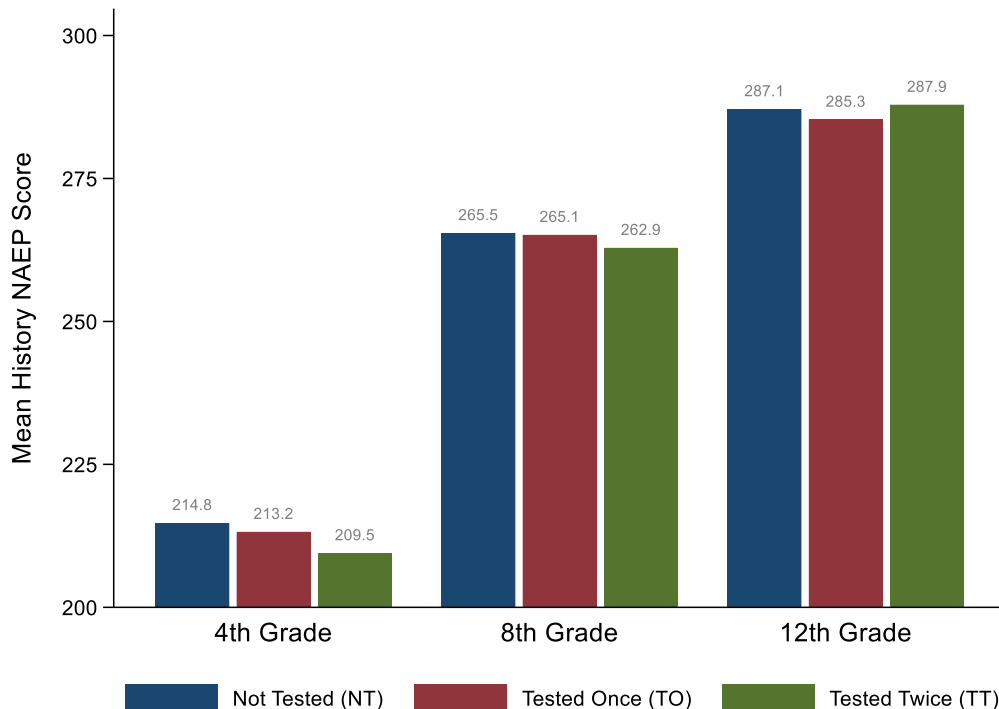


Figure 3.1. History NAEP Scores (2010) based on State Accountability Policy

These results suggest that a lack of state commitment to social studies has a positive effect on student achievement in Geography (see Figure 3.2). Specifically, the results suggest that states with no state commitment (NT) demonstrate that their decision not to assess social studies does not negatively impact student achievement on the fourth-grade Geography NAEP. The fourth-grade Geography NAEP demonstrates that when a state shows some commitment to social studies, students do not increase their achievement on the Geography assessment. The results indicate a difference among all levels of commitments when compared with one another.

Eighth-Grade Geography

Looking at the eighth-grade Geography NAEP, the analysis reveals a statistical significance for the state policy influence on eighth-grade student scores ($F_{(2, 9509)} = 36.44, p < .001$). *Post hoc* comparisons using the Tukey's HSD test indicated that the mean student scores for NT states ($M = 262.542, SD = 29.812$) and for TO states ($M = 260.966, SD = 29.345$) is significantly different compared to the mean student scores for TT states ($M = 256.611, SD = 30.130$). However, the mean student scores for NT and TO states is not significantly different ($p = .220$). The results also display a small practical significant ($\eta^2 = .008$) accounting for a less than one percent of the interaction of the total variance (Cohen, 1988).

These results suggest that a lack of state commitment to social studies has a positive effect on student achievement in Geography (see Figure 3.2). Specifically, the results suggest that states with no state commitment (NT) demonstrate that their decision not to assess social studies does not negatively impact student achievement on the eighth-grade Geography NAEP. The eighth-graders demonstrate that when a state shows some commitment to social studies, they do not increase their achievement on the Geography assessment.

Twelfth-Grade Geography

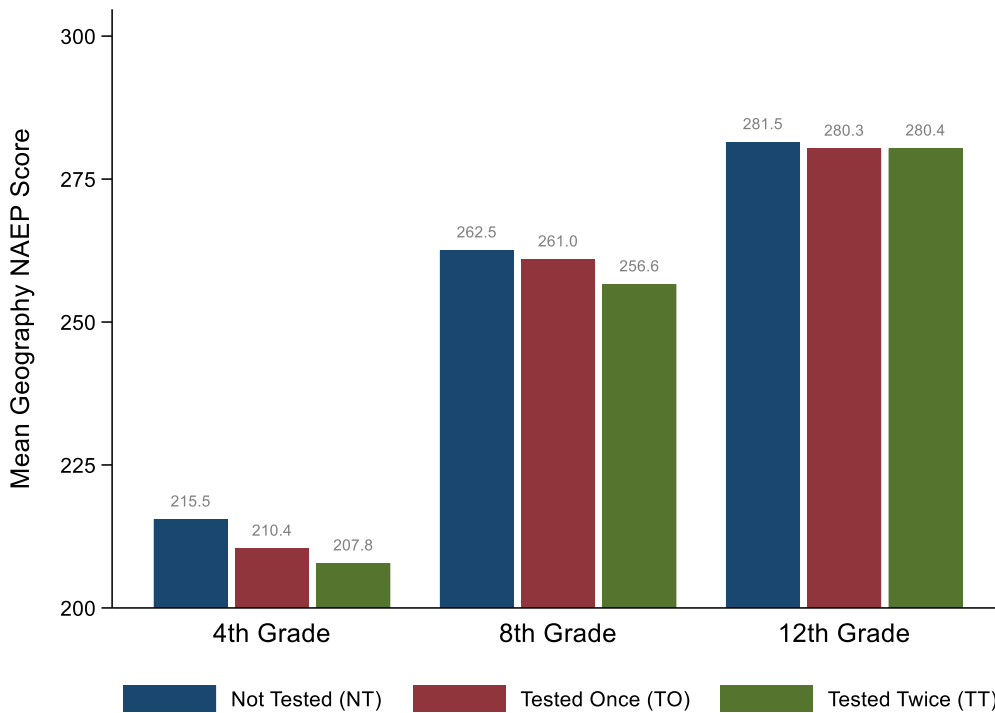


Figure 3.2. Geography NAEP Scores (2010) based on State Accountability Policy
Note: 12th-Grade Geography results were not significant.

Looking at the twelfth-grade Geography NAEP, the analysis reveals that the state policy influence on twelfth-grade Geography NAEP student scores ($F_{(2, 9968)} = 1.67, p = .189$) is not statistically significant (see Figure 3.2). These results suggest that state commitment to social studies has no effect on the twelfth-grade Geography NAEP. Because no statistical significance was found, Tukey's HSD tests or practical significance tests were not calculated.

Fourth-Grade Civics

Looking at the fourth-grade Civics NAEP, the analysis reveals a statistical significance for the state policy influence on fourth-grade student scores ($F_{(2, 2086)} = 21.47, p < .001$). *Post hoc* comparisons using the Tukey's HSD test indicated that the mean student scores for NT states ($M = 157.776, SD = 28.314$) and for TO states ($M = 156.318, SD = 28.160$) are significantly

different compared to the mean student scores for TT states ($M = 152.521$, $SD = 30.371$). However, the mean student scores for NT and TO states is not significantly different ($p = .397$). The results also display a small practical significant ($\eta^2 = .006$) accounting for a less than one percent of the interaction of the total variance (Cohen, 1988).

These results suggest that a lack of state commitment to social studies has a positive effect on student achievement in Civics (see Figure 3.3). Specifically, the results suggest that states with no state commitment (NT) demonstrate that their decision not to assess social studies does not negatively impact student achievement on the fourth-grade Civics NAEP. The fourth-grade Civics NAEP demonstrates that when a state shows some commitment to social studies, students do not increase their achievement on the Civics assessment.

Eighth-Grade Civics

Looking at the eighth-grade Civics NAEP, the analysis reveals a statistical significance for the state policy influence on eighth-grade student scores ($F_{(2, 9629)} = 17.84$, $p < .001$). *Post hoc* comparisons using the Tukey's HSD test indicated that the mean student scores for NT states ($M = 151.486$, $SD = 32.294$) and for TO states ($M = 151.864$, $SD = 31.653$) are significantly different compared to the mean student scores for TT states ($M = 147.626$, $SD = 33.261$). However, the mean student scores for NT and TO states is not significantly different ($p = .930$). The results also display a small practical significant ($\eta^2 = .004$) accounting for a less than one percent of the interaction of the total variance (Cohen, 1988).

These results suggest that a lack of state commitment to social studies has a positive effect on student achievement in Civics (see Figure 3.3). Specifically, the results suggest that states with no state commitment (NT) demonstrate that their decision not to assess social studies does not negatively impact student achievement on the eighth-grade Civics NAEP. The eighth-

graders demonstrate that when a state shows some commitment to social studies, students do not increase their achievement on the Civics assessment.

Twelfth-Grade Civics

Looking at the twelfth-grade Civics NAEP, the analysis reveals a statistical significance for the state policy influence on twelfth-grade student scores ($F_{(2, 9946)} = 15.17, p < .001$). *Post hoc* comparisons using the Tukey's HSD test indicated that the mean student scores for NT states ($M = 146.269, SD = 34.159, p = .036$) and for TO states ($M = 143.368, SD = 34.331$) are significantly different compared to the mean student scores for TT states ($M = 148.341, SD = 33.390$). Likewise, the mean student scores for NT and TO states are also significantly different ($p = .021$). The results also display a small practical significant ($\eta^2 = .003$) accounting for a less than one percent of the interaction of the total variance (Cohen, 1988).

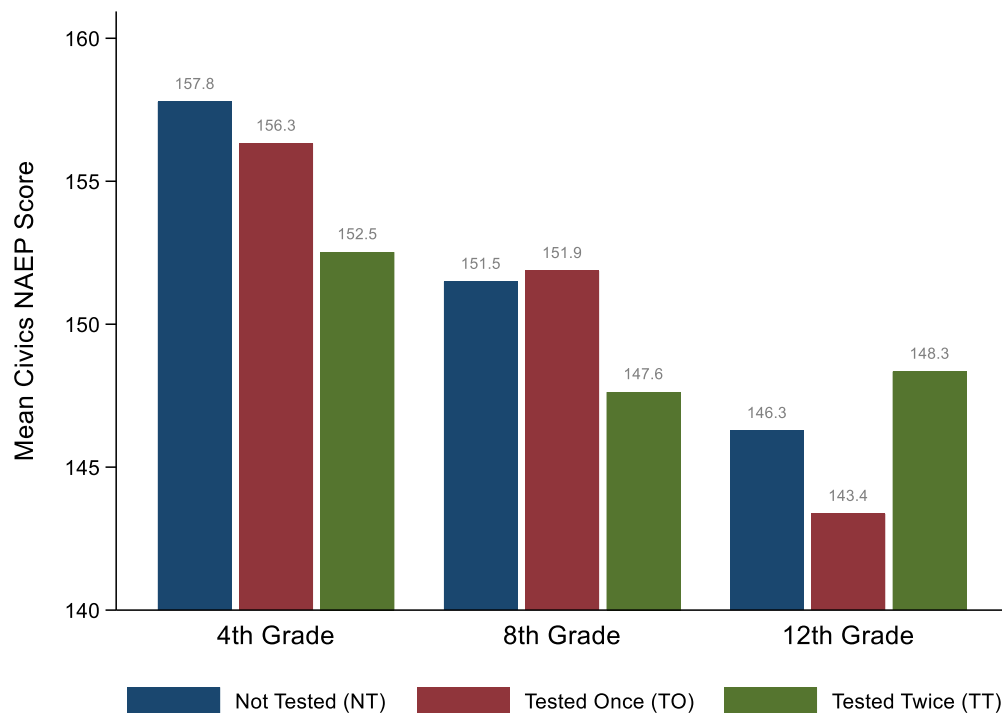


Figure 3.3. Civics NAEP Scores (2010) based on State Accountability Policy

These results suggest that a state commitment to social studies has a positive effect on student achievement in Civics at twelfth grade (see Figure 3.3). Specifically, the results suggest that states with no state commitment (NT) demonstrate that their decision not to assess social studies does impact student achievement on the twelfth-grade Civics test. The twelfth-graders demonstrate that when a state shows some commitment towards social studies, students do increase their achievement on the Civics assessment.

Discussion

The results from the three NAEP discipline assessments indicate some conflicting trends for student achievement within each discipline as well as for the field as a whole. When looking at the results for each discipline across the three grades, the results provide some explanation to the question of whether state social studies assessment policy impacts student achievement. Yet, when examining the social studies field at the grade levels, the results point toward a different explanation to the impact of state social studies assessment policy upon student achievement. The results indicate that certain perceptions over the state of social studies are not substantiated by the NAEP data.

The Meaning for U.S. History

When examining the trends within the U.S. History NAEP, the results indicate that a commitment to include social studies in the state assessment policy does not demonstrate a positive effect on student achievement. Both the fourth- and eighth-grade NAEP scores demonstrate a decline in student achievement when influenced by state commitment to assess social studies. For these grades, the results indicate that students in states that have never assessed social studies during this time period perform higher than students in states that have assessed social studies. The results for the twelfth-grade U.S. History NAEP indicate an increase

in student achievement in the TT category, yet there is no significance between the NT and the other two categories. The trend for the influence of state social studies assessment policy upon the discipline of history is not as clear. A further discussion on the difference between the lower grades and twelfth-grade will be discussed when examining the field of social studies in context.

The Meaning for Geography

The results for the Geography NAEP indicate that state commitment to not assess social studies has a positive effect on student achievement in fourth- and eighth-grades. These analyses also indicate the highest degree of practical significance. Thus, the effect of state policy is more important than in the other two disciplines. Additionally, the twelfth-grade Geography assessment was the only analysis to be found as not significant. Thus, the results at twelfth grade indicate that a state commitment to assess social studies does not influence student achievement.

The discipline of geography is unique among these three disciplines. When examining the discipline of geography within schools, the discipline has a smaller role in the social studies curriculum. In a study examining the role of geography within the state assessment, Ayas (2009) points out that Ohio's new social studies standards contained a geography strand. For fifth- and sixth-grade levels, the geography strand was more inclusive; however, Ayas (2009) notes that the emphasis within social studies standards is on history from seventh through tenth grades. In states that assess social studies, geography is part of the social studies curriculum, but many states specifically assess history and/or civics independently of social studies. Geography is part of social studies, yet the emphasis within the field is on history and civics which could explain the non-significance of geography at the twelfth grade.

The Meaning for Civics

The results indicate that state commitment towards assessing social studies does influence student achievement on the Civics NAEP. The results from the fourth- and eighth-grade Civics NAEP indicate a lack of state commitment has a positive effect on student achievement over states that assess social studies as part of their state assessment policy. On the other hand, the twelfth-grade NAEP results indicate that student achievement is positively influenced by a state policy to assess social studies. The results for Civics are inconclusive in terms of a general trend for the discipline.

The Meaning for Social Studies in Elementary and Middle Schools

Examining the results at a grade level provides a clearer indication of potential trends for the field. These three disciplines comprise a large extent of the social studies field and curriculum. The results from the fourth- and eighth-grade NAEP assessments indicate that across these three disciplines, the state's decision to exclude social studies from state accountability policy increases student achievement. The results show that student achievement in states that have tested twice (TT) record the lowest scores of the state commitment groups. Thus, state policy towards assessing social studies does not seem to positively influence student learning in the lower grades.

One of the main arguments for including social studies within the state assessment policy is that teachers, schools, and districts would commit resources and instructional time to social studies. The notion of marginalization at the lower grade levels stems out of social studies teacher's perceptions that resources and instructional time are shrinking. The results of these analyses indicate that increasing state commitment by assessing social studies does not translate into increasing student learning of social studies in the lower grade levels.

Several possible explanations for these results bear considering. One possible explanation is that teachers in states that assess social studies at the lower levels may use the dedicated additional instructional time to prepare students for the state assessment instead of focusing on social studies pedagogy (Misco, Patterson, & Doppen, 2011). Another possible explanation is that teachers in tested states tend to rely on the test as their curricular guide. Teachers teaching to the test may narrow the social studies curriculum. This narrower curriculum may not align with the social studies NAEP framework. Also, a study by Gallup (Busteed, 2013) shows that students believe that their engagement with teachers is highest in the lower grades and decreases with each successive year. Additionally, high school students believe that they are more focused on assessments than their elementary counterparts.

The most likely explanation is that social studies teachers in non-tested states are finding ways to integrate social studies' concepts into the other aspects of the curriculum (Holloway & Chiodo, 2009). The linking of social studies content to literacy allows elementary teachers to incorporate social studies into the curricular decisions (Fitchett, Heafner, & Lambert, 2012; Heafner et al., 2007; Heafner, Lipscomb, & Rock, 2006; VanFossen & McGrew, 2008). The lack of commitment allows those teachers to make curricular decisions to incorporate social studies without the burden of administrative content oversight. Likewise, teachers in non-tested classes feel that they have more freedom to focus on areas that they deem as significant (Gradwell, 2006; van Hover & Yeager, 2007; Yeager & van Hover, 2006). Arguments about the marginalization of social studies in elementary schools do not appear to be supported by these analyses.

The Meaning for Social Studies in High School

The analyses based on high school students do not follow the same pattern as the elementary and middle school assessment scores. The results indicate that student achievement for U.S. History and Civics NAEP is influenced by the state commitment to assess social studies. Even though the results for Geography were not significant, combining the implications for the field of social studies does indicate that something changes between eighth and twelfth grade.

In this study, an assumption was that by testing social studies, a state was making a degree of commitment to the field of social studies at all levels. The characteristics of the state assessments vary by state. Assessments generally cover the entire field of social studies as well as only specific disciplines within the field, like U.S. history or civics. So, in the case of geography, a lower grade level social studies assessment may blend the various social studies disciplines, including geography; whereas, at the high school level, the assessment tends to be discipline specific. Of the 24 assessed states, geography is incorporated in either the general field of social studies or as a sub-category of another discipline. The lack of commitment towards geography could provide some explanation about why twelfth-grade results were not significant.

Another possible explanation for the shift between middle and high school is the state's decision about when to test. In this study, a state's commitment towards social studies was determined if they tested at any level. Yet commitment levels are different between states that decide to assess social studies at multiple levels and states that decide to assess only once at high school. Using the information from 2014 state policy commitment, students were tested at the elementary level in 17 states; middle school in 19 states; and high school in 21 states. The frequency of the assessments also ranged from a single end-of-course exam given once to a state like South Carolina where social studies is monitored by all students between third and seventh

grades to a single graduation assessment in high school. The degree of commitment varies among the states that have shown commitment.

Likewise, student achievement increases in twelfth-grade U.S. History and Civics could be connected to increased focus on assessing these two disciplines in high school. Additionally, often the end-of-course exams are part of the graduation requirements, and stakes often increase for these disciplines. Thus, the commitment level of schools, teachers, and students increase as state policy stakes increase.

Limitations of this Study

The NAEP is an invaluable piece of evidence but there are certain limitations from its data when using it to measure student achievement. For example, in reporting the fourth-grade U.S. History in the Nation’s Report Card (U.S. Department of Education, NCES, 2011), NCES stated the student mean average was 214 (see Table 3.5). The mean average from my analysis was 211.283. A discrepancy exists between the nationally reported student means and the calculations based on the student averages in this analysis. The variance between these two scores points out some of the potential issues with dealing with the NAEP data.

Table 3.5

NCES Student Means and Calculated Student Means

Subject	<u>Fourth</u>		<u>Eighth</u>		<u>Twelfth</u>	
	NCES	Study	NCES	Study	NCES	Study
U.S. History	214	211.28	266	263.89	288	287.30
Geography	213	209.94	261	258.80	282	280.60
Civics	157	154.34	151	149.31	148	147.03

Note: NCES data adapted from U.S. Department of Education, NCES, 2011.

Future Research Considerations

Other factors that influence student achievement at the state level are important avenues of future research. The stakes that states attach to the social studies test were not accounted for in this study. Thus, a comparison between high- and low-stakes might prove insightful. Also, the financial status of a state could also affect its level of commitment to education. At the state level, financial contributions to various schools, whether from federal, state, or local levels, may also have an influence on curricular decisions with regards to social studies.

Another consideration is the relationship between state assessments and the NAEP. The National Research Council (2008) examine the relationship between a state's proficiency cut scores and student achievement on the NAEP. Their findings indicate that state standards and teacher quality are more significant factors for student improvement than the state assessment on the NAEP. A correlational analysis of state standards or teacher quality might provide better evidence of commitment than the state assessment. Likewise, Beaton, Linn, and Bohrnstedt (2012) note the design of the NAEP assessment utilizes performance-based questions instead of relying solely on multiple-choice questions. These questions tend to test a student's performance on social studies skills over their recall of a particular content fact. A correlation study between the types of assessments between the tested states and the NAEP might provide some important insight to student learning of social studies skills.

Conclusion

Testing is here to stay. Social studies teachers and researchers can complain about the test or learn to live with it. Whether the current emphasis on testing has positive or negative implications will continue to be debated. Creating a balance between tested and non-tested states will be critical for social studies. Without the use of data, social studies educators can only argue

about the perceived consequences of these changes; yet with the use of student tests, social studies researchers can inform policy on the consequential validity of these changes. The results contradict the idea of marginalization in elementary schools as fewer attempts to assess social studies increases student achievement in the field. However, a critical change for student achievement happens between eighth and twelfth grades where assessing social studies does improve performance. The use of data to inform policymakers on the role of assessment and social studies is a major step in the continued validity of social studies in the curriculum.

Potential Publication Locations

The state testing policy study was accepted at the 2015 AERA Annual Meeting under the NAEP SIG, yet it was pulled before the annual meeting. The state testing policy piece will contribute to the National Council of Social Studies' ongoing discussion over the question of whether or not social studies should be included in the accountability system. Moreover, the value implications upon non-tested subjects can be evaluated based on the actual impact of student achievement instead of on its perceived relevance, with possible submission to the *Social Studies Research and Practice*, the *Theory & Research in Social Education*, or the *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis* journals.

CHAPTER 4: THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHERS' ACADEMIC BACKGROUND ON STUDENT LEARNING

Good teachers are costly, but bad teachers cost more.

Bob Talbert

The introductory quote, taken from noted columnist for the Detroit Free Press, implies that for America to possess high quality education, America needs good teachers. Numerous education researchers study the notion of how good teaching influences student success (Ballard & Bates, 2008; Goe, 2007; Phillips, 2010), with many determining that good teachers do increase student achievement (Goldhaber, Laverly, & Theobald, 2014; Provasnik & Young, 2003; Rivkin, Hanushek, & Kain, 2005; Yeh, 2009). Hanushek (2010) further concludes that a good teacher affects a student's earning capacity and thus the overall growth of the American economic system. Therefore, Talbert's assertion regarding the cost disparity in the preparation of good and bad teachers is important for America.

Even though the importance of good teachers is understood, stakeholders struggle with identifying the qualities and criteria for preparing a good teacher (Berliner, 2005; Darling-Hammond & Youngs, 2002). So, when the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB, 2002) legislated that state education agencies increase the number of highly qualified teachers within the state, education agencies needed guidelines. In 2002, the Secretary of Education Ron Paige provided the current criteria for determining teacher qualities as "teachers must have: 1) a bachelor's degree, 2) full state certification or licensure, and 3) prove that they know each subject they teach." The federal definition states that a highly qualified teacher can be determined by input criteria.

Describing the general qualities of a good teacher is hard, but defining the qualities of a good content teacher, like social studies, adds another level of complexity. The federal mandate states that teachers need to know the content. However, the field of social studies is comprised of several different disciplines including: history, geography, civics, sociology, psychology, economics, and anthropology (Nelson, 2001). Thus, social studies teachers are expected to be well versed in all these disciplines to be able to teach the field (Bednarz, Stoltman, & Lee, 2004; Brown, 2006; Journell & Tolbert, 2016; Lanahan & Yeager, 2008; Myers et al., 2006; Salinas & Blevins, 2013). This is only one aspect to the complexity of describing a *good* social studies teacher.

Academic Qualifications

In this accountability atmosphere, highly effective teachers are perceived as one factor in the improvement of the overall educational quality (Clotfelter, Ladd, Vigdor, 2010; Darling-Hammond, 2000; Hanushek & Rivkin, 2004). According to Hanushek (2010), a teacher's effectiveness can influence a student's achievement beyond that single year. Under Hanushek's explanation, an average teacher should progress a student's learning one academic year; thus, a highly effective (*good*) teacher can progress student learning beyond an academic year (Hanushek, 2010). Conversely, an ineffective (*bad*) teacher stunts the normal progression of student learning to as little as only one-half year of academic progress. By maintaining a consistent string of good teachers over several years, student achievement should increase overall.

One factor in determining what constitutes a *good* teacher is their academic qualifications. These academic qualifications include their degree(s), licensure pathway, and academic focus. An undergraduate degree provides a basic level of quality; however, an

advanced degree should increase the level of quality instruction (Goe, 2007; Wayne & Youngs, 2003). Furthermore, any teacher licensed by the state education board regardless of their certification process is deemed a highly qualified teacher. Additionally, teachers need to demonstrate knowledge of the subject they teach, but the state education board must determine the minimum level of knowledge a teacher must possess. The knowledge for an elementary teacher includes a general knowledge all subjects, but often the focus is on language arts (Ball & McDiarmid, 1989; Mewborn, 2001; Wilson, Floden, & Ferrini-Mundy, 2001). Likewise, a mathematics teacher who teaches in middle school must possess a level of mathematics knowledge different from a mathematics teacher who teaches calculus in high school. Yet, the qualification and assessment requirements for subject knowledge are typically the same.

Many teacher qualifications stem from the preparation program that the teacher attended (Rice, 2003), but not all teachers are entering the profession through traditional preparation paths. The correlation between teacher effectiveness and these academic factors vary widely. Ballou and Podgursky (2000) concluded that general teacher academic background criteria slightly impacted student achievement. However, they could not distinguish which input criteria directly influenced student achievement. In another study, Clotfelter, Ladd, and Vigdor (2010) consider stakeholders' general disregard for a teacher's academic credentials as related to student achievement. Regardless of the questions about a teacher's academic background, federal and state stakeholders use teacher input criteria as the basis for the governmental definition of a highly qualified teacher. Thus, a teacher's academic background is the basis for informing whether a teacher will be qualified to enter the classroom.

This perception necessarily guides the hiring decisions for principals who are expected to employ the most effective teachers (Rutledge, Harris, & Inge, 2010). Even though principals

seek effective teachers, the input factors for determining the academic qualifications are not as simple (Chingos & Peterson, 2011). Measuring the influence from a teacher's academic background, policymakers rely on student scores to gauge the impact of those factors.

Influence of Advanced Degrees on Student Achievement

In Secretary of Education Paige's (2003) statement on highly qualified teachers, the first criterion was a bachelor's degree, though the degree does not have to be in education or even in the subject that the individual wants to teach. Since NCLB, a bachelor's degree is viewed as a minimum requirement in teaching. Additionally, teachers adhering to the idea of life-long learners return to school to obtain more specialization beyond a bachelor's degree. The perception is that a person with an advanced degree is more qualified to enter the work force (Chingos, 2014; Hightower, et al., 2011; Kent, 2000; Ladd & Sorensen, 2015; Noble-Rogers, 2011; U.S. Department of Education, 2004).

Many teachers return to higher education institutions to obtain an advanced degree, because of financial incentives, advancement, working with specific groups, and/or personal improvement. Many districts offer incentives for an advanced degree mostly in the form of a permanent increase in salary (Chingos, 2014; Goldhaber & Brewer, 1998). Further, teachers may seek to become an administrator, curriculum specialist, or an instructional coach (Starrett, Casey, & Dunlap, 2013; Wood 2017). Teachers might also want to specialize in working with English Language Learners or Special Education populations (Starrett, Casey, & Dunlap, 2013). Lastly, some educators want to improve their own teaching to improve student learning (Starrett, Casey, & Dunlap, 2013). Regardless of the reasons why a teacher obtains an advanced degree, policymakers and other education stakeholders perceive an advanced degree as an indication for improving student achievement (Rice, 2003; Wayne & Youngs, 2003).

Given this perception concerning the value of advanced degrees, researchers have examined the connections between advanced degrees and student achievement. Looking at secondary levels, student achievement is influenced positively by an advanced degree. According to Hill, Charalambous, and Chin (2015), advanced degrees for high school mathematics teachers produce more effective teachers. In another study by Henry et al. (2014a), teachers in North Carolina with advanced degrees were not effective in middle school reading and mathematics; yet they were more effective in high school science. Advanced degrees in the Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics (STEM) fields are more likely to positively affect student achievement. Harris and Sass (2009) find that a teacher's advanced degree is weakly correlated to the definition of a *good* teacher.

Not all research has found positive student impacts from advanced degrees. In some cases, an advanced degree has a negative impact on student achievement based on standardized tests (Goldhaber & Brewer, 2000; Rowan, Chiang, & Miller, 1997; Rowan, Correnti, & Miller, 2002; Wayne & Youngs, 2003). Additionally, the impact of advanced degrees on elementary students is more varied than at the secondary level (Rowan, Correnti, & Miller, 2002; Wayne & Youngs, 2003). Croninger, Rice, Rathburn, and Nishio (2007) determine that elementary schools with a higher percentage of teachers holding advanced degrees did not score as high on mathematics assessments than schools with lower numbers of teachers with advanced degrees. As these findings demonstrate, the research on the influence of an advanced degree is not conclusive on whether an advanced degree improves student achievement.

As part of the federal definition of a highly qualified teacher, a bachelor's degree is required. For many stakeholders, a perception persists that teachers with advanced degrees have a positive impact on students (FitzGerald, 2012). Buddin and Zamarro (2009) found that

advanced degrees did not improve student achievement, but they noted that an advanced degree has an indirect effect on students, colleagues, and schools, thus making the measuring of the impact harder to determine. Further, research tends to suggest that advanced degrees more positively influence student achievement in the STEM, but not in the language arts. Harris and Sass (2007) note that when researchers measure impact from advanced degree, they measure from the completion of their degree not from their beginning point or during the process. Thus, the impact of the advanced training might alter a teacher's performance prior to completion of the degree. The influence of an advanced degree on student achievement is a criterion that needs further clarity.

Influence of Certification and Licensure on Student Achievement

Another aspect of highly qualified teachers is certification and licensure of teachers (Marszalek, Odom, LaNasa, & Adler, 2010). An individual who has completed their state approved certification program requirements is eligible to apply for a teacher's license. There are generally two types of certification programs within education: traditional and alternative certification (AC). A teacher obtains a traditional certification as part of their undergraduate degree program at a school of education. Undergraduate pre-service teachers take education courses as part of their degree and generally include a practicum of student teaching (Papay, West, Fullerton, & Kane, 2011). AC programs vary in many ways, but typically the pre-service teachers have already completed their undergraduate degree without substantial education courses. Upon completion of either certification process, state boards of education issue licenses to individuals who have completed their coursework, and who have passed state licensure exams.

Most educators perceive that traditionally certified teachers have a positive influence on student achievement (Ballou & Podgursky, 2000; Darling-Hammond, 2000; Harris & Sass, 2009;

Kukla-Acevedo, 2009; Laczko-Kerr & Berliner, 2002; Rutledge, Harris, Thompson, & Ingle, 2008). Darling-Hammond, Holtzman, Gatlin, and Heilig (2005) demonstrate that most AC teachers are not as effective as traditionally trained teachers. In another study, Henry et al. (2014a) indicate that traditionally certified North Carolina teachers improve student achievement in middle and high school mathematics and high school science over their AC peers. It is thought that traditionally certified teachers improve student achievement because they are better prepared, more effective, and retain more (Darling-Hammond, 2010).

Yet, researchers note that AC programs demonstrate that these AC teachers might be better prepared than their traditionally trained counterparts. Sass (2011) finds that AC teachers pass the Florida licensure exams at a higher rate. He also notes that these teachers exhibit stronger academic credentials like GPAs than their traditionally certified peers. In the same study mentioned above, Darling-Hammond, Holtzman, Gatlin, and Helig (2005) investigated the difference between licensed AC teachers and unlicensed AC teachers, specifically Teach For America (TFA) teachers. They find that licensed TFA teachers post the highest improvement in students' scores in six subjects: elementary mathematics and reading, middle grades mathematics, and high school mathematics, science, and English. Furthermore, these licensed TFA teachers were as effective on improving student achievement as traditionally certified teachers in those subjects. Moreover, TFA teachers are most effective in high school STEM subjects than any other group (Glazerman, Mayer, & Decker, 2006; Henry et al., 2014b).

Even though most educators believe in traditional certification programs, a need for alternatively certified teachers exists. In recent years, 39% of all teachers entering the profession have been through alternative pathways (Henry et al., 2014a). Additionally, the proportion of male and minority teachers entering the profession through AC programs is higher than through

traditional certification programs (Owings et al., 2006). Henry et al. (2014a) indicate that the difference between traditionally trained and alternatively certified teachers is not as significant as the perception.

Influence of a Teacher's Academic Concentration on Student Achievement

The final criteria for determining a highly qualified teacher is for a candidate to demonstrate knowledge of their subject. To graduate, a pre-service teacher has a concentration that researchers determine has an influence on student achievement (Darling-Hammond, 1984; Darling-Hammond & Youngs, 2002; Goldhaber & Brewer, 1996; Hawk, Coble, & Swanson, 1985; Ingersoll, 1999; Laczko-Kerr & Berliner, 2002; Monk & King, 1994; Rice, 2003). Yet, the concentration or major might be a content focus in a discipline/field or a pedagogical focus in education. Evidence exists to support the notion that content has greater effect on student achievement; likewise, evidence exists to support the notion that pedagogy has greater effect on student achievement. As such, the disagreement in scholarship does not help policymakers inform their decisions in creating guidelines for new teachers.

Many educational researchers suggest the effectiveness of teachers comes from their understanding of content knowledge. Teacher perception of their content is an important indicator for student success, especially in mathematics and science. Wilkins (2008) examines new elementary teachers about their comfort level with mathematics content. The results indicate a difference between teachers in the upper elementary levels with a focus on content and lower elementary levels with a focus on pedagogy. One conclusion from the study was that upper level elementary teachers are willing to change their instructional practices to facilitate the content. In another study, Hill and Charalambous (2012) determined that teacher content knowledge

influences how the teachers interacted with curricular materials. Thus, a teacher's comfort level with content relates to its effectiveness.

While understanding content is one advantage, increases in student achievement has also been linked to content concentration. Teachers trained in content tend to impact student achievement in mathematics and science at the secondary level on standardized assessments (Monk, 1994; Rice 2003; Rockoff, Jacob, Kane, & Staiger, 2008). Greenberg, Rhodes, Ye, and Stancavage (2004) indicate that a teacher with an undergraduate concentration in mathematics or mathematics education positively influences student achievement on the NAEP mathematics assessment. Conversely, teachers without a concentration in mathematics or mathematics education negatively influence student achievement on the same NAEP mathematics assessment. Furthermore, Hill, Charalambous, and Chin (2015) shows that a teacher's background academic mathematics content courses have a positive curvilinear effect upon high school student achievement on standardized tests.

However, an academic concentration in content does not always produce highly effective teachers. Mewborn (2001) relates a study where mathematics majors struggled with relating their mathematical knowledge to students due to lack of pedagogy techniques. Kukla-Acevedo (2009) demonstrates that hours of mathematics courses, mathematics GPA, mathematics education hours, and mathematics education GPA are not significant indicators for improvement in student achievement. Moreover, the initial positive effects from a teachers' academic background in mathematics content often levels off over time (Kukla-Acevedo, 2009). Nevertheless, researchers acknowledge the importance of content knowledge even if it is not a valid predictor for determining teacher effectiveness (Darling-Hammond, Holtzman, Gatlin, & Heilig, 2005).

The other side of the debate focus on the advantages of the pedagogical training of teachers. A concentration in pedagogy creates highly effective teachers upon entering the field due to their training in child psychology and classroom management. Boe, Shin, and Cook (2007) found that teachers with extensive training in schools of education generally felt more prepared to teach in six different types of learning activities. Additionally, teachers with more education courses tend to receive formal training in classroom management techniques that adds to their initial success (Good et al., 2006). So, education training provides prospective teachers with array of skills and techniques that offer pedagogical help at the onset of their professional career.

Measuring student achievement on various assessments also supports the notion that an education focus concentration is a positive influence. Hill, Charalambous, and Chin (2015) show that a mathematics pedagogical methods course displayed positive effects on student learning. In another study, Monk (1994) reveals a positive effect on mathematics and science student achievement based on the influence of the teacher's pedagogical coursework. The effects are not only in mathematics; Croninger, Rice, Rathburn, and Nishio (2007) demonstrate that teachers with an elementary education degree improved student performance in reading during first grade over teachers with degrees in non-elementary education.

Even though teachers felt prepared for the classroom, pedagogical concentration of a teacher's qualifications does not always manifest itself in student achievement. At the elementary level, Phillips (2010) found that certified teachers from a traditional teacher preparation program influenced first-graders achievement dependent upon the content. The study indicates that pedagogical training positively influenced reading achievement for first-graders,

but the same pedagogical training negatively influenced mathematics achievement for those same first-graders.

Evidence at the secondary level demonstrates further issues with pedagogical concentration. Greenburg, Rhodes, Ye, and Stancavage (2004) conclude that having a major or minor in education does not statistically improve student achievement in mathematics. Goldhaber and Brewer (2000) also indicate that teachers with an education concentration have a negative impact on student achievement when compared to teachers with a mathematics content concentration. Thus, evidence regarding a teacher's undergraduate academic focus is inconclusive.

Recent arguments point to creating a balance between content and pedagogy in terms of making highly effective teachers. Shulman (1987) postulated this balance as pedagogical content knowledge (PCK) where teachers should be able to teach content using the pedagogy connected to that discipline. To address the imbalance between pedagogy and content, the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future (NCTAF) formulated a more holistic definition for effective teachers to be included into teacher preparation programs (Ballou & Podgursky, 2000).

Researchers have provided initial support for this balancing content and pedagogy. Studies demonstrate that a blending of pedagogical and content knowledge is a critical skill for prospective teachers (Cochran, DeRuiter, & King, 1993). Even (1993) examined the correlation between subject matter and PCK in an advanced mathematics setting. Even determined that conceptual knowledge cannot be taught but can be gained through experience; thus, the more advanced the concept the more experience a teacher needs to teach the concept. Boyd, Grossman, Lankford, Loeb, and Wyckoff (2009) indicate that high school mathematics teachers

in New York City that received high levels of pedagogy are highly effective in the first year; however, during the second-year teachers with higher levels of mathematics content are more likely to improve student outcomes. In a teacher's preparation, the experiences utilizing both pedagogy and content are critical in the development of PCK (Segall, 2004).

Evidence supports both content and pedagogy arguments for academic concentration, yet policymakers want to understand criteria that produce highly effective teachers. Measuring of PCK has been proven to be difficult as an input measurement (Rowan et al., 2001). Thus, researchers are linking teacher preparation programs with student achievement. An understanding on how PCK is achieved informs policymakers in making requirements for teacher preparation. While Shulman's theory of PCK is the goal, schools of education must determine the correct blending of pedagogy and content to create effective teachers. The combination between pedagogy and content needs further examination and a better refinement of the balance (Ball, Thames, & Phelps, 2008). At present, there is not an effective method to evaluate PCK on prospective teachers until they have been teaching for several years and then the evaluation is too late for some students.

Merging Academic Qualifications

The Secretary of Education indicates that degrees, certification, and knowledge are important to creating a qualified teacher; yet examining each of these criteria in isolation does not always indicate the interaction among these critical criteria. An examination of this interaction is also an important in understanding teacher preparation.

Examining the literature on the links between degree and certification is an area often overlooked. Prior to NCLB, many teachers did not obtain an advanced degree with the content subject that they were teaching (Goldhaber & Brewer, 1996). Further evidence shows that

teachers with advanced degrees are more adept at implementing instructional strategies than a teacher with a general certification (Roehrig & Luft, 2006).

The relationship between a teacher's advanced degree and their concentration also provides evidence on the relationship between content and pedagogy. Phillips (2010) indicates that elementary teachers with advanced degrees in elementary education positively impacted student achievement on reading assessments. However, the evidence in high school is more mixed. A teacher with any master's degree positively influenced student achievement in high school mathematics and science, but they negatively influenced student achievement in high school English and history (Goldhaber & Brewer, 1996). Yet, if the master's degree was in the subject that they taught, the teachers had positive influence on their student achievement.

When considering the influence of content and pedagogy upon student achievement, isolating one aspect can be examined through the study of alternative certified teachers. An alternative certified teacher comes to the profession often with only a degree in their concentration. Goldhaber and Brewer (2000) examine student achievement based on two different paths towards entering the classroom. Teachers entering via an emergency certification process possessed content-only training compared with teachers from a traditional certification process. Their results show that in high school mathematics and science, the emergency certified teachers did as well as the traditionally certified teachers.

The qualifications for being a highly qualified teacher are linked together. For two teachers teaching the same mathematics, understanding the difference between a highly qualified teacher who is alternatively certified with a master's degree in mathematics and another highly qualified teacher who is traditionally certified with a bachelor's and more pedagogy is a unique

distinction. Understanding the relationship between these different qualifications can inform policymakers on how to organize teacher preparation programs.

The importance of understanding qualifications extends beyond mathematics and science. Most educational research examines student achievement and teacher academic background within the areas of mathematics, science, and language arts (Rice, 2003). Even though these three fields are examined, language arts is not examined as extensively as mathematics and science (Beveridge, 2009; Denton & Sink, 2015; Pederson, 2007). Numerous studies focus on student achievement in mathematics, language arts, or science while ignoring the field of social studies (Darling-Hammond, 1999; Goldhaber & Brewer, 1999, 2000; Hill, Rowan, & Ball, 2005; Monk, 1994). Social studies is different from the other three core subjects because state policymakers can determine whether to include social studies within their state assessment policy. In any given year, about half the states require some assessment of social studies (Grant & Horn, 2006). Thus, the field of social studies allows for a different perspective into looking at these qualification criteria upon student achievement.

Academic Qualifications for Social Studies Teacher

At the foundation of education, Dewey (1937) states its aim is the connection between giving students knowledge and students being able to act on that knowledge. Without this connection between knowledge and action, students cannot be productive members of society. At the core of educational knowledge is the field of social studies that conveys an understanding of human society through its various disciplines: history, geography, civics, economics, anthropology, sociology, and psychology (Nelson, 2001). With an understanding of society, students are active participants within society through their civic engagement.

Yet, to enable the students to be active participants, teachers need to be able to instruct students on how to be active participants. If a teacher's conceptualization of history is limited to formulaic materials, they cannot translate historical thinking with their pedagogical processes (Wineburg, 2001). These formulaic materials rely on the notion of teaching *about* history (Tosh, 2008). Teaching *about* history returns the teacher to having students recalling facts and definitions. Memorization and recitation make the content irrelevant to their social studies students (VanSledright, 2011; Zhao & Hoge, 2005). Thus, the qualifications of a social studies teacher impact the effectiveness of their ability to teach *with* social studies (Tosh, 2008).

Influence of an Advanced Degree for Social Studies Teachers

Evidence for the impact of an advanced degree in social studies is sparse. Brophy, Alleman, and Knighton (2009) suggest that elementary teachers need to obtain an advanced degree because the preservice training and professional development in social studies is lacking in most districts. Elementary teachers without advanced degrees rely on textbooks and publisher materials for their curriculum. This reliance on publishers creates a teaching environment where teachers do not interact with the field. They are simply teaching *about* history instead of engaging the subject with students. Sung and Yang (2013) conclude that a teacher with an advanced degree has a better conception of history, but they found that this did not necessarily influence the teaching of historical thinking in a positive manner.

A better conception of history does not necessarily translate into student-improved thinking ability. In an exploratory study for this study, Learn (2012) examined the impact of an advanced degree in the 2010 eighth-grade U.S. History NAEP. He determined a teacher with an advanced degree in any discipline has a negative impact on student achievement. Thus, the preliminary evidence suggests that simply possessing an advanced degree may not improve

student learning in social studies. Yet, the influence of an advanced degree on student learning is not entirely understood.

Influence of Certification and Licensure for Social Studies Teachers

The second criterion for highly qualified teachers is certification. In a study comparing state social studies assessment policies, Bolick, Adams, and Willox (2010) determined that traditional preparation programs did not alter student achievement between a state that included social studies in the state assessment policy and one that excluded it. In another study, Smith (2008) examined 167 certified social studies teachers in Virginia and determined no significant difference on student scores on the state assessment. Smith concluded that a traditional certification programs did not influence student achievement.

However, in a comparison of pedagogical methods used by elementary teachers in New York, Bisland, O'Connor, and Malow-Iroff (2009) investigated the New York City AC program, New York Teacher Fellows. They noted that these fellows were not as effective in the use of a pedagogical method as their traditionally-certified colleagues. Bisland, O'Connor, and Malow-Iroff (2009) indicate the influence of this pedagogical method is inconclusive upon student learning. Yet they found a strong correlation between student learning and a fellow's concentration; in fact, a social sciences concentration fellow had a more positive impact than a fellow with another concentration on the state Regent's Exam. The impact upon student achievement between certification pathways and concentration is inconclusive.

Influence of Academic Concentration for Social Studies Teachers

The last qualification for social studies teachers is their academic concentration. In the case of social studies, the goal in history education preparation is to train a teacher to attain at least 20 years of professional historical knowledge (Bain & Mirel, 2006). However, prospective

teachers with a higher knowledge concentration does not always transition into student learning (Boyd, Grossman, Lankford, Loeb, & Wyckoff, 2009; Fraser, 2007). Content and pedagogy are areas of qualifications with the most discussion upon student learning in this field.

Professional education organizations provide guidelines for preparation of teachers. The National Council for History Education (NCHE, 2006) maintains that history teachers need a well-grounded concentration in history taught by historians or experienced history teachers for secondary pre-service teachers. For elementary pre-service teachers, NCHE recommends a minor in history and training in developing historical thinking. The National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS, 2006) teacher preparation guidelines are more general with regards to content and are concerned with pedagogical coursework. Of their five competencies, one specifically addresses content; the four others attempt to blend content with pedagogical aspects including planning, assessment, learning environments, and professional responsibility. Yet, neither informs policymakers on how their preparation influences student achievement.

Attempts to examine the blending of content and pedagogy into PCK provide further evidence. In a study, Gudmundsdottir and Shulman (1987) compared two social studies teachers with different academic backgrounds. The experienced teacher with an academic background in history had a better PCK when teaching U.S. history. The novice teacher with an academic background in anthropology struggled with translating historical content into knowledge. Shedd (2000) and Schwartz (2000) both proposed restructuring the teacher preparation system for social studies to develop PCK. These knowledge discussions focus on the knowledge of the teacher and whether their knowledge can be translated into student learning. This translation is about how teacher's knowledge *about* history influences student learning about history.

An Issue in Social Studies Teacher Preparation

The perception among educators is that academic background is a problem. Educators teaching out-of-field—these are educators without the requisite content knowledge teaching within the subject in schools—are a concern among social studies researchers. Ravitch (2000) suggests that state licensure favors pedagogical training over content training that contributes to out-of-field teaching. In a report for the American Historical Association and Organization of American Historians, Brown and Patrick (2003) lament the fact that no state requires history as an undergraduate major to be certified. In fact, they determined that only nine states require a minor in history to teach history in high school.

However, an investigation by the U.S. Department of Education (Holt, 2006) examined appropriate pre-service training of America's secondary history teachers. The results reveal that only 44.9% of U.S. or world history teachers possess an undergraduate degree in history, while 72.8% of them possess an undergraduate degree in social sciences (more broadly, history). Out-of-field preparation is not as prevalent as the perception, but rather the concern is about what is taught in social studies classes.

In the discussion concerning social studies academic background, the examination typically revolves around the teaching of historical concepts (Lévesque, 2008; Loewen, 2013; Martin, Maldonado, Schneider, & Smith, 2011; Seixas, 2006; Stearns, Seixas, & Wineburg, 2000; VanSledright, 2002; Wineburg, 2001). Brown and Patrick (2003) state that “social studies dominated its portion of the school curriculum. Gradually, the influence of social studies faded, ... history has reemerged as a strong force in the curriculum of schools. History education is on the rise” (p. 11). For many historical groups, a social studies teacher's primary responsibility is teaching historical content. Yet, social studies is not simply comprised of teaching history. Even

examining the literature, the research focuses on the role of history and how well students understand history. An exception to history teacher preparation, Bednarz, Stoltman, and Lee (2004) cannot discern the impact of a teacher's geographic content knowledge upon student achievement due to lack of a clear role for geography in the curriculum.

Policymakers receive little guidance on how to structure the preparation of social studies teachers. The National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) outlines a very vague method for preparing social studies teachers with 40% training in discipline content but no clear indication about what that discipline should be (NCSS, 2006). In a preliminary study for this current study, the results indicate that the minor focus—regardless of whether the focus was content or pedagogy—was a better indicator of improving student achievement on the eighth-grade U.S. History NAEP (Learn, 2012). Sung and Yang (2013) point out that different disciplinary approaches influence teacher interpretations of teaching various social studies disciplines. So, a history trained teacher will view geography through a historical lens. As noted above, the blending of content and pedagogy into PCK is problematic in the preparation of teachers. Thus, the blending of pedagogy and seven different contents into a single individual field is more complex.

Statement of Problem

A teacher's academic background determines whether they are viewed as a highly qualified teacher, yet decisions about teacher effectiveness rely on student scores (Phillips, 2010). Even after years of research regarding academic input criteria, researchers do not have consensus over which teacher academic factors influence student achievement. For social studies, the lack of research and its focus upon the discipline of history has further prevented informing policymakers on how to prepare highly qualified social studies teachers.

Statement of Purpose

Examining student achievement on the NAEP enables an investigation into the question of how a teacher's *highly qualified* academic background affects three different social studies disciplines (U.S. History, Geography, and Civics). These three disciplines are licensed under the same certification even though they rely upon different pedagogical content knowledge. Using student scores on NAEP, this study examines a teacher's academic background criteria to determine its influence on student social studies achievement. The results should inform policymakers about the preparation of social studies teachers.

Research Questions

The purpose of this study will be addressed by exploring the NAEP teacher background survey to determine:

How a teacher's academic preparation background impacts student learning in social studies as measured by the NAEP?

1. How does a teacher's degree level impact K-12 student achievement on the various the social studies tests?
2. How does a teacher's certification pathway impact K-12 student achievement on the various social studies tests?
3. How do the various combinations of pedagogical and content knowledge concentrations impact K-12 student achievement on the various social studies tests?
4. How teachers' backgrounds and experiences impact U.S. History, Geography, or Civics scores differently?

Methods

This study uses the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), which is *ex post facto* archival data from the U.S. Department of Education. The sampling process is a random stratification process based on 105 primary sampling units for students and schools (U.S. Department of Education, 2016). The NAEP is a low stakes assessment that monitors student learning in select subjects. As the national report card, the NAEP is an excellent indicator of national trends. As part of the monitoring of the general trends, the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), who oversees the NAEP, links students' scores to student, teacher, and school characteristics. Background questionnaires are an untapped resource of information for researchers to use for improving interpretations of assessments (Childs & Broomes, 2013). For this study, the NAEP is used to examine the interaction between student achievement with teacher academic qualifications at the national level within the field of social studies.

The 2010 NAEP Social Studies Assessment

Unlike the single assessments evaluating the field of mathematics, science, and language arts, multiple assessments are utilized to evaluate the field of social studies NAEP. For example, even though science consists of biology, physical science, chemistry, and physics, science is assessed in a single science assessment. For social studies, these different assessments measure student learning in U.S. History, Geography, Civics, and Economics. Again, the disunity of the field accounts for the multiple assessments when compared with other fields. Yet, this provides an unique ability to investigate the field.

During the 2010 NAEP cycle, fourth-, eighth-, and twelfth-grade students were assessed in U.S. History, Geography, and Civics; NCES has only assessed twelfth-graders once in Economics during the 2012 cycle (NCES, 2017). The social studies NAEP assessed

approximately 52,000 students and about 2,990 teachers across the nation (see Table 4.1). NCES utilizes “a sample in which every element of the population has a known, nonzero probability of being selected” or probability sample for covering the diverse educational population (NCES, 2018). This means that a three-step process was used: the schools are chosen in a random complex stratification selection according to probability proportional; step two, students were selected by stratified systematic sample; and finally, the socio-economic distribution of students into tested subjects. The focus of the NAEP is examination of student learning and learning within various populations, thus school and teacher characteristics are not necessarily proportionately distributed.

Table 4.1

Approximate Number of Students and Teachers Participants in NAEP 2010

NAEP Assessments	<u>Fourth Grade</u>		<u>Eighth Grade</u>	
	Students	Teachers	Students	Teachers
U.S. History	7,000	510	11,800	480
Geography	7,000	510	9,500	480
Civics	7,100	540	9,600	470

Note: Adapted from U.S. Department of Education, NCES, 2011.

Determining Student Achievement Scores

In this study, the 2010 NAEP was accessed through a restricted-use CD provided from NCES. NCES displays all student scores on a scale. Both U.S. History and Geography were based on scale scores from 0-500, whereas the Civics test used a 0-300 scale score. As conveyed in the Nation’s Report Card (U.S. Department of Education, NCES, 2011), the average scores for students by discipline and grade level are published with attention to various student groupings (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.2

NAEP Scale scores by Discipline and Grade Level

NAEP Assessments	Fourth	Eighth
U.S. History	214	266
Geography	213	261
Civics	157	151

Note: Adapted from U.S. Department of Education, NCES, 2011.

When analyzing the NAEP, individual raw scores are not provided (even in the restricted-use datasets), but plausibility scores are. National Center for Educational Statistics, who reports the NAEP results, used a cross-sectional matrix sampling where student scores are estimates, not raw scores. Thus, the procedural recommendation by NCES is to determine an individual’s score by devising a script with the 62 replicate weights, original student weights (ORIGWT), cluster variable (JKUNIT), and strata variable (REPGRP1). However, this process may not reflect accurate population estimates due to the sampling techniques (Wu, 2005).

Wu (2005) states that NCES includes plausibility scores as a means to determine population estimates when it is a general focus. Plausible values “are random numbers that are drawn from the distribution of scores that could be reasonably assigned to each individual” (Monseur & Adams, 2009, p. 6). So, the plausibility scores are not actual scores, but rather they are generated approximations of various weighted scores (Marchant, 2015) that are “better suited to describing the performance of the population than is a set of scores that are optimal at the individual student level” (Monseur & Adams, 2009, p. 6). For this study, we decided to utilize the plausibility score to determine the student scores.

The NAEP datasets contain five plausible scores for determining student potential scores. Five plausibility scores provide estimates for various demographic groupings and potential scores for students. According to Marchant (2015), a common shortcut to estimate student scores

is to average the five plausibility scores. Marchant (2015) notes a slight variance from the NCES-recommended procedure and the average the plausibility values. Marchant (2015) also suggests that due to some of the limitations of the NAEP datasets, the averaging of plausibility values may be a preferable method to determine general population information. Thus, we averaged the five plausibility scores to derive a student score.

NAEP Teacher Questionnaire

The NCES only required teacher questionnaires filled out by fourth- and eighth-grade teachers, so this study only examines these two grades (see Appendix D & E). In the first part of the survey, general demographic and background material are recorded, including years of teaching (whether the teachers entered via an alternative certification program) and credential information. The information about a teacher's degrees and concentration at both undergraduate and graduate levels is solicited next on the questionnaire. The second half of the questionnaire asks teacher about their classroom pedagogy, this is not part of this study.

The teacher's questionnaire is a self-reported piece of evidence. Not all teachers filled out the survey. Approximately 10% of the 52,000 student records contain missing data for teacher background, thus they were omitted from the study. This study contains information from 40 states including the District of Columbia.

Academic Degree. In the teacher questionnaire, NCES does track the relation between student achievement and academic degree. They request information on the highest degree that a teacher holds as a single question. Teachers could choose from seven levels of degrees (see Appendix C). For this study, the seven levels have been consolidated into three categories: Other Degrees (high-school diploma and associate degree/vocational certification); Bachelor's degree;

and Beyond Bachelor's degrees (master's, education specialist, doctorate, and professional degrees).

Certification. In terms of certification, NCES monitors several aspects of teachers entering the profession via an alternative certification program. For this study, the focus is on whether the teacher was traditionally certified or alternatively certified (see Appendix C). As a control, only teachers that are either fully certified or certified except for a probationary period were included in the study.

Academic Concentration. The National Assessment Governing Board (NAGB) developed standards specific for various social studies disciplines (U.S. History, Geography, and Civics). In the Civics NAEP framework, the NAGB (2009a) states that in their design they want to consider the “relationship between student achievement and such factors as teachers’ academic preparation” (p. 12). In the preliminary investigation, Learn (2012) used public-use data that limited the analysis to examine each academic concentration in isolation. The results from the earlier study indicate that a teacher’s minor concentration exhibited a greater impact on student achievement than a teacher’s major concentration. An *a priori* comparison will expand on this study to be used to investigate the various concentration combinations as well as other academic factors.

Within the questionnaire, the undergraduate degree is listed by concentration (see Appendix C). In order to minimize identification, concentrations were put into three categories. The three categories include: teacher concentrated in one of the five social studies options (history, geography, political science, general social science, or other social science) were put into a single social studies category (SS); teacher concentrated in an education field (elementary or secondary education, special education, or English-language learner) were put into a single

education category (ED); and a teacher whose concentration was neither in education or a social (i.e. language arts, no concentration chosen, etc.) were placed into Neither category.

Data Cleaning

Several issues arose from the NAEP data that needed to be addressed because the background questionnaires are self-reported. When examining teacher major/minor concentrations, some teachers claim that they obtained majors in more than three possible concentrations, including all seven possible concentrations on the teacher questionnaire. Some of these issues were addressed by condensing categories into the three categories of Education, Social Studies, and Neither.

Results

This study consists of a univariate analyses of variance tests to explore the influence of the Department of Education's criteria for defining a highly qualified teacher. These criteria include a teacher's degree level, certification, and concentration. Using the 2010 NAEP fourth- and eighth-grade student scores in U.S. History, Geography, and Civics, this study examines the preparation of social studies teachers. Due to a sparseness of data, a two-way ANOVA examining the combinations of these criteria was not feasible. Additionally, the three assessments cannot be combined due to different scale scoring, each analysis is done by criteria, discipline, and grade. Thus, the analysis consists of 18 analyses.

A Teacher's Academic Degree

For this study, a teacher's degree is divided in three categories: No Bachelor's degree; Bachelor's degree, and Beyond Bachelor's degree. There is no distinction for licensure or concentration. Most of the teachers from the first category come from small samples, but the

distinction needed to be made. Approximately 48,120 student scores were used to examine teachers' degree influence on student learning.

U.S. History. In the analysis of a teacher's degree in relation to student's scores on the 2010 U.S. History NAEP, a teacher's degree is significant (see Table 4.3). For the fourth-grade U.S. History NAEP, the analysis shows significant effect ($F_{(2, 6668)} = 17.02, p < .001$). The results also display a small practical significant ($\eta^2 = .005$) accounting for a less than one percent of the interaction of the total variance (Cohen, 1988). For the eighth-grade U.S. History NAEP, the analysis also shows statistical significant ($F_{(2, 10708)} = 3.72, p = .024$). The results also display a small practical significant ($\eta^2 = .001$) accounting for a less than one percent of the interaction of the total variance (Cohen, 1988).

Table 4.3

Teacher's Degree Level on 2010 U.S. History NAEP Mean, Standard Deviation, and Sample

Degree Level	<u>Fourth Grade</u>			<u>Eighth Grade</u>		
	M	SD	N ^a	M	SD	N ^a
No Bachelor's	222.477	22.285	30	264.468	25.521	30
Bachelor's	209.497	32.593	3360	263.832	28.017	5170
Beyond Bachelor's	213.899	31.886	3290	265.310	27.954	5510
Total	211.718	32.289	6680	264.594	27.985	10710

Note: ^a These numbers are rounded to maintain student confidentiality per IES requirements.

A *post hoc* analysis was conducted on the fourth- and eighth-grade U.S. History NAEP for a teacher's degree level (see Table 4.4). Examining the degree level of teachers, *post hoc* comparisons using Tukey's HSD test indicated that the mean student scores between teachers with a Bachelor's and Beyond Bachelor's are significant. However, the mean student scores between teachers with a Bachelor's and No Bachelor's, as well as, Beyond Bachelor's and No Bachelor's is not significant different.

Table 4.4

Post Hoc Comparisons for Teacher's Degree Level on 2010 U.S. History NAEP

Degree Level	Mean Difference	T	P > t
Fourth Grade			
Bachelor's v No Bachelor's	-12.979	-2.09	0.093
Beyond Bachelor's v No Bachelor's	-8.578	-1.38	0.352
Beyond Bachelor's v Bachelor's	4.402	5.57	0.000**
Eighth Grade			
Bachelor's v No Bachelor's	-0.636	-0.12	0.992
Beyond Bachelor's v No Bachelor's	0.842	0.16	0.985
Beyond Bachelor's v Bachelor's	1.478	2.73	0.018**

** Statistically significant

Geography. In the analysis of a teacher's degree in relation to student's scores on the 2010 Geography NAEP, a teacher's degree is significant. For the fourth-grade Geography NAEP, the analysis shows significant effect ($F_{(2, 6650)} = 7.65, p < .001$). The results also display a small practical significant ($\eta^2 = .002$) accounting for a less than one percent of the interaction of the total variance (Cohen, 1988). For the eighth-grade Geography NAEP, the analysis shows statistical significant ($F_{(2, 8598)} = 4.82, p = .008$). The results also display a small practical significant ($\eta^2 = .001$) accounting for a less than one percent of the interaction of the total variance (Cohen, 1988). (see Table 4.5)

A *post hoc* analysis was conducted on both fourth- and eighth-grade Geography NAEP for a teacher's degree level. Examining the degree level of teachers, *post hoc* comparisons using Tukey's HSD test indicated that the mean fourth-graders' scores between teachers with a Bachelor's degree and Beyond Bachelor's degree are significant (See Table 4.6). However, the mean student scores between teachers with a Bachelor's and No Bachelor's, as well as, Beyond Bachelor's and No Bachelor's is not significant different. Yet, the degree level of teachers, in

Table 4.5

Teacher's Degree Level on 2010 Geography NAEP Mean, Standard Deviation, and Sample

Degree Level	<u>Fourth Grade</u>			<u>Eighth Grade</u>		
	M	SD	N ^a	M	SD	N ^a
No Bachelor's	214.787	36.773	30	240.996	36.649	30
Bachelor's	208.753	31.891	3320	259.216	29.811	4210
Beyond Bachelor's	211.708	30.718	3300	259.147	29.801	4370
Total	210.244	31.366	6650	259.126	29.841	8610

Note: ^a These numbers are rounded to maintain student confidentiality per IES requirements.

post hoc comparisons, on eighth-grade students mean scores displayed significance between No Bachelor's and both Bachelor's and Beyond Bachelor's. There is no significance between Bachelor's and Beyond Bachelor's.

Table 4.6

Post Hoc Comparisons for Teacher's Degree Level on 2010 Geography NAEP

Degree Level	Mean Difference	T	P > t
Fourth Grade			
Bachelor's v No Bachelor's	-6.035	-1.00	0.579
Beyond Bachelor's v No Bachelor's	-3.079	-0.05	0.867
Beyond Bachelor's v Bachelor's	2.955	3.84	0.000**
Eighth Grade			
Bachelor's v No Bachelor's	18.220	3.11	0.005**
Beyond Bachelor's v No Bachelor's	18.151	3.09	0.006**
Beyond Bachelor's v Bachelor's	-0.069	-0.11	0.994

** Statistically significant

Civics. In the analysis of a teacher’s degree in relation to student’s Civics scores on the 2010 NAEP, a teacher’s degree is only partially significant. For the fourth-grade Civics NAEP, the analysis shows significant effect ($F_{(2, 6726)} = 6.10, p = .002$). The results also display a small practical significant ($\eta^2 = .002$) accounting for a less than one percent of the interaction of the total variance (Cohen, 1988). For the eighth-grade Civics NAEP, the analysis shows no statistical significant ($F_{(2, 8736)} = 0.58, p = .557$). (see Table 4.7)

Table 4.7

Teacher’s Degree Level on 2010 Civics NAEP Mean, Standard Deviation, and Sample

Degree Level	<u>Fourth Grade</u>			<u>Eighth Grade</u>		
	M	SD	N ^a	M	SD	N ^a
No Bachelor’s	146.078	39.814	<10	161.238	19.392	10
Bachelor’s	153.372	29.312	3400	150.141	32.320	4180
Beyond Bachelor’s	155.853	29.726	3330	150.097	32.778	4550
Total	154.595	29.545	6730	150.131	32.548	8740

Note: ^a These numbers are rounded to maintain student confidentiality per IES requirements.

A *post hoc* analysis was conducted on the fourth-grade Civics NAEP for a teacher’s degree level. Examining the degree level of teachers, *post hoc* comparisons using Tukey’s HSD test indicated that the mean student scores between teachers with a Bachelor’s and Beyond Bachelor’s are significant (see Table 4.8). However, the mean student scores between teachers with a Bachelor’s and No Bachelor’s, as well as, Beyond Bachelor’s and No Bachelor’s is not significant different. Because no statistical significance was found in eighth-grade Civics NAEP, Tukey’s HSD tests or practical significance tests were not calculated.

Table 4.8

Post Hoc Comparisons for Teacher's Degree Level on 2010 Fourth-Grade Civics NAEP

Degree Level	Mean Difference	T	P > t
Bachelor's v No Bachelor's	7.294	0.49	0.874
Beyond Bachelor's v No Bachelor's	9.775	0.66	0.786
Beyond Bachelor's v Bachelor's	2.481	3.45	0.002**

** Statistically significant

A Teacher's Certification Pathway

For this study certification is the terminology used because it distinguishes the process of becoming a teacher. Once a teacher obtains a license, there is not two different tracks. Yet, a teacher can obtain their certification through various pathways, most commonly is traditional which is as part of their undergraduate degree. About 48,520 student scores were used to evaluate a teacher's pathway.

U.S. History. A teacher's certification pathway is statistically significant in both the fourth- and eighth-grade U.S. History NAEP. For fourth-grade students, a teacher's pathway is statistically significant ($F_{(1, 6714)} = 17.13, p < .001$) (see Table 4.9). The results also display a small practical significant ($\eta^2 = .003$) accounting for a less than one percent of the interaction of the total variance for a teacher's pathway (Cohen, 1988). For eighth-graders, a teacher's pathway is also statistically significant ($F_{(1, 10813)} = 39.77, p < .001$). The results also display a small practical significant ($\eta^2 = .004$) accounting for a less than one percent of the interaction of the total variance (Cohen, 1988).

Table 4.9

Teacher's Certification Pathway on 2010 U.S. History NAEP

Certification Pathway	<u>Fourth Grade</u>			<u>Eighth Grade</u>		
	M	SD	N ^a	M	SD	N ^a
Alternative Certification	207.040	32.171	720	260.325	27.957	1480
Traditional Certification	212.297	32.229	6000	265.252	27.916	9340
Total	211.733	32.261	6720	264.578	27.972	10820

Note: ^a These numbers are rounded to maintain student confidentiality per IES requirements.

Geography. A teacher's certification pathway is statistically significant in both the fourth- and eighth-grade 2010 Geography NAEP. For fourth-grade students, a teacher's pathway is statistically significant ($F_{(1, 6691)} = 29.80, p < .001$). (see Table 4.10) The results also display a small practical significant ($\eta^2 = .004$) accounting for less than one percent of the interaction of the total variance for a teacher's pathway (Cohen, 1988). For eighth-graders, a teacher's pathway is also statistically significant ($F_{(1, 8688)} = 26.69, p < .001$). The results also display a small practical significant ($\eta^2 = .003$) accounting for a less than one percent of the interaction of the total variance (Cohen, 1988).

Table 4.10

Teacher's Certification Pathway on 2010 Geography NAEP

Certification Pathway	<u>Fourth Grade</u>			<u>Eighth Grade</u>		
	M	SD	N ^a	M	SD	N ^a
Alternative Certification	204.255	31.824	730	254.926	31.620	1170
Traditional Certification	210.941	31.183	5960	259.775	29.539	7520
Total	210.211	31.321	6690	259.125	29.871	8690

Note: ^a These numbers are rounded to maintain student confidentiality per IES requirements.

Civics. A teacher’s certification pathway is statistically significant in both the fourth- and eighth-grade Civics NAEP. For fourth-grade students, a teacher’s pathway is statistically significant ($F_{(1, 6758)} = 15.15, p < .001$) (see Table 4.11). The results also display a small practical significant ($\eta^2 = .002$) accounting for a less than one percent of the interaction of the total variance for a teacher’s pathway (Cohen, 1988). For eighth-graders, a teacher’s pathway is also statistically significant ($F_{(1, 8843)} = 19.28, p < .001$). The results also display a small practical significant ($\eta^2 = .002$) accounting for a less than one percent of the interaction of the total variance (Cohen, 1988).

Table 4.11

Teacher’s Certification Pathway on 2010 Civics NAEP

Certification Pathway	<u>Fourth Grade</u>			<u>Eighth Grade</u>		
	M	SD	N ^a	M	SD	N ^a
Alternative Certification	150.608	31.009	730	146.350	33.762	1200
Traditional Certification	155.098	29.299	6030	150.775	32.266	7640
Total	154.611	29.520	6760	150.173	32.507	8840

Note: ^a These numbers are rounded to maintain student confidentiality per IES requirements.

A Teacher’s Undergraduate Concentration

A concentration is field that the prospective teacher has taken most of their coursework. This can vary widely from state to state and from university to university. There is very little uniformity in the overall process but for this study we have tried to use a simple traditional method of a student with a major concentration with either a secondary major or minor. This may not be the case in all samples, but in most cases, this is the formula assumed by most participants. Approximately 40,530 student scores were used evaluate a teacher’s undergraduate concentration and its impact on student learning.

U.S. History. A teacher’s undergraduate concentration is statistically significant in both the fourth- and eighth-grade U.S. History NAEP. For fourth graders, a teacher’s undergraduate concentration, is statistically significant ($F_{(10, 6346)} = 15.35, p < .001$) as seen in Table 4.12. The results also display a small practical significant ($\eta^2 = .023$) accounting for a more than two percent of the interaction of the total variance for a teacher’s concentration (Cohen, 1988). For eighth-grade students, a teacher’s undergraduate concentration is also statistically significant ($F_{(10, 8586)} = 6.44, p < .001$). The results also display a small practical significant ($\eta^2 = .007$) accounting for a less than one percent of the interaction of the total variance (Cohen, 1988).

Table 4.12

Teacher’s Undergraduate Concentration on 2010 U.S. History NAEP

Undergraduate Concentration	<u>Fourth Grade</u>			<u>Eighth Grade</u>		
	M	SD	N ^a	M	SD	N ^a
Ed Major	213.438	31.103	2580	253.860	39.249	60
Ed Major & Ed Minor	203.569	32.941	320	260.266	30.051	40
Ed Major & SS Major	217.160	32.928	280	266.559	26.917	1260
Ed Major & SS Minor	220.367	30.300	710	236.819	31.808	20
SS Major	212.115	35.166	310	262.419	26.994	1630
SS Major & SS Minor	197.620	30.141	110	265.087	27.414	1750
SS Major & Ed Minor	214.289	35.530	170	267.408	29.388	270
Ed Minor	212.648	32.545	320	266.184	28.156	430
SS Minor	201.989	32.164	240	265.381	27.710	1090
Ed Minor & SS Minor	211.763	35.151	120	265.239	28.023	850
Neither Ed or SS	207.518	32.308	1190	261.171	29.847	1210
Total	211.958	32.288	6350	264.274	28.019	8610

Note: ^a These numbers are rounded to maintain student confidentiality per IES requirements.

A *post hoc* analysis was conducted for both the fourth- and eighth-grade U.S. History NAEP for a teacher’s undergraduate concentration. For fourth-grade students, a teacher’s undergraduate concentration is significance in 25 combination comparisons (see Table 4.13). For

eighth-grade students, a teacher's undergraduate concentration is significance in 16 combination comparisons (see Table 4.14).

Table 4.13

Undergraduate Concentration Comparison Fourth-Grade U.S. History

Combination 1	Combination 2	Contrast	Std. Err.	t	P > t
Ed Major & Ed Minor	Ed Major	-9.869	1.887	-5.230	0.000**
Ed Major & SS Major	Ed Major	3.722	2.015	1.847	0.752
Ed Major & SS Minor	Ed Major	6.929	1.351	5.130	0.000**
SS Major	Ed Major	-1.323	1.922	-0.688	1.000
SS Major & SS Minor	Ed Major	-15.818	3.164	-4.999	0.000**
SS Major & Ed Minor	Ed Major	0.851	2.521	0.338	1.000
Ed Minor	Ed Major	-0.790	1.892	-0.417	1.000
SS Minor	Ed Major	-11.449	2.155	-5.314	0.000**
Ed Minor & SS Minor	Ed Major	-1.675	2.958	-0.566	1.000
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Major	-5.920	1.118	-5.297	0.000**
Ed Major & SS Major	Ed Major & Ed Minor	13.591	2.614	5.199	0.000**
Ed Major & SS Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	16.798	2.144	7.835	0.000**
SS Major	Ed Major & Ed Minor	8.546	2.543	3.361	0.032**
SS Major & SS Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	-5.949	3.576	-1.664	0.854
SS Major & Ed Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	10.720	3.021	3.548	0.017**
Ed Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	9.079	2.520	3.602	0.014**
SS Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	-1.580	2.723	-0.580	1.000
Ed Minor & SS Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	8.194	3.395	2.414	0.358
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Major & Ed Minor	3.948	2.005	1.969	0.671
Ed Major & SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	3.207	2.258	1.421	0.944
SS Major	Ed Major & SS Major	-5.045	2.639	-1.911	0.710
SS Major & SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	-19.540	3.645	-5.361	0.000**
SS Major & Ed Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	-2.871	3.103	-0.925	0.998
Ed Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	-4.512	2.618	-1.723	0.824
SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	-15.171	2.813	-5.392	0.000**
Ed Minor & SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	-5.396	3.468	-1.556	0.900
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Major & SS Major	-9.642	2.126	-4.534	0.000**
SS Major	Ed Major & SS Minor	-8.252	2.175	-3.795	0.007**
SS Major & SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Minor	-22.747	3.324	-6.844	0.000**
SS Major & Ed Minor	Ed Major & SS Minor	-6.078	2.719	-2.236	0.479
Ed Minor	Ed Major & SS Minor	-7.719	2.148	-3.593	0.015**
SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Minor	-18.379	2.383	-7.713	0.000**
Ed Minor & SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Minor	-8.604	3.128	-2.750	0.178
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Major & SS Minor	-12.850	1.511	-8.502	0.000**
SS Major & SS Minor	SS Major	-14.495	3.594	-4.033	0.003**

Table 4.13: *Undergraduate Concentration Comparison Fourth-Grade U.S. History (continued)*

Combination 1	Combination 2	Contrast	Std. Err.	t	P > t
SS Major & Ed Minor	SS Major	2.174	3.043	0.714	1.000
Ed Minor	SS Major	0.533	2.547	0.209	1.000
SS Minor	SS Major	-10.126	2.747	-3.686	0.010**
Ed Minor & SS Minor	SS Major	-0.352	3.414	-0.103	1.000
Neither Ed or SS	SS Major	-4.598	2.038	-2.256	0.465
SS Major & Ed Minor	SS Major & SS Minor	16.669	3.947	4.223	0.001**
Ed Minor	SS Major & SS Minor	15.028	3.578	4.200	0.001**
SS Minor	SS Major & SS Minor	4.368	3.724	1.173	0.985
Ed Minor & SS Minor	SS Major & SS Minor	14.143	4.240	3.336	0.035**
Neither Ed or SS	SS Major & SS Minor	9.897	3.236	3.058	0.080
Ed Minor	SS Major & Ed Minor	-1.641	3.025	-0.543	1.000
SS Minor	SS Major & Ed Minor	-12.300	3.195	-3.849	0.006**
Ed Minor & SS Minor	SS Major & Ed Minor	-2.526	3.784	-0.667	1.000
Neither Ed or SS	SS Major & Ed Minor	-6.771	2.611	-2.594	0.252
SS Minor	Ed Minor	-10.659	2.727	-3.909	0.004**
Ed Minor & SS Minor	Ed Minor	-0.885	3.397	-0.260	1.000
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Minor	-5.130	2.010	-2.552	0.274
Ed Minor & SS Minor	SS Minor	9.775	3.550	2.753	0.177
Neither Ed or SS	SS Minor	5.529	2.259	2.448	0.336
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Minor & SS Minor	-4.246	3.035	-1.399	0.949

** Statistically significant

Table 4.14

Undergraduate Concentration Comparison Eighth-Grade U.S. History

Combination 1	Combination 2	Contrast	Std. Err.	t	P > t
Ed Major & Ed Minor	Ed Major	6.407	5.680	1.128	0.989
Ed Major & SS Major	Ed Major	12.699	3.782	3.358	0.032**
Ed Major & SS Minor	Ed Major	-17.041	7.902	-2.156	0.536
SS Major	Ed Major	8.559	3.764	2.274	0.452
SS Major & SS Minor	Ed Major	11.227	3.759	2.987	0.098
SS Major & Ed Minor	Ed Major	13.548	4.077	3.323	0.036**
Ed Minor	Ed Major	12.324	3.938	3.130	0.065
SS Minor	Ed Major	11.522	3.795	3.036	0.085
Ed Minor & SS Minor	Ed Major	11.380	3.821	2.978	0.100
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Major	7.312	3.786	1.932	0.696

Table 4.14: *Undergraduate Concentration Comparison Eighth-Grade U.S. History (continued)*

Combination 1	Combination 2	Contrast	Std. Err.	T	P > t
Ed Major & SS Major	Ed Major & Ed Minor	6.293	4.381	1.436	0.939
Ed Major & SS Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	-23.447	8.206	-2.857	0.137
SS Major	Ed Major & Ed Minor	2.152	4.365	0.493	1.000
SS Major & SS Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	4.821	4.361	1.105	0.991
SS Major & Ed Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	7.142	4.638	1.540	0.906
Ed Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	5.917	4.516	1.310	0.967
SS Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	5.115	4.392	1.165	0.986
Ed Minor & SS Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	4.973	4.415	1.127	0.989
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Major & Ed Minor	0.905	4.384	0.206	1.000
Ed Major & SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	-29.740	7.027	-4.232	0.001**
SS Major	Ed Major & SS Major	-4.140	1.048	-3.949	0.004**
SS Major & SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	-1.472	1.032	-1.426	0.942
SS Major & Ed Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	0.849	1.885	0.451	1.000
Ed Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	-0.375	1.561	-0.240	1.000
SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	-1.177	1.157	-1.018	0.995
Ed Minor & SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	-1.319	1.238	-1.066	0.993
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Major & SS Major	-5.387	1.124	-4.792	0.000**
SS Major	Ed Major & SS Minor	25.600	7.017	3.648	0.012**
SS Major & SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Minor	28.268	7.015	4.030	0.003**
SS Major & Ed Minor	Ed Major & SS Minor	30.589	7.190	4.255	0.001**
Ed Minor	Ed Major & SS Minor	29.365	7.112	4.129	0.002**
SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Minor	28.562	7.034	4.061	0.002**
Ed Minor & SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Minor	28.420	7.048	4.033	0.003**
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Major & SS Minor	24.352	7.029	3.465	0.023**
SS Major & SS Minor	SS Major	2.668	0.962	2.774	0.168
SS Major & Ed Minor	SS Major	4.989	1.847	2.701	0.199
Ed Minor	SS Major	3.765	1.516	2.484	0.314
SS Minor	SS Major	2.963	1.094	2.707	0.197
Ed Minor & SS Minor	SS Major	2.821	1.180	2.390	0.373
Neither Ed or SS	SS Major	-1.247	1.060	-1.177	0.985
SS Major & Ed Minor	SS Major & SS Minor	2.321	1.838	1.263	0.975
Ed Minor	SS Major & SS Minor	1.097	1.505	0.729	1.000
SS Minor	SS Major & SS Minor	0.294	1.079	0.273	1.000
Ed Minor & SS Minor	SS Major & SS Minor	0.152	1.166	0.131	1.000
Neither Ed or SS	SS Major & SS Minor	-3.916	1.044	-3.750	0.008**
Ed Minor	SS Major & Ed Minor	-1.224	2.180	-0.562	1.000
SS Minor	SS Major & Ed Minor	-2.026	1.911	-1.061	0.993
Ed Minor & SS Minor	SS Major & Ed Minor	-2.169	1.961	-1.106	0.991
Neither Ed or SS	SS Major & Ed Minor	-6.236	1.891	-3.297	0.039**
SS Minor	Ed Minor	-0.802	1.593	-0.504	1.000
Ed Minor & SS Minor	Ed Minor	-0.944	1.653	-0.571	1.000
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Minor	-5.012	1.569	-3.194	0.054

Table 4.14: Undergraduate Concentration Comparison Eighth-Grade U.S. History (continued)

Combination 1	Combination 2	Contrast	Std. Err.	T	P > t
Ed Minor & SS Minor	SS Minor	-0.142	1.277	-0.111	1.000
Neither Ed or SS	SS Minor	-4.210	1.167	-3.607	0.014**
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Minor & SS Minor	-4.068	1.248	-3.259	0.044**

** Statistically significant

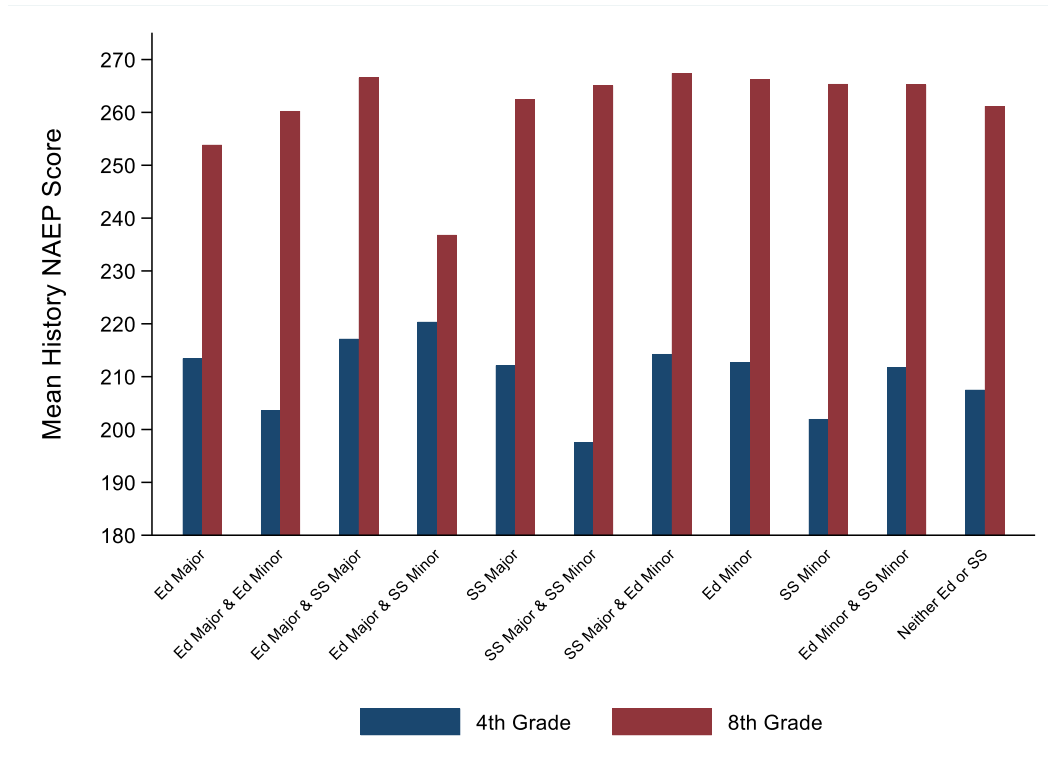


Figure 4.1. Undergraduate Concentrations by Grade Level for U.S. History NAEP (2010)

Geography. A teacher’s undergraduate concentration is statistically significant in both the fourth- and eighth-grade 2010 Geography NAEP (see Table 4.15). For fourth-graders, a teacher’s undergraduate concentration, is statistically significant ($F_{(10, 6338)} = 12.41, p < .001$). The results also display a small practical significant ($\eta^2 = .019$) accounting for a less than two percent of the interaction of the total variance for a teacher’s concentration (Cohen, 1988). For eighth-grade students, a teacher’s undergraduate concentration is also statistically significant

($F_{(10, 6311)} = 6.99, p < .001$). The results also display a small practical significant ($\eta^2 = .011$) accounting for a more than one percent of the interaction of the total variance (Cohen, 1988).

Table 4.15

Teacher's Undergraduate Concentration on 2010 Geography NAEP

Undergraduate Concentration	Fourth Grade			Eighth Grade		
	M	SD	N ^a	M	SD	N ^a
Ed Major	211.844	30.384	2550	255.678	29.994	620
Ed Major & Ed Minor	205.370	33.133	340	248.819	36.339	90
Ed Major & SS Major	213.326	30.356	280	260.897	29.102	1030
Ed Major & SS Minor	216.921	29.395	690	260.687	29.558	860
SS Major	215.723	30.715	340	255.912	30.350	1260
SS Major & SS Minor	188.561	28.291	80	258.679	28.673	890
SS Major & Ed Minor	208.663	35.626	180	265.257	29.939	380
Ed Minor	212.483	31.546	330	255.030	30.915	110
SS Minor	204.728	30.071	230	258.526	29.304	530
Ed Minor & SS Minor	212.104	35.354	120	253.730	34.531	110
Neither Ed or SS	206.586	32.271	1220	253.599	32.153	460
Total	210.706	31.378	6360	258.199	30.115	6340

Note: ^a These numbers are rounded to maintain student confidentiality per IES requirements.

A *post hoc* analysis was conducted for both the fourth- and eighth-grade Geography NAEP for a teacher's undergraduate concentration (see Figure 4.2). For fourth-grade students, a teacher's undergraduate concentration is significant in 21 combination comparisons (see Table 4.16). For eighth-grade students, a teacher's undergraduate concentration is significant in 14 combination comparisons (see Table 4.17).

Table 4.16

Undergraduate Concentration Comparison Fourth-Grade Geography

Combination 1	Combination 2	Contrast	Std. Err.	t	P > t
Ed Major & Ed Minor	Ed Major	-6.474	1.791	-3.615	0.014**
Ed Major & SS Major	Ed Major	1.482	1.967	0.753	1.000
Ed Major & SS Minor	Ed Major	5.078	1.335	3.805	0.007**

Table 4.16: *Undergraduate Concentration Comparison Fourth-Grade Geography (continued)*

Combination 1	Combination 2	Contrast	Std. Err.	t	P > t
SS Major	Ed Major	3.879	1.807	2.146	0.544
SS Major & SS Minor	Ed Major	-23.282	3.531	-6.593	0.000**
SS Major & Ed Minor	Ed Major	-3.181	2.405	-1.323	0.965
Ed Minor	Ed Major	0.639	1.819	0.351	1.000
SS Minor	Ed Major	-7.116	2.163	-3.290	0.040**
Ed Minor & SS Minor	Ed Major	0.261	2.928	0.089	1.000
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Major	-5.257	1.082	-4.860	0.000**
Ed Major & SS Major	Ed Major & Ed Minor	7.956	2.514	3.165	0.059
Ed Major & SS Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	11.552	2.057	5.617	0.000**
SS Major	Ed Major & Ed Minor	10.353	2.391	4.331	0.001**
SS Major & SS Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	-16.808	3.862	-4.352	0.001**
SS Major & Ed Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	3.293	2.869	1.148	0.988
Ed Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	7.113	2.400	2.964	0.104
SS Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	-0.642	2.670	-0.240	1.000
Ed Minor & SS Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	6.735	3.320	2.028	0.629
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Major & Ed Minor	1.217	1.902	0.640	1.000
Ed Major & SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	3.595	2.212	1.625	0.872
SS Major	Ed Major & SS Major	2.397	2.526	0.949	0.997
SS Major & SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	-24.764	3.947	-6.274	0.000**
SS Major & Ed Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	-4.663	2.982	-1.563	0.898
Ed Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	-0.843	2.534	-0.333	1.000
SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	-8.598	2.791	-3.080	0.075
Ed Minor & SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	-1.221	3.419	-0.357	1.000
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Major & SS Major	-6.740	2.069	-3.257	0.045**
SS Major	Ed Major & SS Minor	-1.199	2.071	-0.579	1.000
SS Major & SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Minor	-28.360	3.673	-7.721	0.000**
SS Major & Ed Minor	Ed Major & SS Minor	-8.258	2.609	-3.166	0.059
Ed Minor	Ed Major & SS Minor	-4.439	2.082	-2.132	0.554
SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Minor	-12.193	2.388	-5.107	0.000**
Ed Minor & SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Minor	-4.817	3.098	-1.555	0.901
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Major & SS Minor	-10.335	1.481	-6.979	0.000**
SS Major & SS Minor	SS Major	-27.161	3.870	-7.018	0.000**
SS Major & Ed Minor	SS Major	-7.060	2.879	-2.452	0.334
Ed Minor	SS Major	-3.240	2.412	-1.343	0.961
SS Minor	SS Major	-10.995	2.681	-4.101	0.002**
Ed Minor & SS Minor	SS Major	-3.618	3.329	-1.087	0.992
Neither Ed or SS	SS Major	-9.136	1.918	-4.764	0.000**
SS Major & Ed Minor	SS Major & SS Minor	20.102	4.183	4.806	0.000**
Ed Minor	SS Major & SS Minor	23.921	3.876	6.172	0.000**
SS Minor	SS Major & SS Minor	16.167	4.048	3.993	0.003**
Ed Minor & SS Minor	SS Major & SS Minor	23.543	4.504	5.227	0.000**
Neither Ed or SS	SS Major & SS Minor	18.025	3.589	5.022	0.000**

Table 4.16: *Undergraduate Concentration Comparison Fourth-Grade Geography (continued)*

Combination 1	Combination 2	Contrast	Std. Err.	t	P > t
Ed Minor	SS Major & Ed Minor	3.820	2.887	1.323	0.965
SS Minor	SS Major & Ed Minor	-3.935	3.115	-1.263	0.975
Ed Minor & SS Minor	SS Major & Ed Minor	3.441	3.688	0.933	0.998
Neither Ed or SS	SS Major & Ed Minor	-2.077	2.489	-0.834	0.999
SS Minor	Ed Minor	-7.755	2.689	-2.884	0.128
Ed Minor & SS Minor	Ed Minor	-0.378	3.336	-0.113	1.000
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Minor	-5.896	1.929	-3.056	0.081
Ed Minor & SS Minor	SS Minor	7.376	3.535	2.087	0.587
Neither Ed or SS	SS Minor	1.858	2.256	0.824	0.999
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Minor & SS Minor	-5.518	2.998	-1.841	0.756

** Statistically significant

Table 4.17

Undergraduate Concentration Comparison Eighth-Grade Geography

Combination 1	Combination 2	Contrast	Std. Err.	t	P > t
Ed Major & Ed Minor	Ed Major	-6.859	3.450	-1.988	0.657
Ed Major & SS Major	Ed Major	5.219	1.524	3.424	0.026**
Ed Major & SS Minor	Ed Major	5.009	1.581	3.168	0.059
SS Major	Ed Major	0.234	1.473	0.159	1.000
SS Major & SS Minor	Ed Major	3.001	1.568	1.914	0.708
SS Major & Ed Minor	Ed Major	9.579	1.962	4.882	0.000**
Ed Minor	Ed Major	-0.648	3.102	-0.209	1.000
SS Minor	Ed Major	2.848	1.777	1.603	0.882
Ed Minor & SS Minor	Ed Major	-1.948	3.164	-0.616	1.000
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Major	-2.079	1.846	-1.126	0.989
Ed Major & SS Major	Ed Major & Ed Minor	12.078	3.364	3.590	0.015**
Ed Major & SS Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	11.868	3.390	3.501	0.020**
SS Major	Ed Major & Ed Minor	7.092	3.341	2.123	0.561
SS Major & SS Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	9.860	3.384	2.914	0.119
SS Major & Ed Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	16.438	3.584	4.587	0.000**
Ed Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	6.210	4.314	1.439	0.939
SS Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	9.707	3.486	2.785	0.164
Ed Minor & SS Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	4.911	4.359	1.126	0.989
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Major & Ed Minor	4.779	3.521	1.357	0.958
Ed Major & SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	-0.210	1.384	-0.152	1.000
SS Major	Ed Major & SS Major	-4.986	1.259	-3.960	0.004**
SS Major & SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	-2.218	1.369	-1.620	0.874

Table 4.17: Undergraduate Concentration Comparison Eighth-Grade Geography (continued)

Combination 1	Combination 2	Contrast	Std. Err.	t	P > t
SS Major & Ed Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	4.360	1.807	2.413	0.358
Ed Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	-5.867	3.006	-1.952	0.683
SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	-2.371	1.605	-1.478	0.927
Ed Minor & SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	-7.167	3.070	-2.334	0.410
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Major & SS Major	-7.298	1.680	-4.344	0.001**
SS Major	Ed Major & SS Minor	-4.776	1.328	-3.597	0.014**
SS Major & SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Minor	-2.008	1.432	-1.401	0.948
SS Major & Ed Minor	Ed Major & SS Minor	4.570	1.855	2.463	0.327
Ed Minor	Ed Major & SS Minor	-5.657	3.036	-1.864	0.741
SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Minor	-2.161	1.659	-1.303	0.969
Ed Minor & SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Minor	-6.957	3.099	-2.245	0.473
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Major & SS Minor	-7.088	1.732	-4.092	0.002**
SS Major & SS Minor	SS Major	2.768	1.312	2.110	0.570
SS Major & Ed Minor	SS Major	9.346	1.764	5.299	0.000**
Ed Minor	SS Major	-0.882	2.980	-0.296	1.000
SS Minor	SS Major	2.615	1.556	1.681	0.846
Ed Minor & SS Minor	SS Major	-2.182	3.045	-0.716	1.000
Neither Ed or SS	SS Major	-2.313	1.634	-1.416	0.945
SS Major & Ed Minor	SS Major & SS Minor	6.578	1.844	3.567	0.016**
Ed Minor	SS Major & SS Minor	-3.650	3.029	-1.205	0.982
SS Minor	SS Major & SS Minor	-0.153	1.646	-0.093	1.000
Ed Minor & SS Minor	SS Major & SS Minor	-4.949	3.092	-1.601	0.882
Neither Ed or SS	SS Major & SS Minor	-5.081	1.720	-2.954	0.107
Ed Minor	SS Major & Ed Minor	-10.228	3.250	-3.147	0.062
SS Minor	SS Major & Ed Minor	-6.731	2.025	-3.324	0.036**
Ed Minor & SS Minor	SS Major & Ed Minor	-11.527	3.309	-3.483	0.021**
Neither Ed or SS	SS Major & Ed Minor	-11.659	2.085	-5.591	0.000**
SS Minor	Ed Minor	3.497	3.142	1.113	0.990
Ed Minor & SS Minor	Ed Minor	-1.300	4.089	-0.318	1.000
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Minor	-1.431	3.181	-0.450	1.000
Ed Minor & SS Minor	SS Minor	-4.796	3.203	-1.497	0.921
Neither Ed or SS	SS Minor	-4.927	1.913	-2.576	0.261
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Minor & SS Minor	-0.131	3.242	-0.040	1.000

** Statistically significant

Civics. A teacher's undergraduate concentration is statistically significant in both the fourth- and eighth-grade Civics NAEP (see Table 4.18). For fourth-graders, a teacher's undergraduate concentration, is statistically significant ($F_{(10, 6383)} = 9.61, p < .001$). The results also display a small practical significant ($\eta^2 = .015$) accounting for a less than two percent of the

interaction of the total variance for a teacher’s concentration (Cohen, 1988). For eighth-grade students, a teacher’s undergraduate concentration is also statistically significant ($F_{(10, 6443)} = 13.29, p < .001$). The results also display a small practical significant ($\eta^2 = .020$) accounting for about two percent of the interaction of the total variance (Cohen, 1988).

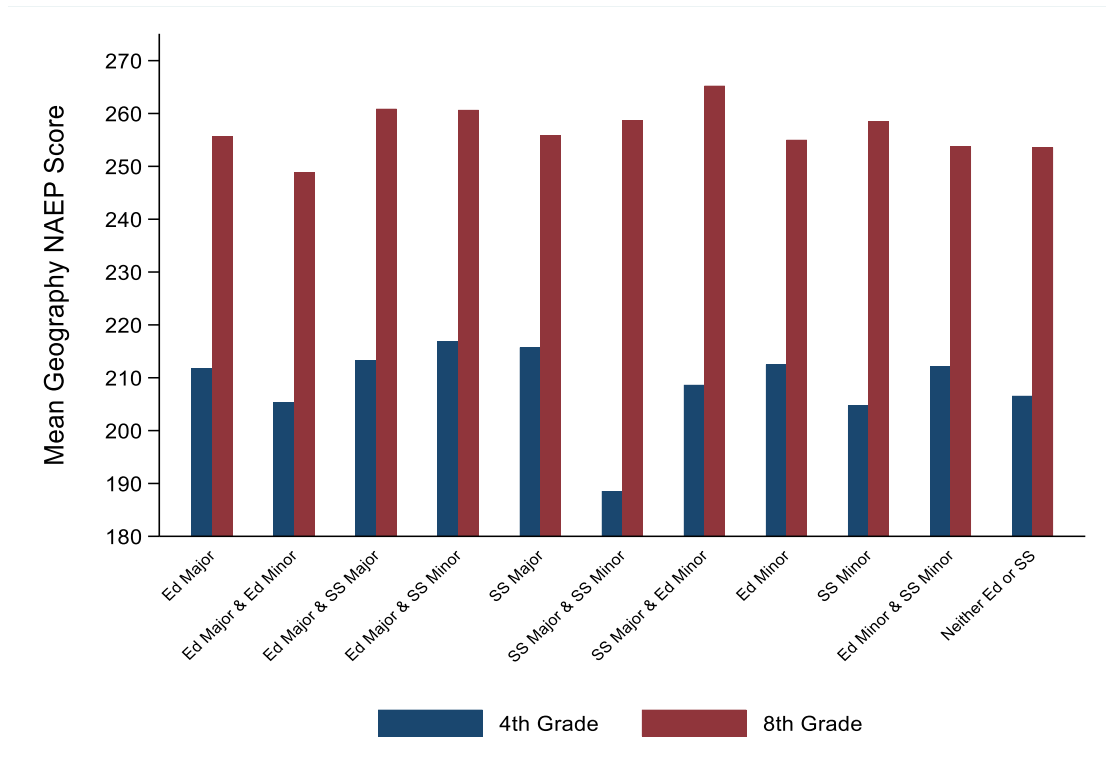


Figure 4.2. Undergraduate Concentrations by Grade Level for Geography NAEP (2010)

A *post hoc* analysis was conducted for both the fourth- and eighth-grade Civics NAEP for a teacher’s undergraduate concentration (see Figure 4.3). For fourth-grade students, a teacher’s undergraduate concentration is significant in 20 combination comparisons (see Table 4.19). For eighth-grade students, a teacher’s undergraduate concentration is significant in 27 combination comparisons (see Table 4.20).

Limitations of Using NAEP data

Using NAEP data to examine the general education trends is invaluable to researchers. However, the self-reporting on the teacher questionnaire does raise some concerns. As mentioned above, some teachers claimed as many as seven majors. Additionally, the variance in the number of respondents is expected; however, the respondents on the concentration analysis was more than 8,000 data points lower than the other two criteria. Along those lines, more students generally participated in the eighth-grade NAEP, but similar numbers participated in the Geography and Civics tests for both grades on the concentration examination. Before discussing the results, these concerns needed to be expressed.

Table 4.18

Teacher's Undergraduate Concentration on 2010 Civics NAEP

Undergraduate Concentration	<u>Fourth Grade</u>			<u>Eighth Grade</u>		
	M	SD	N ^a	M	SD	N ^a
Ed Major	156.421	27.688	2590	146.926	34.016	600
Ed Major & Ed Minor	149.304	29.948	320	132.903	36.612	90
Ed Major & SS Major	156.959	31.498	320	150.339	31.213	1070
Ed Major & SS Minor	158.723	29.043	660	149.340	30.978	830
SS Major	154.338	31.331	330	148.143	32.563	1250
SS Major & SS Minor	137.976	26.533	110	151.362	31.060	940
SS Major & Ed Minor	153.949	32.965	180	161.868	31.729	370
Ed Minor	158.144	28.945	320	152.992	38.875	110
SS Minor	146.248	29.150	240	154.676	29.945	580
Ed Minor & SS Minor	152.761	32.146	140	138.640	37.160	140
Neither Ed or SS	153.649	33.322	1200	143.796	35.357	480
Total	154.952	29.390	6410	149.751	32.590	6460

Note: ^a These numbers are rounded to maintain student confidentiality per IES requirements.

Discussion

While this study supports previous findings regarding teacher preparation, it also contradicts recent research with regard to criteria for highly qualified teachers. Every Student

Succeeds Act (ESSA) replaces NCLB, the NCLB-inspired designation of highly qualified teacher remains in place. Thus, the findings from this study do inform teacher preparation today. This study exhibits three key findings, which will be the subject of this discussion. This study supports the argument for traditional certification pathways; contradicts recent evidence about the graduate degrees; and addresses questions regarding pedagogical content knowledge.

Table 4.19

Undergraduate Concentration Comparison Fourth-Grade Civics

Combination 1	Combination 2	Contrast	Std. Err.	t	P > t
Ed Major & Ed Minor	Ed Major	-7.117	1.732	-4.109	0.002**
Ed Major & SS Major	Ed Major	0.537	1.727	0.311	1.000
Ed Major & SS Minor	Ed Major	2.301	1.276	1.804	0.778
SS Major	Ed Major	-2.083	1.713	-1.216	0.981
SS Major & SS Minor	Ed Major	-18.445	2.854	-6.462	0.000**
SS Major & Ed Minor	Ed Major	-2.473	2.239	-1.105	0.991
Ed Minor	Ed Major	1.723	1.732	0.995	0.996
SS Minor	Ed Major	-10.173	1.989	-5.115	0.000**
Ed Minor & SS Minor	Ed Major	-3.660	2.533	-1.445	0.937
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Major	-2.772	1.021	-2.716	0.193
Ed Major & SS Major	Ed Major & Ed Minor	7.654	2.308	3.317	0.037**
Ed Major & SS Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	9.418	1.993	4.726	0.000**
SS Major	Ed Major & Ed Minor	5.034	2.297	2.191	0.511
SS Major & SS Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	-11.328	3.239	-3.497	0.020**
SS Major & Ed Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	4.644	2.712	1.713	0.829
Ed Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	8.840	2.312	3.824	0.006**
SS Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	-3.056	2.510	-1.218	0.981
Ed Minor & SS Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	3.457	2.960	1.168	0.986
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Major & Ed Minor	4.345	1.840	2.361	0.392
Ed Major & SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	1.764	1.989	0.887	0.998
SS Major	Ed Major & SS Major	-2.620	2.294	-1.142	0.988
SS Major & SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	-18.983	3.236	-5.865	0.000**
SS Major & Ed Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	-3.010	2.709	-1.111	0.990
Ed Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	1.185	2.308	0.514	1.000
SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	-10.711	2.506	-4.273	0.001**
Ed Minor & SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	-4.197	2.957	-1.420	0.944
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Major & SS Major	-3.310	1.835	-1.803	0.778
SS Major	Ed Major & SS Minor	-4.384	1.976	-2.218	0.492
SS Major & SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Minor	-20.747	3.020	-6.871	0.000**
SS Major & Ed Minor	Ed Major & SS Minor	-4.774	2.446	-1.952	0.682

Table 4.19: *Undergraduate Concentration Comparison Fourth-Grade Civics (continued)*

Combination 1	Combination 2	Contrast	Std. Err.	t	P > t
Ed Minor	Ed Major & SS Minor	-0.578	1.993	-0.290	1.000
SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Minor	-12.475	2.219	-5.621	0.000**
Ed Minor & SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Minor	-5.961	2.718	-2.193	0.510
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Major & SS Minor	-5.074	1.419	-3.577	0.015**
SS Major & SS Minor	SS Major	-16.362	3.229	-5.068	0.000**
SS Major & Ed Minor	SS Major	-0.390	2.700	-0.144	1.000
Ed Minor	SS Major	3.806	2.297	1.657	0.857
SS Minor	SS Major	-8.090	2.497	-3.241	0.047**
Ed Minor & SS Minor	SS Major	-1.577	2.949	-0.535	1.000
Neither Ed or SS	SS Major	-0.689	1.822	-0.378	1.000
SS Major & Ed Minor	SS Major & SS Minor	15.972	3.536	4.517	0.000**
Ed Minor	SS Major & SS Minor	20.168	3.239	6.227	0.000**
SS Minor	SS Major & SS Minor	8.272	3.383	2.445	0.338
Ed Minor & SS Minor	SS Major & SS Minor	14.785	3.729	3.965	0.004**
Neither Ed or SS	SS Major & SS Minor	15.673	2.921	5.366	0.000**
Ed Minor	SS Major & Ed Minor	4.196	2.712	1.547	0.904
SS Minor	SS Major & Ed Minor	-7.701	2.883	-2.671	0.213
Ed Minor & SS Minor	SS Major & Ed Minor	-1.187	3.282	-0.362	1.000
Neither Ed or SS	SS Major & Ed Minor	-0.300	2.323	-0.129	1.000
SS Minor	Ed Minor	-11.896	2.510	-4.740	0.000**
Ed Minor & SS Minor	Ed Minor	-5.383	2.960	-1.819	0.769
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Minor	-4.495	1.840	-2.443	0.339
Ed Minor & SS Minor	SS Minor	6.513	3.117	2.090	0.585
Neither Ed or SS	SS Minor	7.401	2.083	3.553	0.017**
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Minor & SS Minor	0.888	2.608	0.340	1.000

** Statistically significant

Table 4.20

Undergraduate Concentration Comparison Eighth-Grade Civics

Combination 1	Combination 2	Contrast	Std. Err.	t	P > t
Ed Major & Ed Minor	Ed Major	-14.024	3.742	-3.747	0.008**
Ed Major & SS Major	Ed Major	3.413	1.648	2.070	0.599
Ed Major & SS Minor	Ed Major	2.414	1.730	1.396	0.950
SS Major	Ed Major	1.217	1.605	0.758	1.000
SS Major & SS Minor	Ed Major	4.436	1.689	2.626	0.235
SS Major & Ed Minor	Ed Major	14.942	2.135	6.997	0.000**

Table 4.20: *Undergraduate Concentration Comparison Eighth-Grade Civics (continued)*

Combination 1	Combination 2	Contrast	Std. Err.	t	P > t
Ed Minor	Ed Major	6.066	3.375	1.797	0.782
SS Minor	Ed Major	7.750	1.878	4.126	0.002**
Ed Minor & SS Minor	Ed Major	-8.286	3.067	-2.702	0.199
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Major	-3.130	1.977	-1.583	0.890
Ed Major & SS Major	Ed Major & Ed Minor	17.436	3.638	4.793	0.000**
Ed Major & SS Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	16.438	3.676	4.472	0.000**
SS Major	Ed Major & Ed Minor	15.241	3.619	4.212	0.001**
SS Major & SS Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	18.460	3.657	5.048	0.000**
SS Major & Ed Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	28.965	3.883	7.459	0.000**
Ed Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	20.090	4.681	4.292	0.001**
SS Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	21.773	3.748	5.810	0.000**
Ed Minor & SS Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	5.738	4.464	1.285	0.971
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Major & Ed Minor	10.894	3.798	2.868	0.134
Ed Major & SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	-0.998	1.491	-0.669	1.000
SS Major	Ed Major & SS Major	-2.196	1.345	-1.633	0.868
SS Major & SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	1.024	1.444	0.709	1.000
SS Major & Ed Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	11.529	1.947	5.921	0.000**
Ed Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	2.654	3.259	0.814	0.999
SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	4.337	1.661	2.611	0.243
Ed Minor & SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	-11.699	2.939	-3.981	0.003**
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Major & SS Major	-6.542	1.772	-3.692	0.010**
SS Major	Ed Major & SS Minor	-1.197	1.443	-0.829	0.999
SS Major & SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Minor	2.022	1.536	1.316	0.966
SS Major & Ed Minor	Ed Major & SS Minor	12.527	2.017	6.212	0.000**
Ed Minor	Ed Major & SS Minor	3.652	3.301	1.106	0.991
SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Minor	5.336	1.742	3.063	0.079
Ed Minor & SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Minor	-10.700	2.985	-3.584	0.015**
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Major & SS Minor	-5.544	1.848	-2.999	0.095
SS Major & SS Minor	SS Major	3.219	1.395	2.308	0.428
SS Major & Ed Minor	SS Major	13.725	1.911	7.183	0.000**
Ed Minor	SS Major	4.849	3.238	1.498	0.921
SS Minor	SS Major	6.533	1.618	4.037	0.003**
Ed Minor & SS Minor	SS Major	-9.503	2.915	-3.260	0.044**
Neither Ed or SS	SS Major	-4.347	1.732	-2.509	0.299
SS Major & Ed Minor	SS Major & SS Minor	10.506	1.982	5.301	0.000**
Ed Minor	SS Major & SS Minor	1.630	3.280	0.497	1.000
SS Minor	SS Major & SS Minor	3.314	1.702	1.947	0.686
Ed Minor & SS Minor	SS Major & SS Minor	-12.722	2.962	-4.295	0.001**
Neither Ed or SS	SS Major & SS Minor	-7.566	1.810	-4.179	0.001**
Ed Minor	SS Major & Ed Minor	-8.876	3.531	-2.514	0.296
SS Minor	SS Major & Ed Minor	-7.192	2.145	-3.353	0.033**
Ed Minor & SS Minor	SS Major & Ed Minor	-23.228	3.237	-7.175	0.000**

Table 4.20: Undergraduate Concentration Comparison Eighth-Grade Civics (continued)

Combination 1	Combination 2	Contrast	Std. Err.	t	P > t
Neither Ed or SS	SS Major & Ed Minor	-18.072	2.232	-8.095	0.000**
SS Minor	Ed Minor	1.684	3.382	0.498	1.000
Ed Minor & SS Minor	Ed Minor	-14.352	4.161	-3.449	0.024**
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Minor	-9.196	3.438	-2.675	0.211
Ed Minor & SS Minor	SS Minor	-16.036	3.074	-5.217	0.000**
Neither Ed or SS	SS Minor	-10.880	1.988	-5.473	0.000**
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Minor & SS Minor	5.156	3.135	1.645	0.863

** Statistically significant

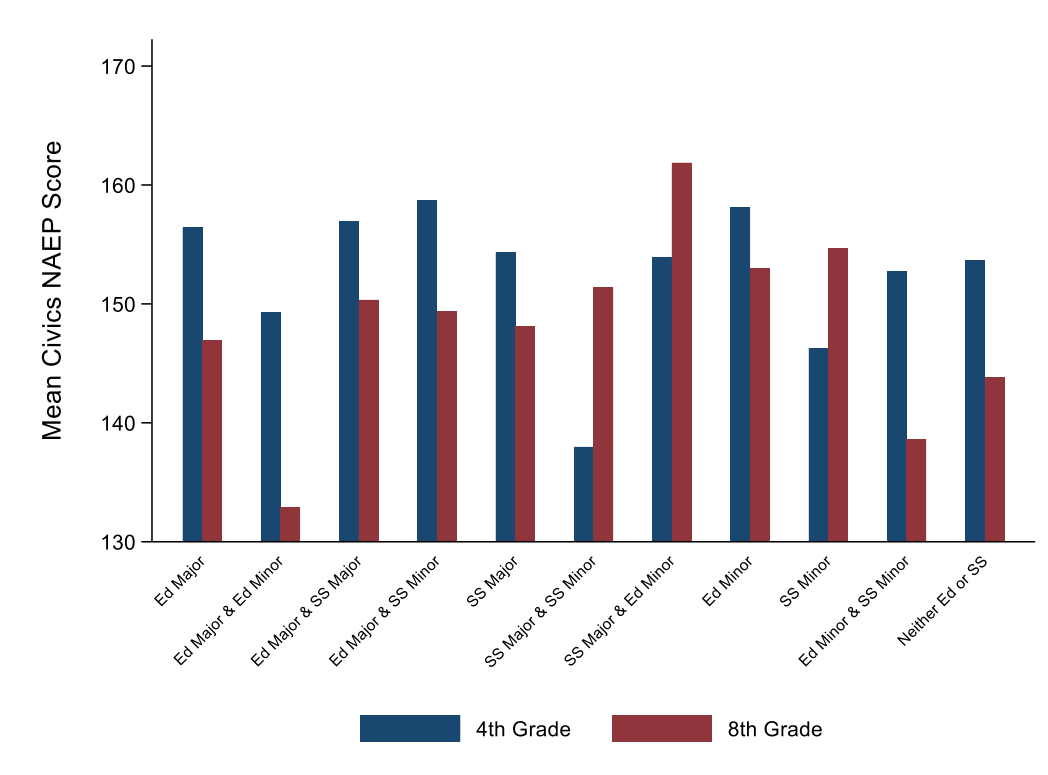


Figure 4.3. Undergraduate Concentrations by Grade Level for Civics NAEP (2010)

In examining certification pathways, studies have tried to support the idea that a traditional certification pathway creates more effective teachers than an alternative certification pathway (Cocran-Smith et al., 2016; Stronge, 2018). In this study, all assessments confirm that a traditional certification pathway improves student scores over alternative certification pathways.

However, this study does not account for the diversity of alternative certification pathways, i.e., Teach for America, which has recently been shown to improve student math and science scores more than some traditional pathways (Sass, 2015). Likewise, traditional pathways vary from state to state and program to program. For example, while most states only require a bachelor's degree, Oregon requires a master's degree. Also, recent studies of programs (Greenberg, McKee, & Walsh, 2013; Greenberg & Walsh, 2012; Hiebert, Berk, Miller, Gallivan, & Meikle, 2019; Preston, 2017) have determined that not all teacher preparation programs are equal. Nevertheless, the fact that this study's findings can be applied to all six assessments lends further support to the efficacy of traditional certification programs.

Another take away from this study is the comparison between public-use and restricted-use data. In an earlier study utilizing public-use data with the same or comparable variables on only the 2010 eighth-grade U.S. History NAEP, Learn (2012) found that an advanced degree did not improve student achievement. This conclusion corroborated previous findings about student achievement and advanced degrees. However, when examining those variables in the restricted-use database, questions arose about whether the variables (graduate major/minor; see Appendix C) were accurate when compared to using the highest degree obtained (HE001012). When evaluating based on highest degree obtained, the results contradicted previous research. The restricted-use database permitted a clear way to evaluate the variables rather than simply looking at the public-use analysis.

With regard to highly qualified teachers, the belief among policymakers is that teachers with advanced degrees should improve student scores. However, recent research (Coltfelder, Ladd, & Vigdor, 2007, 2010; Croninger, Rice, Rathbun, & Nishio, 2007; Harris & Sass, 2011; Horn & Jang, 2017; Ladd & Sorensen, 2015) suggests that an advanced degree generally

negatively impacts student scores on large-scale assessments. The findings from this study contradict that recent research and support the belief of the policymakers. In four out of the six assessments (both U.S. History assessments, fourth-grade Geography, and fourth-grade Civics), teachers with advanced degrees improve student test scores more than their bachelor's-only colleagues. Arguments for why teachers get advanced degrees often emphasize economic incentives for the teachers; however, teachers with advanced degrees do improve student scores for social studies, especially in elementary grades.

Examining the undergraduate concentration possible combinations produced no significance across all six assessments; however, some insights materialize when examined through different lenses. Of the 55 possible concentration combinations, nine combinations had no significance across all six assessments (see Table 4.21). Of these nine combinations, a teacher with only an Education Major had three occurrences, and a teacher with an Education Minor only had four occurrences. Thus, education majors accounted for seven of the nine combinations with no significance across all assessments. The exclusion of teacher preparation with an education concentration would be extremely controversial and troublesome for teacher education programs. Further this does not imply that non-education concentrators would produce higher test scores, only that in social studies student scores are not aided by teachers with a focus on education. This could have several additional causes or interpretations about the overall value of social studies within elementary and middle school buildings.

Further examination into the differences based on grade level provides other insights. Considering fourth grade, students who have a teacher with either an Ed Major and a SS Major or an Ed Major and SS Minor scored in the top three in all three disciplines. Considering the ten Ed Major and SS Major concentrations, two comparisons were significant, three comparisons

were significant in two assessments, and five comparisons were not significant. Considering ten Ed Major and SS Minor concentrations, four comparisons were significant on all three assessments, one was significant on two assessments, three were significant on one assessment, and two were not significant on all three assessments.

Table 4.21

Summary of the Comparisons Between Mean Student Scores for Undergraduate Concentration Combinations of Teachers

Combination 1	Combination 2	4th Hist	4th Geo	4th Civ	8th His	8th Geo	8th Civ
Ed Major & Ed Minor	Ed Major	--	--	--			--
Ed Major & SS Major	Ed Major				+	+	
Ed Major & SS Minor	Ed Major	+	+				
SS Major	Ed Major						
SS Major & SS Minor	Ed Major	--	--	--			
SS Major & Ed Minor	Ed Major				+	+	+
Ed Minor	Ed Major						
SS Minor	Ed Major	--	--	--			+
Ed Minor & SS Minor	Ed Major						
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Major	--	--				
Ed Major & SS Major	Ed Major & Ed Minor	+		+		+	+
Ed Major & SS Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	+	+	+		+	+
SS Major	Ed Major & Ed Minor	+	+				+
SS Major & SS Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor		--	--			+
SS Major & Ed Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	+				+	+
Ed Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor	+		+			+
SS Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor						+
Ed Minor & SS Minor	Ed Major & Ed Minor						
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Major & Ed Minor						
Ed Major & SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Major				--		
SS Major	Ed Major & SS Major				--	--	
SS Major & SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	--	--	--			
SS Major & Ed Minor	Ed Major & SS Major						+
Ed Minor	Ed Major & SS Major						
SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Major	--		--			
Ed Minor & SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Major						--
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Major & SS Major	--	--		--	--	--
SS Major	Ed Major & SS Minor	--			+	--	
SS Major & SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Minor	--	--	--	+		
SS Major & Ed Minor	Ed Major & SS Minor				+		+

Table 4.21: Summary of the Comparisons Between Mean Student Scores for Undergraduate Concentration Combinations of Teachers (continued)

Combination 1	Combination 2	4th Hist	4th Geo	4th Civ	8th His	8th Geo	8th Civ
Ed Minor	Ed Major & SS Minor	--			+		
SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Minor	--	--	--	+		
Ed Minor & SS Minor	Ed Major & SS Minor				+		--
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Major & SS Minor	--	--	--	+	--	
SS Major & SS Minor	SS Major	--	--	--			
SS Major & Ed Minor	SS Major					+	+
Ed Minor	SS Major						
SS Minor	SS Major	--	--	--			+
Ed Minor & SS Minor	SS Major						--
Neither Ed or SS	SS Major		--				
SS Major & Ed Minor	SS Major & SS Minor	+	+	+		+	+
Ed Minor	SS Major & SS Minor	+	+	+			
SS Minor	SS Major & SS Minor		+				
Ed Minor & SS Minor	SS Major & SS Minor	+	+	+			--
Neither Ed or SS	SS Major & SS Minor		+	+	--		--
Ed Minor	SS Major & Ed Minor						
SS Minor	SS Major & Ed Minor	--				--	--
Ed Minor & SS Minor	SS Major & Ed Minor					--	--
Neither Ed or SS	SS Major & Ed Minor				--	--	--
SS Minor	Ed Minor	--		--			
Ed Minor & SS Minor	Ed Minor						--
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Minor						
Ed Minor & SS Minor	SS Minor						--
Neither Ed or SS	SS Minor			+	--		--
Neither Ed or SS	Ed Minor & SS Minor				--		

Note: A “+” indicates an increase above the mean, a “—” indicates a decrease below the mean.

Additionally, within all three assessments, three combinations were in the bottom level for all three assessments: Ed Major and Ed Minor; SS Major and SS Minor; and SS minor. Of the ten Ed Major and Ed Minor combinations, two combinations were significant in all three assessments, four combinations were significant in two assessments, one was significant in one assessment, and three were not significant in all three assessment. Examining the ten SS Major and SS Minor combinations, six were significant in all three assessments, three were significant in two assessments, and one was significant in one assessment. Looking at only SS Minor

concentrators, three were significant in all three assessments, two were significant in two assessments, three were significant in only one assessment, and two were not significant. For elementary teacher preparation, only focusing in education or social studies does not seem to prepare teachers to engage students. In fact, an Ed Major and a social studies field (regardless of Major or Minor) seems to be the best way to prepare elementary teachers to teach social studies. Thus, a focus on pedagogy trumps content. Leming, Ellington, and Schug (2006) advise schools of education to include more social studies in their preparation of elementary teachers because often the first social studies teachers that students “encounter are woefully unprepared” (p. 326).

With regard to eighth-grade teachers, the insights are sparser. In terms of the top scores, only one combination appeared across all three disciplines: SS Major and Ed Minor. Examining this combination, two comparisons were significant on all three assessments, six were significant on two assessments, one was significant on a single assessment, and one was not significant on all three assessments. Of the six that were significant on two assessments, five included both Geography and Civics; only one combination included U.S. History. The only combination to appear at the bottom for all three assessments was Ed Major and Ed Minor. Of this combination concentration, none were significant on all three assessments, three were significant on two assessments, five were significant on one assessment, and two were not significant. With the exception of the non-significant, Civics was significant in the other eight combinations. Of all combinations, a SS Major was the only concentration category that did not appear in the bottom scores for any of the eighth-grade assessments. For middle school teachers, discipline content should be emphasized over pedagogy in their preparation. Most schools of education currently adhere to this model, but many do place more emphasis on pedagogy over the various content areas for the field of social studies.

Surprisingly, the results indicate that there is very little difference between the three disciplines. Even in the concentration majors, no pattern emerged between U.S. History, Geography, and Civics. So, the implications of this study are generalizable for the field of social studies and not for a particular discipline.

Future Research

An analysis combining the three criteria for highly qualified teachers was not conducted. In the future, comparisons to the 2006 NAEP as well as 2014 NAEP could prove valuable. The issue with the 2014 NAEP is that it only examined eighth-grade students, so comparisons to fourth-grade students is not possible. Many researchers assume that the current model of teacher preparation is correct, yet without verification the public must assume that they are receiving highly qualified teachers. The definition of a highly qualified teacher does need to be addressed because a highly qualified elementary teacher is different from a highly qualified middle school teacher. A highly qualified high school teacher is likely different from a highly qualified middle school teacher, too.

Blending of PCK varies from level to level and grade to grade, but often the lines are blurred to address only the need for pedagogy, not content. Teacher preparation programs need to bring content areas into the discussion to educate highly effective teachers. A degree, certification, and/or concentration label a teacher as highly qualified, but can they take that degree, certification, and/or concentration and transform them into effective teaching? Ultimately, highly qualified does not necessarily equate to highly effective teachers, and teacher preparation programs need to determine ways to create highly effective teachers, not train highly qualified ones. Addressing the needs of developing effective PCK models for different levels is one step toward creating highly effective teachers.

Potential Publication Locations

Various stakeholders could benefit from the findings of this study. The National Council for Teacher Quality examined schools of education to determine whether they are graduating quality teachers (Imig, Wiseman, & Imig, 2011). Debates between content and pedagogy could use this study to determine effective major/minor combinations for preparing quality social studies educators. Regarding teacher preparation, the teacher background study could be submitted to the *Journal of Teacher Education*. Stakeholders outside of Schools of Education could find this study useful as well. State licensure/certification boards would be able to look at the impact of academic background on teacher effectiveness. The *Educational Administration Quarterly* could impact hiring by principals, who often use academic background as an indicator.

CHAPTER 5: SOCIAL STUDIES ASSESSMENT: CLOSING THE CYCLE



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Figure 5.1. An Interpretation of NCLB and its Impact on the Classroom
Wilkinson, S. Retrieved from <https://seattleducation.com/high-stakes-testing-and-opting-out/>

Most educators regard the NCLB era as a giant black mark for the American educational system. During this period, federal influence increased, state oversight increased, and local control diminished. Administrations waited for test scores, teachers narrowed their focus to tested materials, and students tested repeatedly. Despite these changes, evidence from the Nation's Report Card suggests that for the most part student scores are not increasing, teacher quality is not increasing, and student learning is not increasing. These consequences of the NCLB suggest that the value interpretations of this legislation are truly a failure for American schools. Yet, as with any assessment cycle, NCLB has had its share of unintended consequences that do not paint as bleak a picture as people believe.

The assessment cycle includes preparation, measurement, evaluation, and revision; yet it also includes unintended consequences in the form of social considerations, construct validity, and value implications. Separating the assessment cycle from its unintended consequences would be nearly impossible because they are inherent in the cycle itself. Exploring this intertwining of intended and unintended aspects of assessments assists in the development of more purposeful assessments. In this study, social studies provides the vehicle to explore this relationship while also providing information on the state of the field.

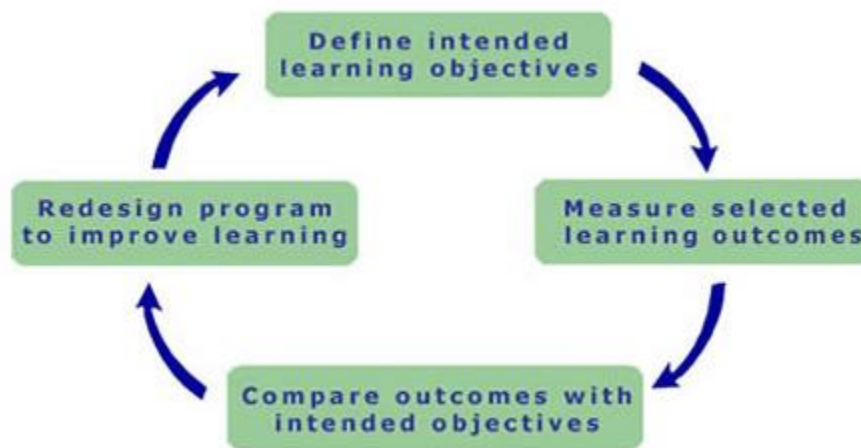


Figure 5.2. Assessment Learning Cycle. R. Frye. (2018). Assessment and outcomes.

Relating Intended Learning Objectives (Preparation)

The current learning objectives of social studies are still as convoluted as the first learning objectives from the 1890s. The book proposal (Chapter Two) examines the history of social studies standards from the nineteenth century through the Common Core. The history of social studies standards includes social considerations like questions of citizenship; construct validity, such as the New York Times history survey of American students; the accountability issues related to the MACOS textbook controversy; and the value implications about the current state of the field. A myriad of controversies over the objectives, content, and role of social studies within education raise questions of value for its disciplines.

This question of value is critical to discussing the ultimate learning objective of social studies, which has dogged the field and plays into the question of why only about half of states include social studies in their state accountability systems. Surveys of teachers and preservice teachers often reveal that educators do not comprehend the purpose of social studies in the curriculum (Adler, 2008; Goodman & Adler, 1985; Hawley, 2010; VanFossen, 2005). In the Common Core standards, civics is the only aspect of the field to be mentioned specifically. How civics is to be taught is unclear; the end goal of civics is unclear; and the content that is essential is unclear. The fact that social studies is unclear about its learning objectives is not attributable to NCLB or Common Core; the purpose of social studies has been a problem from the beginning. Because of this, testing students on social studies is problematic.

If individuals within the field struggle with the purpose of social studies, the unintended consequences for policymakers are compounded by the lack of clear learning objectives. Policymakers set state curricula, design state assessments, and outline teacher certification requirements. If learning objectives are vague, then policymakers must coordinate policy in a similarly vague fashion. When “high-stakes testing puts [control over curriculum] firmly in the hands of politicians” (Jones, Jones, & Hargrove, 2003, p. 34), then politicians are left to decide which subjects will be valued and what content should be included in the learning objectives. The unintended consequences of vague learning objectives affect the construct validity of any tests and the value implications for the field of social studies. If policymakers say they value social studies, but stress only math and language arts, the implication for students is obvious: math and language arts are the only two subjects that matter.

Relating Measurement of Learning Outcomes (Measurement)

Moving beyond the objectives into the measuring of objectives is the next phase of the assessment cycle. Federal accountability specified that math and language arts were essential to accountability, and science needed to be assessed on a semi-regular basis. State policymakers were able to decide whether social studies should be part of their state accountability and assessment systems. Chapter three focuses upon the measurement and accountability aspects of social studies as valued by the state policymakers. Grant and Horn (2006) point out that at any given moment nearly half of states assess social studies as part of their state assessment requirements. Most commonly these assessments are in the upper secondary grades, but they are not limited to those grades.

Using marker years of 2004 (the first year NCLB was in full affect) and 2014 (the year that every child was to pass state assessments), this study examined the notion of value by state policymakers. During this time period, 19 state policymakers included a social studies assessment within their state accountability system, while 23 did not include social studies. Interestingly, over this period, nine states altered their accountability policy with regard to social studies, pointing out the lack of consistency among policymakers towards social studies. The effects of high stakes testing on teachers and students is often discussed in literature (Eckers, 2018; Gerwin & Visone, 2006; Grant & Salinas, 2008; Kidwell, 2005; Misco, Patterson, & Doppen, 2011; VanFossen, 2005); however, the effects on a subject are more anecdotal than factual. The few studies (Fitchett, Heafner, & Lambert, 2012; Heafner & Fitchett, 2012; Heafner et al, 2007) that examine the impact of the assessment on social studies focus on instructional time rather than on student learning. In a recent study, Eckers (2018) compared two elementary social studies classes to see how students fared after state policymakers discontinued the

mandatory state social studies assessment. The results indicate that student scores in the final year of the mandatory elementary social studies assessment were 11% higher than similar students who took the same assessment eight years later. The decline of student learning can be attributed to many factors, but the impact of value no longer being placed upon social studies by state policymakers is evidenced in this study.

The assumption at the onset of this study was that if policymakers assessed social studies, a certain value was intended because it was equated to other assessed subjects. The evidence did not support that notion. Student learning in elementary and middle school social studies was more positive in states without any assessment in social studies. However, states that assessed social studies did observe a higher impact on student learning on the high school social studies NAEP. Whether the change is due to the notion that most social studies assessments occur in high school or that teachers are more content focused, the fact remains that student learning does improve in high school if value is placed on social studies.

Relating Intended Objectives with Outcomes (Evaluation)

The next step in the assessment cycle is evaluation of the assessment. In terms of student learning, high stakes testing has moved the debate – between a wide breadth of knowledge or a deep focus on specific knowledge – solidly towards the breadth of knowledge camp (Jones, Jones, & Hargrove, 2003). With social studies, this notion of a breadth of knowledge is connected to the idea of a highly qualified social studies teacher. Chapter four evaluates the criteria for modelling a highly qualified social studies teacher. The three elements for creating a highly qualified teacher are possession of a degree, licensure from the state education agency, and a concentration in the subject that the teacher is going to teach.

In elementary education, most research (Croninger, Rice, Rathbun, & Nishio, 2007; Darling-Hammond & Youngs, 2002; Levine, 2006) points to teachers who have bachelor's degrees and who have gone through traditional certification programs with an elementary education concentration. In middle school, research (Smith, Desimone, & Ueno, 2005) is sparser with most teachers having a bachelor's degree through a traditional certification program and a more content-determined concentration. However, these pathways seem to be more traditional than evidence-based. As education changes, traditional assumptions also need to be evaluated to see if they still are valid.

Chapter four supports some traditional beliefs but the results also raise questions that policymakers should begin to examine in the preparation of teachers. In fact, recent research that attempts to link traditional teacher education programs to student test scores is viewed as controversial (Cochran-Smith et al., 2016; Greenberg, McKee, & Walsh, 2013). Likewise, the teacher shortage crisis will only increase the number of non-qualified teachers in the classroom (Aragon, 2016; Ingersoll, 1999, 2003). Teachers who instruct subjects outside of their content areas have been shown to decrease student learning in those subjects (Holt, 2006; Ingersoll, 1999; Kukla-Acevedo, 2007). Until policymakers create a system where all new teachers can enter the classroom with a minimum of three to five years of experience, hiring practices will continue to be influenced by these highly suggestive qualities for highly effective teachers.

Relating Improvements to Learning (Revision)

An unintended consequence of educational reform efforts in the past fifty years is the impact on social studies. These efforts influence the social considerations, construct validity, and the value implications of social studies. Social considerations for social studies are connected to the rationale for the field and the intended learning objectives. Sandra Day O'Connor (Heffner,

2012; Martinez, 2012) and several other public leaders bemoan the social implications of the lack of civics within the educational system (Bluey, 2008; Campbell, 2014; McDermott, 2015). Advocates and critics of social studies have sought ways to improve social studies learning objectives throughout the era of general public education.

NCLB is a recent attempt to improve education at the federal level. This federal mandate includes the need for states to improve social studies standards, yet the federal mandate does not require accountability as a measurement of improvement for social studies. Decisions by state policymakers about the role of social studies in their accountability systems demonstrate their views towards improvement and value. In third artifact, the definition of highly qualified teachers has remained the same since 2003. This study examined the criteria to provide a path towards improvement for the preparation of teachers. Suggestions for improvement are an important step in the assessment cycle, but they are not the final phase.

Closing the Cycle

Questions about testing and measuring student achievement in social studies form the fabric of this study. Raising instructional and educational expectations leads to high stakes testing (Jones, Jones, & Hargrove, 2003). Chapter two identifies the need to clarify the purpose of the field in order to construct valid tests. Chapter three examines the presupposition that the NAEP is a valid assessment based on the approved NCES standards. Yet, do the NAEP standards align with state standards? Furthermore, conflicting results on state assessments raise questions about the effectiveness of state accountability systems. In fourth chapter, the Department of Education identifies criteria for a highly qualified teacher. If they are correct, NAEP results should verify their beliefs; however, the results raise more questions about the criteria than answers. Without a solid foundation for the social studies field, social studies

assessments are questionable. Does this reality also extend to other fields? Today's educational system relies on these assessments, but are these assessments testing the correct abilities of students, teachers, and schools?

Recalling Messick's theory of consequential validity, value implications are the essential part of an assessment's unintended consequence. This study has continually returned to questions of value. What is the value of social studies? Do policymakers value social studies? Are we preparing teachers who demonstrate the value of social studies? These are essential questions raised throughout this study. To a degree, these essential questions are part of nearly every discussion regarding the problems related to social studies. Considering the most commonly discussed problem, marginalization, this study will attempt to close the assessment cycle by relating this problem to unintended consequences, specifically value implications.

Many researchers identify marginalization as an unintended consequence of NCLB. Yet, the problem of marginalization started with the devaluation of social studies as a core academic field, which predates NCLB. The tumultuous history of social studies over the previous 120 years proves that advocates could not agree on the basic purpose of the field. The most common purpose is the preparation of *good* citizens; however, arguments abound as to what constitutes a *good* citizen. Without a clear purpose to direct policymakers, they must decide what value they want for citizenship depending on their own interpretations. Furthermore, discipline disputes force policymakers to determine the value of each discipline individually rather than on the social studies field as a whole. Some value history and thus assess history, others only value civics, and others do not value social studies at all. The disparity across the nation with regard to social studies demonstrates the problem of devaluation as it leads to marginalization (Seixas, 1993a).

Social studies advocates want to attribute marginalization to the other tested subjects yet, if asked, teachers and students do not see any value in the field because it is not tested (Francis, 2014; Gibson, 2012; Zhao & Hoge, 2005). Stakeholders dedicate resources to those fields that are assessed, thus leading to a devaluation of those non-tested fields. Additionally, chapter three indicates that state policymakers should remove social studies from the state assessment system for elementary and middle school students. Yet, by high school, marginalization seems to cease, and social studies is once again valued. Tested states witness an increase in student scores. This discrepancy raises questions about when policymakers value social studies.

Finally, the preparation of teachers is not uniform across the country. Arguments abound that teachers should value pedagogy over content (Ball & Bass, 2000; Ball, Thames, & Phelps, 2008; Darling-Hammond, 2006). Chapter four shows that too much content or too much pedagogy does not train highly effective social studies teachers. Teachers need a good blending of pedagogy and content, which is not necessarily the standard model. Furthermore, do teachers understand the devaluation that happens when a teacher is not highly effective? Students say they hate history or geography or government, but this typically happens because teachers either do not completely comprehend the value of the field or they do not effectively convey that value to students. Negative values are an unintended consequence of the dilemmas that plague the field of social studies right now within American education.

These value implications are an essential part of the assessment cycle for social studies. Some researchers might argue that they are negative, a few might argue that they are positive, but the fact is that value implications are part of the current education system and researchers need to acknowledge this situation. By acknowledging and utilizing the current tools, researchers need to address value implications instead of lamenting them.

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APPENDIX A: SAMPLE CHAPTER

A 120 Year Experiment? The Standards of Social Studies

During an age of increasing nationalism and democratization in Western Civilization, the field of social studies emerged within schools to address the preparation required to transition from average student to participatory citizen. Looking at an example from the French Third Republic, primary schools utilized a reading book, *Le tour de France par deux enfants* (*The Tour of France by Two Children*), which relates a tale about two boys (André and Julien) who honor their father's dying request to become the most loyal French citizens possible (Siegel, 2002). This book not only exposes French students to the diversity of French society, but also lays the groundwork for a form of French citizenship. *Le tour de France* is a good example of how the evolving notion of citizenship intersects with the pedagogy of education.

The book was published in 1877, which is six years after the defeat of the French in the Franco-Prussian war. As part of the peace, the new German state annexed the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. The author chose two boys from the former French province of Lorraine, the orphaned boys (André and Julien), to wander through France relating information on historic developments, physical features, and cultures for the various French *départments*. This textbook was the most popular elementary reader book for the next 50 years as it taught students about French society and would become an extremely influential book within French education and society.

Fouillée's² use of two boys from Lorraine is called a deliberate choice. Siegel (2002) argues that Fouillée's two boys represent a form of French nationalism. By World War I, nearly two generations of French children learned reading through André and Julien's eyes (Olson,

² In 1877, *Le tour de France par deux enfants* was published with G. Bruno as the author. Subsequent information revealed that G. Bruno was a female write Augustine Fouillée.

2011). Siegel (2002) claims Fouillée’s story infused anti-Germanic attitudes that contributed to French nationalism during World War I. Language arts and social studies were blended together to educate students on their roles as *responsible* French citizens.

Within the French example, some of the theories concerning social studies can be identified. In their promise to their father, the boys demonstrate the need to understand what it means to be French (Seigel, 2002). In their wandering, the two orphans attempt to understand their place in Belle Époque French society. The author’s inclusion of maps created “geographically informed citizens” (Olson, 2011, p. 40). The anti-Germanic attitudes fostered reasons for fighting in World War I. These examples are attempts to describe how children are transformed into *good* citizens.

Using education to influence future generations is not limited to France; American supporters also used education for many different purposes. Public education supporters used schools to promote English as a common language even though no official language exists (Reese, 2011). Some early social studies advocates believed that their goal was to educate minorities to understand their place in society (Crocco, 2004; Mirel, 2010). Education also became an important vehicle to infuse nationalism into the civic identity of students (Gibson, 2012; Haynes, 2009; Nelson, 2001). Nevertheless, the most common rationale for education was, and remains, the preparation of citizens (Barr, 1997; Barr, Barth, & Shermis, 1978; Carpenter, 2006; Longstreet, 1985).

The subject most associated with the preparation of citizens is social studies (Barr, 1997; Evans, 2004; Saxe 1997). Social studies is not limited to simply instructing students about how the civic system works but also teaches them how to act like *good* citizens. Social studies includes civics, but also history, sociology, geography, anthropology, and economics, which all

contribute to the creation of civic education. The goal of the field of social studies is to allow students to understand their place within their society at the local, national, and global levels.

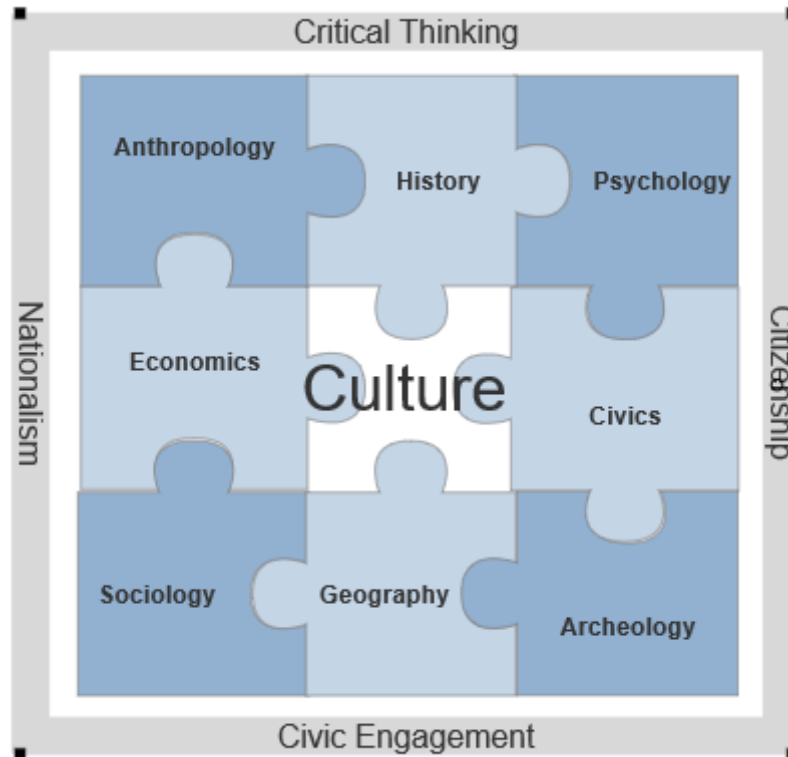


Figure A.1. Conceptualization of Social Studies

Theories of Social Studies

Zhao and Hoge (2005) investigated student and teacher perceptions about social studies in elementary schools. Since most students do not like social studies, Zhao and Hoge (2005) concluded that most elementary teachers do not view a need for it at the elementary level. Compounding this issue is the inability of most social studies teachers to articulate a rationale for teaching their subject. For example, is the word “social studies” a singular or plural noun? Many social studies teachers could not give you a justification for why either grammatical choice is correct. For the purposes of this work, social studies is a singular noun because it is a single field that incorporates many different disciplines. It is not, as some critics have articulated, a group of

many distinct disciplines that happen to be taught under a larger umbrella. Just like Mathematics, Language Arts, and Science, social studies is a field that uses many interconnected disciplines to form the curriculum.

The purpose of social studies is confusing and conflicting at times (Nelson, 2001). Many educators will explain that social studies is simply a history course. Others will claim that social studies is about educating students about America and how to be an American citizen. Another common belief is that social studies enables students to think critically about evidence. Some stakeholders believe that the main purpose of social studies is to infuse a common patriotic feeling among all Americans, while other educators support the notion that social studies is for creating a framework for students to understand the world they live in today. Numerous other potential rationales for social studies have appeared in its long and varied history, but ultimately the main rationales have boiled down to either civic education or critical thinking.

Civic education is the most common rationale given for the inclusion of social studies in the curriculum (NCSS, 2006). If we assume that the purpose of social studies is citizenship, this assumption raises questions about how one determines what makes a person a *good* citizen. If obtaining *good* citizens is the goal, how one achieves that goal tends to become the debate. The difference of opinion about how to attain *good* citizens and what *good* citizenship means is at the heart of the confusion over social studies. The most basic debate is what content leads to teaching students about *good* citizenship: history, social sciences, social studies, or something else? Historians, politicians, educators, social scientists, and parents all have competing ideas about citizenship, which is at the very foundation of the origins of the field of social studies. The debate will center on issues of content and skills, but it is actually about how to define *good* citizenship.

A major misconception within the field is that social studies educators are divided into two camps: social studies and the disciplines (primarily history). This division has been ongoing since the term social studies was first introduced in 1916. Barton (2012) claims current political ideology has fueled this debate in recent years; these political ideologies can be examined within questions about civic education. Traditionalists (e.g., Ravitch, Finn, Nevins) feel that history content is the best way to teach citizenship. Further, they believe that the historical focus should create a shared narrative among Americans that is viewed as critical to citizenship. This group often claims that social studies usurped the traditional role of history in the curriculum. Developmentalists (e.g., Counts, Saxe, VanSledright) tend to focus on determining the skills needed to be a *good* citizen and infusing them into the curriculum. This group is often concerned over the role of education in society and for elementary students in particular. This group wants to educate students to think critically about questions of citizenship in order to be *good* citizens. The early calls for social studies curriculum never advocated for traditional history; they favored an interdisciplinary approach that focused on skills rather than content memorization for the idea of training citizens (McLaughlin et al., 1898). Yet, these early calls for curriculum are the examples that traditionalists tend to idealize. So, despite various disagreements about what constitutes good citizenship, these disparate groups tend to agree that standards for social studies should be developed around the purpose of educating *good* citizens.

The nature of curriculum as attributed to Herbert Spencer posed the question of what knowledge is most valuable (Loveless, 2014). When social studies makes the news, it is not necessarily about the skills students have but rather about the content they do not have. The *perceived* conflict between social studies and its disciplines has led to unintended consequences for the field as a whole. These struggles have led many disciplines to advocate for their own

inclusion in the curriculum apart from social studies. Some have been more successful, i.e., history, but the field of social studies has never been a fully unified discipline (Thornton & Barton, 2010).

Disunity exists among the various social sciences, including history, sociology, government, anthropology, economics, geography, and the field of social studies education. Hertzberg (1981) argued that even in the standard definition of social studies as articulated in the 1916 Final Report of Committee on Social Studies there is no clear delineation of what comprises social studies. The recommendations from the report advocate for a separate pedagogy among the various social sciences as well as a blending of the social sciences (Hertzberg, 1981). The organization of the curriculum is different from state to state partly because there is not a single voice at the national level. The National Council for Social Studies (NCSS) is the loudest advocate for social studies, but each discipline has their own agenda that does not always mesh with the NCSS agenda. For example, history has the NCSS, National Council for History Education (NCHE), the American Historical Association (AHA), and the Organization of American Historians (OAH), who are all attempting to influence state curriculum decisions.

Educators cannot build consensus on the nature of the field of social studies. Some educators feel that history should be taught, but the design ideas are fluid as are the number of courses, the content, and the purpose (Vinovskis, 2009). Vinovskis (2009) wants history taught but she does not explain why or what the benefit is for students other than giving them historical training. Cultural wars often happen when there is a movement away from content knowledge in favor of a focus on developing skills. Content is what humanistic interest groups want to measure, but social meliorism and developmentalism are more concerned with skills. When objective skills become the focus, the differences between the social sciences become the most

acute. Each social science interest group wants to stress their own humanistic interests over an interdisciplinary approach to social science. Arthur Bestor argued in the 1950s that social studies stressed present times and issues of relevance, while history as a discipline trained the mind (Symcox, 2002). He claimed that if students studied social studies, they would become interested only in the present; thus, social studies should become history education.

Fallace (2008) identifies four beliefs by historians that led to this conclusion: historians believed that they controlled all aspects of the curriculum (including textbooks and content) prior to the Committee on Social Studies' Final Report; many current historians believe the Final Report (1916, Nelson, 1994) usurped historians and replaced them with educationalists who wanted to eliminate history from the curriculum; historians believed that social studies represented a true blending of the social sciences and that they should not, therefore, foster the subject; and finally, the educationalists in the 1920s and 1930s were determined to replace history with social studies courses. Fallace (2008) points out the fallacies connected to these interpretations; nevertheless, these fallacies were believed to be fact by many of the individuals working on the National Standards for History. Moreover, historians have often claimed that social studies has been corrupted for political motives, but they neglect to mention the fact that history has also been corrupted for political reasons.

Citizenship Education

Citizenship is the most common explanation given for the inclusion of social studies in the curriculum, yet what does civic education mean and how does it translate into standards? Many Progressives would argue that the purpose of education is the preparation of citizens. An examination into the explanation concerning civic education will help to frame several of the future controversies. Civic education is a highly politicized subject within schools because the

definition of citizen changes over the course of history. Secondly, the decisions about the foundations of citizens are very much tied up in the debates about who controls the curriculum and whether decisions about teaching civics should be decided at the parental, classroom, district, state, or national level (Lerner, Nagai, & Rothman, 1995). The level that is allowed to decide fluctuates over time, just as each group's concept of citizenship changes over time. Bohan, Doppen, Feinberg, and O'Mahony (2008) argued that the concept of citizenship changed in the 1890s, which contributed to the eventual rise of social studies over history. Citizenship underwent a change from a strict legal construct to a cultural concept: for example, "what it means to be a citizen" expanded the idea of citizenry to include women, African-Americans, and children (Bohan, Doppen, Feinberg, & O'Mahony, 2008). Citizenship was typically about understanding one's position within society, and it was beginning to evolve into protecting political rights.

Educating Ethnic Minorities

Americanization generally refers to the process of turning immigrant groups into American citizens during the early part of the twentieth century. However, Americanization was first applied to minority groups already living in the United States during the late nineteenth century. This early usage embraced the idea of making minorities understand American society but had no intention of making them citizens. Advocates used the idea of a common historical narrative to create their idyllic American society. The two ethnic groups that are mostly closely associated with this process are Native Americans and African Americans. Some national attempts tried to force these groups into either assimilating or understanding their role in society, but most of these attempts were very localized.

The ethnic nationalist superiority of White Anglo-Saxon Protestants (WASP) held a long tradition in American history including the American Party (Know Nothings) – 1850s, American Protective Association – 1880s & 1890s, and the Ku Klux Klan – 1880s-1920s. They influenced the immigration debate into terms of racial issues, including legislation to limit non-acceptable ethnic groups (i.e., Chinese Exclusion Act – 1882). The ethnic nationalists did not see education as a solution to creating *good* American citizens from *undesired* minorities (Mirel, 2010). The ethnic nationalists peaked in the 1920s with immigration limitations passed by Congress, but eventually the civic nationalists (assisted by progressive educators) prevailed in attempting to use education as a way to assimilate ethnic groups into American society.

In 1879, the Carlisle Indian Industrial School was set up in Carlisle, PA, as a boarding school for Native Americans. Richard Henry Pratt, founder of the Carlisle School, continued a path of *civilizing* Native Americans that had been well established within American society (Adams, 1988). The Carlisle School became the example that other Native American schools attempted to imitate. The more interesting case is the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute, commonly called the Hampton Institute, in Virginia. The original intent of the Hampton Institute was to educate free African Americans in 1867 and “to train them to go back into their communities and educate their people, to give them the tools necessary to earn a living, and teach them respect for labor” (Jones-Oltjenbruns, 2012, p. 89-90). Institute leaders amended their mission after 1878 to add the task of “civilizing” of Native Americans and making them part of white society.

The Hampton Institute became a model of Americanization and assimilation for both African Americans and Native Americans for several decades. The administrators created an *outing* program where Native Americans learned trades but were also subjected to a course of

civilizing that included training them to become *real* members of society (Jones-Oltjenbruns, 2012). The outing program was used with both groups. The fundamental idea behind the Hampton curriculum was to teach both Native Americans and African Americans to understand how society worked and what their role in society was to be. The roles were different for Native Americans and African Americans; thus, a form of segregation was imposed. Most Native Americans came out of the Hampton Institute with trade skills but with little formal education; African Americans, on the other hand, obtained both trade skills and advanced education. However, “classes in American history, English, sociology, and economics were attended jointly” by both minority groups (Jones-Oltjenbruns, 2012).

Francis Kennedy, a Native American, reflecting upon his experience with the Hampton Institute provides insight into its purpose.

We want good mechanics, blacksmiths, carpenters, bricklayers, and above all, good farmers. We must make our own plowshares and the farmer till the dormant lands, and then we shall be independent and rise as our white brothers -- the Anglo-Saxon have risen. Our race shall then be loyal to our God and country as long as the stars and stripes wave over this broad land of ours-the United States of America. (Kennedy, 1994)

Americanization was increasingly seen as a means of controlling American minorities, specifically African Americans and Native Americans. The Institute was training its Native American students, like Francis Kennedy, to be *good* American citizens. Those general courses needed to be more formalized to teach students to be citizens.

The Hampton Institute implemented an early example of “New History” in the form of a course called *Problems of American Democracy*. This course incorporated more than mere history for its African American and Native American students; it represented an attempt to help its students understand their place in society (Lybarger, 1983). The Hampton Institute sought to examine America through the lenses of economics, sociology, and civics instead of focusing on

history, an innovation which represents one of the early examples of the new blending of the social sciences. Thomas Jesse Jones, a sociologically-trained economics professor at the Hampton Institute, oversaw the implementation and teaching of this new *social studies* curriculum. The new curriculum was not intended to favor any of the social sciences; instead, the course of study infused all the social sciences into its classes (Evans, 2004). In fact, despite its proclamation of pan-disciplinary intent, Jones did not utilize traditional historical models in his teaching (Saxe, 1992). Instead, his sociology course was an attempt to “discredit the positions espoused by [W.E.B.] DuBois and his followers and to persuade Blacks to accept the leadership and goals of Whites” (Lybarger, 1983, p. 461). In other words, Jones and the Hampton Institute sought to encourage students to accept their social positions in America. Social studies curriculum as developed at the Hampton Institute was an attempt to get minorities to understand their place in society and be valuable citizens to America.

Americanizing Immigrants

During the late nineteenth century, the United States was transforming into an industrial power that needed lots of labor. Countries that had been sending immigrants during the first half of the nineteenth century were beginning to stabilize, and their citizens were not coming to America in large waves anymore. New groups of immigrants were coming to America, mostly from Southern and Eastern Europe. Saxe (1991) argued that rising American nationalism of the 1890s contributed to an emerging desire for citizen education. The perceived success of the assimilation process on African Americans and Native Americans was thought to be applied to the rising numbers of immigrants (Mirel, 2010). An early attempt to assimilate immigrant children was the adoption of the German kindergarten model into American schools in order to promote earlier assimilation (Beatty, 2000). Many advocates saw using Americanization as an

important tool for dealing with the new immigrants (Olneck, 1989). Social reformers saw education as a single form of Americanization that could be applied to any minority, immigrant, or native population.

When this process expanded beyond minorities and into immigrant communities, the role and purpose of education became more relevant. The question was whether education could play a major role in Americanizing these groups or whether ethnic background was too large of a hurdle for the education system to overcome. The ethnic nationalist views took a very racist stance that determined that education could not solve the problem of the immigrants; thus, they favored restrictions on all immigration (Mirel, 2010). Mirel (2010) identified three other competing theories about handling immigration within the realm of civic nationalism: *assimilationists* sought to assimilate immigrants into the existing American narrative; *amalgamationists* endeavored to advocate the superiority of Anglo-Saxonism until a new American race emerged; and *cultural pluralists* strove to embrace the individualistic immigrant culture impact towards America. Eventually the idea of civic education was championed by these three groups often along the lines of Kliebard's (2004) social meliorism, but to varying degrees in the curriculum.

American business would adopt Americanization policies for their workforce as the number of immigrants continued to rise through the 1920s. For example, the foreign-born population of Detroit nearly doubled between 1910 and 1920 (Mirel, 2010). Detroit officials attempted to improve the Americanization program for both adults and students due to the huge influx of foreign-born workers for the car industry. The city of Detroit invited an individual to combine the city's various Americanization efforts including Detroit public schools, the YMCA, and the Ford Motor Company (Mirel, 2010). Much of the nighttime instruction of adult

immigrants was done by full-time public-school teachers who syncretized their Americanization curriculum between their two jobs. Many of the efforts by businesses were focused upon teaching English language, but a number of classes were devoted to educating adults about American history.

Foreign language papers within the United States included lessons on American history as a form of Americanization; however, their lessons did not always play to the *traditionalist* version of history. They often revealed their own ethnic slant to American history, looking for ethnic heroes. For example, the popularization of Christopher Columbus as a national hero in America dates from this period due to the rising number of Italian immigrants. Columbus Day was a direct outgrowth of Italians seeking to gain a hero in American history. The foreign leadership used ethnic examples as a means of combatting racial restrictionists (Mirel, 2010). The outbreak of World War I fueled a national desire to use education as a means of Americanizing both immigrants and minorities (Mirel, 2010).

As the onset of World War II loomed, racial restrictionists proclaimed that public Americanization education was a failure and would create a weakness within the American system (Mirel, 2010). Businesses wanted to cut urban education budgets due their perceived failure to successfully Americanize immigrants to the WASP narrative. The difference between the Americanization policies of the early twentieth century and the Americanization policies of the 1930s and 1940s was that the former were more directed at total assimilation of the WASP narrative, while the latter attempted to extol the virtues of various cultures that helped to build the American experience (Mirel, 2010). Some immigrants felt that education turned them into good American citizens, while others felt that Americanization was “a bitter process of cultural

oppression and loss” (Mirel, 2010, p 28). These competing theories and motives spill over in the curriculum wars that developed during this period, specifically around issues of civic education.

Americanization in the Curriculum

Often the claim is that both curriculum meetings in the 1890s were intent on creating a curriculum based soundly upon that of history. More details will follow about the two curriculum meetings: the first is the Madison Conference and the second is the Committee of Seven. For historians like Herbert Baxter Adams, James Harvey Robinson, and A.B. Hart, citizenship was an often-unspoken motivator for the purpose of history. Their recommendations contained a civics component within the curriculum. A.B. Hart, member of the Committee of Seven, wanted to blend historical inquiry with citizenship education playing a secondary role (Whelan, 1994). Students of history were to understand the origins of their roles as citizens within the progressive era of American culture. The Committee of Seven (as did its parallel elementary Committee) recommended a civic aspect separate from the standard curriculum. The Committee of Seven even suggested a separate twelfth-grade course dedicated to civics (Hertzberg, 1981). But eventually the Committee infused the civics course into the American History course.

The problems with both committees’ recommendations were that they often did not articulate what exactly citizen education entailed or how best to accomplish this objective. A degree of universality is often implicit when developing standards, yet when advocates cannot agree on the best methods for achieving the subject’s intended purpose, how are the teachers supposed to be able to obtain the intended goal? Initially, patriotic education was evident in the curriculum prior to the codification of curriculum in the form of recitation of pledges, singing of the Star-Spangled Banner (not yet the national anthem), and memorization of the Constitution. New Hampshire required all eighth-graders to orally read both the state and United States

Constitution or be prosecuted under the law (Tyack, James, & Benavot, 1987). The theory was that by doing these activities students would gain insight and understanding into the American system but, as most educators today would attest, these methods often did not translate into understanding.

The differing theories about civic nationalism also influenced the curriculum debate. The assimilationists tended to agree with the Madison Conference and the Committee of Seven, as well as the traditional patriotic education advocates. The traditional form of Americanization imparted upon students included learning English, teaching American history through events and individuals, and infusing democratic principles and attitudes (Mirel, 2010). Americanization was particularly enforced within urban school districts. For example, in 1914, Chicago elementary schools overwhelmingly focused on teaching immigrant children American history through the notion of American history heroes. As students progressed in school, they recited various patriotic things as evidence of their civic understanding (Mirel, 2010). With the onset of World War I, educators adopted an assimilationist policy towards Americanization that forced students to adopt all American values and customs while discarding their own native culture (Mirel, 2010). Strong patriotic education became an important part of the curriculum as a reaction to the fears stemming from World War I (Mirel, 2010). As part of the elementary curriculum, students' exposure to history was primarily through biographies of Columbus, Magellan, De Soto, Washington, Lincoln, and William Penn. Additionally, they were often exposed to semi-historical literature like the stories of Homer's *The Odyssey*, Howard Pyle's *Robin Hood*, Washington Irving's *Rip van Winkle*, and Longfellow's "Paul Revere's Ride." The historical narrative was not introduced until seventh grade (Mirel, 2010). High school education did not necessary broaden social studies education. Often history textbooks focused upon traditional

political and military history with a single purpose of exemplifying Anglo-Saxon culture as the model American culture (Mirel, 2010). This thread of assimilation can still be seen in current debates about the Texas curriculum.

Unfortunately, these activities did not account for the evolving concept of citizenship. Additionally, the Committee of Seven's curriculum required eleventh-graders to spend more time learning about the English constitutional tradition than learning about the American system (Saxe, 1991). The historian John Bach McMaster at the 1904 AHA convention provided the Americanization justification for the need for history in public schools (Saxe, 1991). McMaster acknowledged that foreigners might not understand the history but suggested that they needed to take history courses like it was "medicine" in order to eventually appreciate America. One of the biggest complaints with the assimilationist perspective is that it tends to lean toward indoctrination rather than understanding. The Amalgamationists are thought to have popularized the notion of America as a melting pot (Mirel, 2010). Jane Addams, in a speech at the North Central History Teachers' Association Convention in 1907, articulated the need for history courses to embrace foreigners' cultural differences (Saxe, 1991). In other words, arguments for the value of indoctrination and multiculturalism did not originate in the 1990s. Even though Addams and McMaster differed on the reasons for the use of history in public schools, both agreed that history could be used as a manipulative tool to influence societal outcomes (Saxe, 1991). When scholars looked back upon Americanization programs since the 1970s, they started calling them a form of "cultural imperialism" that were used to enforce conformity among European immigrants (Mirel, 2010, p. 3).

A rising high school student population that did not always include college as the ultimate goal helped to shift the purpose of history to "educating students to be better citizens of

the community, nation, or world” (Townsend, 2013, p. 65). By 1909, both the New England Teachers Association and Albert McKinley’s *The History Teacher’s Magazine* were voicing the need for a civics course separate from American history (Bohan, Doppen, Feinberg, & O’Mahony, 2008). Bohan, Doppen, Feinberg, and O’Mahony (2008) suggested that both the Madison Conference and the Committee of Seven were progressive in nature. Furthermore, both committees wanted to extend history education to non-enfranchised individuals so that they “receive the same benefit of social education as the males destined to exercise legal rights” (p. 14). Progressive educators would argue that the purpose of the education is to create *good* citizens.

Whether the focus of civic education was for nationalist reasons, assimilation, or some other nefarious reason, civic education laid the foundation for social studies education. By emphasizing civic education, the next phase of educational reforms would conceive of a discipline that was not solely historically based. By the 1980s, neo-conservatives would take a different spin on the formation of social studies. Lerner, Nagai, and Rothman (1995) argued that the foundation of history education was not controversial and that it laid the foundation for natural civic education. In fact, Diane Ravitch, Richard Hofstadter, and other conservatives’ perspectives point out that a Progressive faction called the Frontier group enacted a revolution within education. The Frontier Group, disciples and colleagues of John Dewey at Columbia, wanted to alter the purpose of education in order to provoke social change towards a liberal-socialist model. Their main tool was indoctrination of Progressive values into the educational system. Thus, the efforts of the Committee on the Social Studies had destroyed the unified work of historians by creating a new mishmash of subjects and skills (Ravitch, 1989).

The General Evolution of the Field of Social Studies

Literature discussing the history of social studies tends to start the story with either the formation of the American Historical Association in 1884 or, more commonly, the formation of the Madison Conference (e.g. Evans, 2004; Hertzberg, 1981; Ravitch, 1989). By choosing this latter point as the beginning, scholars have accepted the idea that history was the established subject that would be supplanted by social studies. Saxe (1991) identified three sources for the origins of concept of social studies: the development of the social sciences; the educational reforms of the 1890s dominated by historians; and the curriculum theories of various institutions implemented in the early twentieth century. By making 1894 a key moment of demarcation, this date provides evidence to Traditionalists' views that social studies usurped history's rightful place in the curriculum.

From the early development of the field of social studies, the field has been plagued with a spectrum of debates about the nature of social studies. From 1890s through 1910s, the focus was on the justification of history education and the incorporation of the related disciplines of government, sociology, economics, and geography. Yet, at no point did the advocates discuss the purpose of the field, for many of them it was an assumption. Thus, students would learn the background of what was needed to be a *good* citizen. In the 1910s, educators reduced the dominant role of "professional" history and promoted other disciplines as well as education in order to foster their own views of a *good* citizen. Due to this paradigm shift, history was replaced with the term social studies to incorporate the social science disciplines and educational pedagogy that was developing at this time period.

Through the 1920s, the debate revolved around whether social studies should be history education with the other social sciences providing support, or social studies education infusing

the various social sciences with the capstone course deals with issues of citizenship. Even this explanation is an oversimplification of the differences between history and social studies that even rages a century later (Barton, 2012). By the 1930s, the consensus of educators tended to favor the social studies position in the debate. Social studies educators shifted to focus on skills over content, while stakeholders focused primarily on content (Halvorson, 2012). Unfortunately, the stakeholders desire meant a return to a single pedagogy of memorization.

Another push to create a social studies pedagogy came after the passage of the National Defense Education Act in 1958. In response to this political movement, educators created pedagogy for the various disciplines through numerous nationally-funded social studies projects; however, unlike previous movements, they did not attempt to formulate a single social studies pedagogy. The “New Social Studies” movement attempted to return social studies from the doldrums of the content focus that had dominated the curriculum since the Second World War. This movement saw the rise of the other social sciences within the curriculum.

Over the last half century, the debate has returned to content over pedagogy. However, the social studies debate has taken on new political overtones at numerous stages. Social studies became a political football used to derail educational reforms until it was ultimately left out of federal mandates to make states accountable for learning. Examining the debates over the National Standards for History (NSH) from the early 1990s, Nash, Crabtree, and Dunn (1997), the committee chairs of the history standards, gave the impression that the failure of the National Standards for History was not understandable. They decided that the standards failure was due to bad political timing. Yet, time allows historians to gain some perspective, and the failure is not an inexplicable mystery. The NSH failure is part of a larger narrative in the dispute over the pedagogy of social studies. In many ways, the very origins of social studies have plagued the

field, and the constant debate over pedagogy has often hindered the development of value for the field.

The consequence of social studies' troubled history standards has been increasing doubt about the field's purpose and value in today's society (Marker, 2006). By gaining an understanding of the development of the standards within the field of social studies, educators are better situated to determine its role in the curriculum. Every state had to develop individual standards for social studies as part of the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act (2002). More than 10 states have not reviewed their social studies standards between 2006-2014 when they were first implemented, and many states do not have data on what social studies skills are being met in their standards. Several states simply adopted the Common Core literacy standards to replace their pre-existing social studies standards. The vision of social studies is clouded by its past. This study will try to connect the past to today's situation in order to understand the validity of social studies standards in education.

What is meant by *good* or how to obtain that status is not clear. The assumption within Progressive Education circles is that citizens work for the common good of society and continually strive to improve society through understanding and problem solving. The idea of using education as a tool for indoctrination is not a new concept nor is it one isolated to France. Some discipline advocates believe social studies should indoctrinate students to be *good* citizens and have patriotic fervor, like the French lost boys. The purpose of social studies is as unclear today as it was when the Madison Conference first proposed the inclusion of history within the curriculum for college-bound students. If researchers asked 500 teachers why they should teach social studies, the research team would probably receive close to 500 similar but different answers.

APPENDIX B: MONOGRAPH

The Beginning of Social Studies Curriculum

Moving away from a more traditional approach to the evolution of standards, social studies did not mysteriously appear with the Committee of Ten or the Committee of Seven. The field existed before and was part of the essential curriculum within schools. In fact, these Committees were attempting to modernize the curriculum rather than establishing it. The assumption had been that the purpose for the field already existed and did not need to be addressed by these leaders in curriculum development. This miscalculation has plagued the field and confused their attempts to modernize the curriculum.

Rise of the Social Sciences

The story of the social studies curriculum begins earlier than 1894. The founding fathers advocated for educating citizens in order that they might make informed civic opinions (Tyack, James, & Benavot, 1987). Many state constitutions viewed education as one of their essential duty; so to educate their citizenry because “citizens must be properly instructed so that they could, in turn, instruct their government in an orderly way” was an important rationale for lower public education (Tyack, James, & Benavot, 1987, p. 24). Townsend (2013) stated that history became an identifiable school subject sometime between 1830 and 1860 with the intent to inform elementary students about the sacrificial cost of their forefathers in establishing the American republic. So, social studies earliest beginnings were designed to promote nationalism, indoctrination, and civic education. The use of history in public schools remained the same for the lower grades for most of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century. The rationale for history in the upper grades tended to be more about establishing students who could reason through issues as well as recall important speeches and facts. Often the focus of the

concern over standards come in this secondary level which college administrators first tried to codify in the 1890s.

History was not the only area of social studies that was developing during the nineteenth century. In 1865, the American Social Sciences Association (ASSA) formed as an interdisciplinary professional organization in order to address the problems of the society (Saxe, 1991). The problems that the organization focused upon were the social problems which they felt impacted political and economic problems. Study clubs were first organized in Chicago during the late nineteenth century with the goals of “investigat[ing] social conditions and institutions and to study social questions” (Saxe, 1992, p. 268). Social science soon became the social sciences with a focus upon examining social problems scientifically through several different but connected disciplines (Saxe, 1991). Members of the American Social Science Association (ASSA) began agitating for the inclusion of the social sciences into public education in the 1880s. The term “social study” was used as a parallel for the movement to increase “nature study” within science. Hertzberg (1981) suggests that the term *social* was attached to reforming efforts during the Progressive Era.

Despite ASSA relatively early arrival on the reforming scene, it did not take the lead in public education for the social sciences. Herbert Baxter Adams, professor at John Hopkins University, and other professional and amateur historians formed the American Historical Association (AHA) in 1884 as a forum to discuss ways to promote professional history (Saxe, 1991; Townsend, 2013). Even though there was a large crossover between AHA and ASSA membership, most of the leaders in educational reform would become more active in AHA, thus AHA would take on the leadership role in creating educational curriculum for the social sciences. Adams, Secretary of the AHA, proclaimed the foundation of a new historical

movement that would usher in modern historical study based on scientific research methods (Townsend, 2013). Traditionally, history was written based on a synthesis of other historians works, most of the writing was based on secondary sources. The “modern” historical revolution used historical records and documents, primary sources as the foundation for the narrative. Prior to the use of primary sources, historians were attempting to professionalize the discipline instead of allowing the writers to express their opinions as scholarship (Townsend, 2013). The implication is that public education that included history prior to the formation of AHA was more about rote memorization, recitation, and stories (possibly true, possibly opinions).

This professionalization was not isolated to history, other social sciences joined the movement to create national professional organizations. The year after the establishment of the AHA, the American Economic Association was created. The field of economics was a fairly recent discipline, yet it had two distinct factions within the organization over the political uses of economics (Hertzberg, 1981). Not until 1892 were the two factions united into a single cordial association. Other professional organizations would soon follow: The American Psychological Association (1892); the American Political Science Association (1903); the Association of American Geographers (1904); and American Sociological Society (1905). By the turn of the century, the venerable ASSA was in decline and, by the 1920s, it ceased to exist (Goldman, 1998). The early supremacy of the AHA was less dramatic than it might seem. Many of the members of the American Political Science Association and American Sociological Society were also members of the AHA, so the AHA often met in conjunction with those organizations (Keels, 2009). In addition, the differences between the various social sciences were not as distinct as they are today (i.e., sociologists worked as economists, economists worked as historians, etc.).

The Madison Conference: The First Standards

Most narratives about social studies education begin with the educational reforms of the 1890s when the first high school curriculum was formally devised. During these reforms, a justification for the inclusion of history to be a permanent part of the general college-ready curriculum arose. Several recommendations were made about the content, the preparation of teachers, the organization, and methods teachers should use.

The first formal attempt to create any standards for education came under the auspices of the National Education Association (NEA) in 1892. University and college presidents expressed the need to align public school curriculum with requirements for postsecondary entrance. NEA appointed a Committee of Ten to set up guidelines for all public schools in order to standardize the preparation of all students for entrance into college (Kliebard, 2004). The Committee of Ten, chaired by Harvard President Charles W. Eliot, created discipline-specific committees “to consider the proper limits of the subject area, methods of instruction, methods of testing for pupil accomplishment, the most desirable time allotment for each subject, and college admission requirements” (Evans, 2004, p. 7). The Committee of Ten was focused on secondary education, sixth through twelfth grades. Each sub-committee forwarded their recommendations back to the Committee of Ten. One unifying task given to all committees under the Committee of Ten was to make American public curriculum a single curriculum for all students, regardless of whether the students planned to attend college. Hertzberg (1981) argued that the Committee did not attempt to “foist college ideas on the schools” were leveled by future generations (p. 11). The number of students in attendance at either a public or private school was relatively small number of students that would be affected by these recommendations. Only 2% of college-aged population attended college in 1900, yet the underlying belief that every student will attend

college has had a profound influence on American educational policy through today (Snyder, 1993).

The Committee of Ten appointed a separate committee to examine the social sciences in public education; this subcommittee met at the University of Wisconsin and was known as the Madison Conference. Historians formed the core of the Madison Conference, which drafted a new “curricula for the subjects of history, civil government, and political economy” (Evans, 2004, p. 7). Geography was also part of the subjects examined in 1892 but it was grouped with the natural sciences, and thus was not considered part of the Madison Conference. The composition of the Madison Conference included four identified historians: University of Wisconsin President Charles Kendall Adams (chair), Professors Albert Bushnell Hart (Secretary), Edward G. Bourne, and James Harvey Robinson; government Professor Jesse Macy; political economics Professors William A. Scott and Woodrow Wilson; Headmaster Henry P. Warren; and Principals Ray Greene Huling and Abram Brown. Most of the professors were also members of the AHA and had strong ties to history education, so the organization of the curriculum would be dominated by history, but the content was blurred by the other social sciences.

The Madison Conference laid out the foundation for social science education that should be taught for all students in public education. This foundational curriculum consisted of an eight-year sequence of history courses, including two years of coursework dealing with myths and famous individuals (fifth and sixth grade), two years of American history (seventh and eleventh), Greek and Roman history (eighth), British history (ninth), French history (tenth), and a final year of civic education (Evans, 2004). The assumption that students needed to understand the origins of America and its democratic values were at the core of the committee’s beliefs. This

predominance of courses stressing civic education, even at this early stage in the development of history curriculum, clearly shows the underlying goal of training students to become members of the American citizenry.

History education had received its share of criticism at the time primarily due to the fact that educators felt that its methodology relied too much on memorization and recitation. Educators also felt that teacher preparation in the field was lacking as often teachers taught history as a secondary subject or as the course for coaches (Townsend, 2013). So, the members of the Conference advocated a move away from simple memorization of facts so that students could be trained “to gather evidence, generalize upon data, estimate character, apply the lessons of history to current events, and lucidly state conclusions” (Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn, 1997, p. 34). This concern over memorization continues today, VanSledright (2011) pointed out that collective memory techniques are all too common pedagogical practice among social studies educators especially at the elementary level. Students often prefer this technique due to the simplicity of simple memorization of facts. Traditionally, the Madison Conference was seen as establishing history as a viable subject in the curriculum, Townsend (2013) stated that about a third of high school students were already taking some form of history in 1890. In fact, history was the third most common subject taught in education after Algebra and Latin courses. The final report of the Madison Conference states that purpose of history is for preparing students for life not simply college (Bohan, Doppen, Feinberg, & O’Mahony, 2008).

The Madison Conference also proposed a shorter six-year program, which eliminated French history and combined the second year of American history with civic education. The Conference spent most of its time addressing two areas: the course of study and the benefits of history to education. The Madison Conference helped establish history, civics, and economics as

a “legitimate discipline” for public education by laying the foundation for why they should be studied by students (Evans, 2004, p. 7). The rationale for including history was that, through the examination of cause & effect and by understanding differing points of view, history became more scientific. Secretary Hart was a vocal proponent for making history more scientific, yet he felt the role of the historian was to evaluate the accumulation of facts unlike scientific inquiry (Whelan, 1994). He believed that historical inquiry (through a scientific lenses) permitted a mechanism for thinking so that “citizens ... participate fully and intelligently in a democratic society” by creating more than a simple collection of facts (Whelan, 1994, p 430). Madison Conference efforts to streamline historical study and make it more efficient in the changing social climate of the 1890s were characteristic of the educational reform movement at the time. The historians’ initial response of the Madison Conference was generally acceptable; however, several members of the American Economic Association argued for a separate course of economics outside of the realm of the other social sciences. Most social scientists viewed this recommendation with distain because they felt that students could not comprehend the concepts of economics (Hertzberg, 1981). Debates over the organization and content of social studies existed from the first attempt to draft standards for the field.

The Legacy of the Madison Conference

The AHA recognized the importance of teachers to participate in the association but they did very little to entice them to join. Luckily, many of the initial AHA leadership saw the importance of maintaining a connection with P-12 educators even though the majority of the AHA focused on postsecondary issues (Townsend, 2013). The Madison Conference showed the dominant role of history within the curriculum, but American history was seen as tied to government studies (Townsend, 2013). The Madison Conference viewed history as the vehicle to

train to students to analyze primary sources and have them understand their role within American civics (Townsend, 2013). The Madison Conference continued the two pedagogical themes for history education of promoting the idea of history for mental discipline and promoting civic good (Townsend, 2013). History and government maintained a solid connection through the 1890s as long as the AHA dominated the curriculum discussions; but as the new professional organizations in other social sciences appeared, their members called for history education to promote the civic good thread (Townsend, 2013). Traditional history, as articulated by Herbert B. Adams and Andrew D. White, favored the mental discipline pedagogical purpose of history because they felt that it gave “a comprehensive or holistic view of the world” (Saxe, 1991, p. 30). The historian advocates felt that by studying history, students could better understand current social problems and better correct them and thus make history relevant to today’s society. Saxe (1991, p. 39) argued that traditional historians did not attempt to bring in citizen education as a purpose of historical study, rather this purpose for history is more an argument of hindsight. During the 1890s, Harvard University’s History Department tried to establish some basic history standards (generally content focused) for students applying for college admissions that were vertically aligned through the lower elementary levels. The College Board, who oversaw the college entrance exam, countered that rote memorization of facts, the perceived curriculum put forth by Harvard, was not a good measure for college readiness, thus creating the “familiar tension between pedagogy and testing” within social studies (Townsend, 2013, p. 62). Ravitch (1989) and Hertzberg (1981) indicate that this was the *golden age* when history education established itself in the curriculum and educators agreed upon the organization, the content, and the methods of teaching the curriculum.

The tensions within social studies were not isolated as other groups attempted to develop curriculum. Kliebard (2004) identifies four competing interest groups for creating curriculum at the beginning of the twentieth century: the mental disciplinarian/humanistic (traditional) faction, the developmental/experiential (child-centered) faction, the social efficiency (scientific) faction, and the social meliorists (social reform). Kliebard believes that none of the competing interest groups ever gained total dominance in the curriculum battles, but Symcox (2002) clearly shows that each of them continued to play roles in the development of curriculum throughout the twentieth century. The Madison Conference adopted an approach that was dominated by humanistic attitudes; classics and rational thinking were its key ideological paradigms. The Conference's main recommendations in 1894 called for a more aggressive focus on cause and effect, which was intended to help students reason through problems, as well as an increased understanding differing points of view, which would help sort out the facts needed to solve problems. They called for revision of poorly written textbooks, improving teacher preparation, and more innovative teaching practices such as debates, student presentations, and use of primary sources (Hertzberg, 1981). The Humanist interest group continued to be the largest advocate for inclusion of history in the public school curriculum as a way to control society throughout the twentieth century (van der Leeuw-Roord, 2009). Yet, the most important aspect of the Madison Conference was that history was given preferred status within the curriculum over the newly forming social sciences. This is a key fact to which subsequent generations point back as justification during later reform movements. But even the historians were not satisfied with new curriculum, members called for the reevaluation of the curriculum within three years of the Madison Conference.

Visiting Madison Conference Again: Creating the Committee of Seven

The reports from the Madison Conference and the NEA Committee of Ten stirred up reaction among several groups. Three years after the dissemination of the Madison Conference's recommendations, the AHA organized another group called the Committee of Seven to re-examine the historical study criteria for college admission. The Committee of Seven was comprised of author Andrew C. McLaughlin (Chairman); Professors Herbert Baxter Adams (founder of AHA), Albert Bushnell Hart, Charles Homer Haskins, Lucy M. Salmon, and H. Morse Stephens; and Headmaster George L. Fox. Even though McLaughlin was chairman, the Committee was dominated by Adams. Adams advocated for the same scientific approach to history proposed by the Madison Conference. Adams viewed the Madison Conference as focusing upon roles of other social sciences above that of history and wanted to turn the curriculum towards a more scientific history lens. This was the first attempt to focus the curriculum more on a traditionalist viewpoint.

This reflects a growing discord within the profession over the new scientific and the traditional literary approaches to history. The various conflicts within the profession often spilled over into the debates over the curriculum (Saxe, 1991), this is one of the cases. The scientific group wanted to move history towards a new positioning of it in the realm of social sciences and creating a more systematic methodology to the discipline. The literary or humanities wing within the profession felt that the narrative was more critical, the narrative needed to be filled with stories that captured the readers, even if it was not the whole truth. This had been a more traditional way of writing history before the discipline professionalized. The Committee members called for a "historical and contextual approach, rather" than a social science approach incorporating civics, economics, and sociology (Hertzberg, 1981, p. 14).

One of the major differences between Madison and this Committee is that the AHA Committee conducted a survey of history education within America and eventually expanded it to evaluate history education internationally—Germany, France, England, and Canada (Bohan, Doppen, Feinberg, & O’Mahony, 2008). Interestingly, the general survey conformed to the new practices of the social sciences instead of the methods used by historians. They received responses from about 250 targeted schools as well as suggestions from the state education authorities (Bohan, Doppen, Feinberg, & O’Mahony, 2008). The Committee of Seven felt that their purpose was to synthesize history in order to establish a commitment to civic endeavors (Hertzberg, 1981). Even though the Committee recognized the importance of civic education, they sought to de-emphasize contemporary civics due to its focus on the present static situations whereas history permitted students to understand the larger sweeping civic movements that they viewed as more universal scientific truths (Hertzberg, 1981). This attitude within the committee demonstrates the belief of historians to attempt to remove themselves from political influence within the field, thus the explanation that history foster mental discipline and critical thinking.

The Committee of Seven reorganized the history program originally put forth by the Madison Conference and shortened the length of study into a chronological progression of Western Civilization (Ancient history, Medieval and Modern history, British history, and American history). The foundational issues within the Committee of Seven included: how to frame history’s relation with the other social science disciplines, how best to teach history, and how to incorporate all history teachers in the professional organization (Townsend, 2013). Members would argue over these throughout the Committee’s work and these conflicts would appear in their final recommendations. The members did not include in their final recommendations how to handle the rising new social sciences and their relation to history

(Townsend, 2013). For example, the Committee determined that the discipline of economics could not be part of the history curriculum, but economic conditions should be included in the study of the historical process (Bohan, Doppen, Feinberg, & O'Mahony, 2008). A separate course for economics was not deemed appropriate for high school students and economics as a class should be only taught at college-level. History would take precedence over all other disciplines thus creating an idealized view of a *golden age* of history education. Additionally, European history had a preference over American history due to the bias of the Committee even though there was a rising desire for American history among the AHA and states (Townsend, 2013).

A weakness in the recommendations was that the Committee issued no curriculum guide for the teachers on best methods for teaching; the rationale was that some members favored a recitation method while others wanted a seminar method (Townsend, 2013). And finally, the Committee did not foster an understanding between university historical research and the teaching profession causing a continued disunity between the two groups of professionals that would only increase over the years (Townsend, 2013). The Committee of Seven (McLaughlin et al., 1898) was generally considered an improvement over the Madison Conference; however, critics of their history-centered curriculum did surface. Both the Madison Conference and Committee of Seven permitted the inclusion of the other social sciences; they were seen as support to history which centered the discipline.

The Implications of the Committee of Seven

Even though the differences between the Madison Conference and the Committee of Seven were relatively minor compared to later decisions on the curriculum, many schools chose to adopt the new Committee of Seven mandates. The recommendations of the Committee of

Seven thus became the standard for history education. The Committee of Seven recognized the limited number of students advancing to college and thus addressed this issue. They permitted schools to limit history coursework so that only one year of secondary history was required for college admission. This recommendation was to assist public education to include other disciplines (e.g., civics) also gave notice to administrators that history while part of the curriculum; it did not need to be a critical part of the curriculum. This unintended consequence contradicted the work of the Madison Conference to justify history to be part of the curriculum. Educators and administrators began to raise the question as to the purpose of history within the curriculum. The purpose laid out by the Committee of Seven for history education was “to provide students with an understanding of their environment” which differed a bit from the Madison Conference notion of holistic world view (Saxe, 1991, p. 58).

Reflecting back on the Committee’s influence, Hertzberg (1981) suggested that the Committee of Seven report “cemented a connection between the historical profession and the schools” which would last until the 1930s (p. 16). But the Committee did not address the needs to connect their standards with teachers training or professional development, this seems to be more wishful thinking on Hertzberg’s part. The teacher associations were left to fill in the gaps left by Committee of Seven. The two largest teacher associations for history were the New England History Teachers Association and the Middle States and Maryland Association of History Teachers. The New England Association would produce syllabi for the new courses for the educators. The Middle States Association also tried to fill in the professional gaps left by the recommendations (Townsend, 2013). Even though participation in these associations was higher than participation in AHA, participation in any professional organization was the exception rather than the rule. Many of the educators taught history as a secondary field after their primary

position which included administrators, other discipline teachers, and coaches (Townsend, 2013). Thus, the recommendations, both content and pedagogy, was not generally arriving to mostly isolated teachers except through textbooks. Generally, textbook publishers followed either the recommendations of the Madison Conference or the Committee of Seven which because the curriculum was controlled by the textbooks meant that the curriculum utilized a history focus curriculum (Saxe, 1991). Needlessly, Madison and Seven influenced the curriculum through the use of textbooks which really did not change the pedagogy very much of the teachers. It would not be until the adoption of Harold Rugg's textbook series in the late 1920s that textbook shifted its focus and organization away from traditional views. Lerner, Nagai, and Rothman (1995) argued that rationale for the shift was the conservative/traditional faction of education keep influence over the Progressive-liberal branch of educational reform until the 1920s.

The most ironic part is that the Committee of Seven utilized new social sciences techniques to investigate the problems as well as establish a rationale for the use of evidence within proto-social studies education (Saxe, 1991). The other professional organizations wanted to imprint their own interests upon public education curriculum; however, the AHA controlled nearly all access to public dissemination of information on "social science" curricula (Saxe, 1991). The pervasive notion that history was simply a recitation of facts continued to undermine the efforts of the AHA to dominate social science education because the textbooks did not really change. The AHA was able to dominate because of its early participation in education's curricular struggles when it advocated powerfully for teaching history in public schools. In 1905, AHA appointed another committee to look at elementary education and make recommendations which aligned with the Committee of Seven's recommendations (Hertzberg, 1981). Historians established several additional committees and conducted a number of discussions in order to

evaluate history education during the first decade of the twentieth century, but the views of the Committee of Seven (McLaughlin et al., 1898) remained largely in place for most public schools.

The question over the purpose of history education within schools also started to spill over into the profession of history as scholars began to reflect on the scholarship of history. Many of these AHA committees who revisited the Committee of Seven report over the next decade were attempts to address some of the changes within the profession. One of the main focuses was the growing interest among historians and other social scientist to examine social and economic issues. Historians came to see history's value in making historical social and economic issues relate to the current problems (Townsend, 2013). James Harvey Robinson, a member of both the Madison Conference (1893) and the later Committee on Social Studies (1916), reevaluated of the epistemology by which history should conceive itself as a discipline. Building on Adams scientific history, the "New History" espoused by Robinson was equally revolutionary to the field. "New History" was an attempt by Robinson and Charles A. Beard to move the field away from the study of famous people, political, and military history, towards more social history, the history of all people.

Maintaining the status quo was key belief of the traditional historians but they also recognized the inevitability of change, yet they could not comprehend a manner to foster this change within the framework of traditional history (Saxe, 1991). Saxe (1991) believes that the Committee of Seven undermined the work of the Madison Conference by allowing criticism of traditional history and thus opening the door for the other social sciences. The original calling for the Committee was to establish a history curriculum for the college admission, instead they focused the curriculum on the needs of a terminal student (Saxe, 1991). The new historians

wanted to minimize the Ancient history and place more emphasis upon recent history (last few centuries). This type of history would make it more relevant to the problems and issues of the present day: in other words, the social meliorism interest group described by Kliebard (2004). “New History” was not simply a retelling of facts but represented an inclusion of the other social sciences, especially economics and civics, into a larger historical narrative.

The new historians were interested in the development and evolution of societal thoughts and beliefs. They were shifting the paradigm away from old stories towards a more inclusive history. The AHA membership did not discuss the issues related to the boundaries between history and social sciences (Townsend, 2013). In 1911, at least a third of the members held positions in another social science or as a dual position with another social science (professors of history and geography) so discussions about history relationship with the social sciences did not seem important (Townsend, 2013). The disciplines of history and the social sciences were going through a process of professionalization where the cohesiveness of the discipline was breaking into various subfields. The subfields were becoming their own disciplines with their own methodologies and pedagogies and thus they were cutting into the influence of the AHA over school curriculum (Townsend, 2013).

The modern belief that traditional history was under attack in the first decades of the twentieth century is true but not by social studies advocates but by other historians. The role of history education became a central point of contention between the majority of the AHA and the advocates of the “New History.” Robinson and other “New History” advocates perceived history as an equal among the social sciences, the majority of the AHA membership perceived history as separate and thus superior to the other social sciences (Townsend, 2013). The shift by new historians to more recent history, particularly American history aligned with a new purpose for

history to create an understanding for what constitutes an American citizen. Bohan, Doppin, Feinberg, and O'Mahony (2008) argued that the Committee of Seven continues to have a great influence on public education, for history is the dominant discipline, most schools follow a form of their four-block system and expanded the role of citizenship within history education. Another problem was that traditional historians of the AHA were unaware of how schools actually ran or worked, a continual problem within the association as they would attempt to apply reform on a system of which they are not part (Saxe, 1991).

One of the numerous AHA committees, the Committee of Five (1911) reported on secondary education and made recommendations that became the standards for history textbooks. But, the general attitude among AHA membership was that the issue of history education in public schools was settled with the Committee of Seven report. The recommendations had become education doctrine in nearly all public schools and there was little need to continue to address any problems. This change of attitudes (about 1910) also corresponds with a change in AHA leadership. Waldo Leland became AHA Secretary and was not interested in teaching-related issues. The voice for the teacher education at the postsecondary association level was left to Albert McKinley, editor of *The History Teacher's Magazine* (Townsend, 2013). The American Historical Association had taken a dominant role in making history (social studies) a part of the curriculum, but many of the early proponents did not see the divisions between the disciplines as possible issues. Furthermore, the questions over the purpose of history education were being raised by schools; the AHA felt the Committee of Seven had answered all those questions. The purpose was to prepare citizens, but the AHA did not account for issues related to problems with citizenships. Thus, the issues within the AHA and its lack of interest in

addressing the needs of school administrators and teachers opened the door for other groups to offer changes.

The Break from History Curriculum: From Seven to Social Studies

Progressive administrators, who trained in the new schools of education, were attempting to establish their authority and control over their curriculum. The birth of the modern school board was created to give the appearance of a small non-political body controlling school curriculum while allowing the superintendent to enact progressive education (Tyack, James, & Benavot, 1987). Fear over immigrants also allowed for this opportunity as citizens felt that administrative progressives could blend the “promise of a socially engineered future with reassuring traditional values of hard work, self-help, honesty, and efficiency... [as well as] if the rising generation were properly educated, the problems besetting the society might be solved without drastic disruption” (Tyack, James, & Benavot, 1987, p 112). In order to accomplish this promise, progressive educators needed to alter the traditional one room schoolhouse model by drastically changing the laws. They focused upon recognizing teacher training, building of dedicated buildings, introducing compulsory education, and passing a range of other legal conditions.

The National Organizations Reforms

Disunity among the two strongest historical association appeared in the desire to control the direction of history education. The AHA favored their unified national curriculum format as articulated by the Committee of Seven. The Mississippi Valley Historical Association (MVHA)³ started to advocate for more regional and local history as well as more emphasis on American history. The MVHA wanted the curriculum to utilize local historical sites and museums as part

³ Mississippi Valley Historical Association will change its name to the Organization of American History.

of the curriculum (Townsend, 2013). The MVHA called for the AHA to take a lead in enacting state history curriculum as well as create more opportunities for teachers to participate in MVHA-AHA conferences (Townsend, 2013). Under Waldo Leland, the AHA's main connection to teachers was through the subsidies to support the *History Teacher's Magazine* under the leadership of Albert McKinley (Townsend, 2013). Even though they oversaw the publication of the *Magazine*, the association nor its members really paid attention to teaching matters in public schools. The Association did form a Committee on the Certification of High School Teachers of History but at the request of professors at normal colleges and teachers colleges. The Committee would declare itself unable to create standards for certification without the support of the AHA Council so little was done (Townsend, 2013).

Teachers found other outlets to meet the needs of interpreting the curriculum deemed by the academe. When MVHA and teachers attempted to create a teacher training program, the organization committee was dominated by University historians. They neglected any curriculum concerns as well as pedagogical issues to focus on teacher certification and college preparation as their solution to all issues of content and organization. The committee declared that the real problem for teachers was lack of content knowledge which they should have received during their preparation (Townsend, 2013). They believed that for every ten courses in history, a teacher could take an education course. This attitude does not shift until well in the twentieth century. The Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland offered a more realistic approach by trying to balance both education and history courses, but the national associations ignored the calls of the teachers (Townsend, 2013).

The AHA Committee of Five, headed by Andrew McLaughlin, has been regarded as a footnote in the overall division between traditional history and social studies as its

recommendations were published on the eve of social studies. Saxe (1991) argues that the interpretations that this committee's work simply reaffirmed the Committee of Seven findings is an oversimplification. The purpose of the Committee of Five was to explore the concern that students were focusing upon college entrance exams and how it impacted the history curriculum. McLaughlin Committee suggested that College Board had taken the recommendations of the Committee of Seven too literally by focusing upon a wide breadth of content knowledge (Saxe, 1991). The committee did not question the value or purpose of history education even though the foundation of these questions had been previously planted.

The importance of the College Board test helps to undermine the creditability of the traditional history advocates. Social efficiency advocates favored the use of tests as a way to streamline the curriculum, and for traditionalists content knowledge became the principle measure but without a tool to measure student achievement. Textbooks aligned with the pedagogy of rote memorization that the Committee of Seven had opposed, yet it appears to be the teaching method of choice in order to get students into college (Saxe, 1991). The textbook publishers were using the four block method based on the Committee of Seven. The textbook curriculum created a formula for what was considered a good textbook: "abundant maps ... instructive illustrations... [and] genealogical tables, chronological summaries, topical outlines, questions for further study" that was based on solid historical research (As quoted in Saxe, 1991, p 100). Both Madison and Seven advocated for a more balanced view of history; however, traditionalists favored history that focused upon military, political, famous persons, and dates and thus the textbooks favored these perspectives (Saxe, 1991). In a study of textbooks published in 1916, William C. Bagley and Harold O. Rugg analyzed textbooks for its distribution of topics. They concluded that if military topics were covered very well and growth of democratic

traditions was included, this became the heart of most school history textbooks. They implied that purpose of most textbooks was nationalism or patriotism (Saxe, 1991).

The Committee of Five did not point out the issues with the textbooks nor provide alternative ways to measure student abilities; they simply blamed College Board for encouraging rote memorization as a pedagogical practice (Saxe, 1991). The Committee of Five could be viewed as the high point for traditional history, but its sheer ineffectiveness and lack of understanding of the complexity of the new reality epitomized the traditional history arguments. The Committee of Five became a watershed moment for the social science wing of the AHA. They realized that the AHA was not going to be able to adjust to the new reality (Saxe, 1991). From this point onwards historians would not be the dominant voice in the curricular discussions for the field of social studies.

The Origins of the Committee on Social Studies

By 1910, educators demanded another examination of secondary education. The National Education Association organized the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education School Subjects to look into all educational subjects because the student population was shifting from 1892. The NEA appointed Clarence D. Kingsley, an administrator from Massachusetts, to oversee the Commission. The Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education School Subjects, later renamed the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education (CRSE), took a very generalist attitude towards the new curriculum with six concentrations: English, social science, natural science, physical training, mathematics, and foreign language instead of the ten disciplines twenty years earlier. In the final report, each subject had to justify their inclusion in the reorganization so that they were useful to both students and society (Galston, 2005). Another major shift was that instead of university administrators controlling the

conversation, bureaucrats and P-12 educators were more included in the decisions and leadership. Kingsley replaced history with a concentration in social science, a reflection of both the committee's more generalist attitude and the influence of new movement toward social efficiency (Saxe, 1992). Kingsley's view of the civic education was to socialize students into a cohesive blend (amalgamationists), along the ideas of the melting pot theory of America (Jorgenson, 2012).

In 1912, the former Hampton Institute Professor Thomas Jesse Jones, now working for the U.S. Bureau of Education, was appointed by the CRSE as chair of a subcommittee called the Committee on Social Science. Arthur William Dunn, another employee of the U.S. Bureau of Education was appointed committee's secretary. The Committee's first action was to rename itself the "Committee on the Social Studies" (NCSS website). This represents the first official use of the term social studies in the curriculum. Saxe (1991) argued a change happened between the Committee of Five report (1911) and the organization of Committee on Social Studies. He suggested that educators viewed history as both intellectual and individual (humanistic and social efficiency) yet by 1913 educators felt that education had a social purpose for change, social meliorism. The summary report of the CRSE, *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*, would be viewed as the beginning of the progressive education movement that dominated education for the next forty years (Jorgenson, 2012; Saxe, 1991).

The other social sciences saw a chance to exert their place in the curriculum for the first time since their professional organizations formed. Examination of their disciplines especially in the elementary level began with government in 1908 and sociology in 1918 (Hunt, 1962). Geography did not actively participate in examining its place in education, there existed geography textbooks as early as 1895. One of the problems for this discipline was whether it was

part of the natural science or social studies. During the 1960s, geography advocates attempted to definitely establish it as a science, but it remained part of the social studies milieu.

The rest of the Committee was comprised of mostly secondary school educators from regional history teachers' organizations (particularly East Coast) including: Instructors William A. Aerv, Hampton Institute; Professors James Lynn Barnard, E.C. Branson, Blanche Evans Hazard, James Harvey Robinson; Principals George G. Bechtel, F. I. Boyden, William H. Mace; teachers Henry R. Burch, F.W. Carrier, Jessie C. Evans, Frank P. Goodwin, S. B. Howe, J. Herbert Low, William T. Morrey, John Pettibone; Superintendents W. J. Hamilton, William A. Wheatley; and Clarence D. Kingsley, State High School Inspector and Chairman of the CRSE. Only Mace and Robinson were considered historians, Robinson had participated in the Madison Conference in 1894 (Saxe, 1991). One of the lasting legacies of the committee is from Jones' opening statement to the committee where he "attack[ed] and dismiss[ed] traditional history instruction and to introduce a secondary curriculum that specialized in attending to the present growth needs and interests of the learner" (Saxe, 1991, p 146-7). From this point of view, it appears that the Committee on Social Studies was attempting to eliminate traditional history from the curriculum; however, this oversimplification is really only the latent of political factions who have tried to control the education of citizens by discrediting social studies.

Outside influences also impacted the development and work of the committee either directly or indirectly. The dominant white Anglo-Saxon protestant majority in America felt threaten by the rising number of immigrants in the late nineteenth century. This fear became acute during First World War and the Red Scare that immediately followed the War as the wealthy majority felt that a potential fifth column might now reside in America (Tyack, James, & Benavot, 1987). For example, Frances A. Kellor, director of the National American

Committee, began a campaign before the United States entered the First World War to Americanize immigrants bringing the issue to forefront of the public consciousness (Woyshner, Watras, & Crocco, 2010). The American Legion proposed the mandatory need for schools to teach civic education in order to *Americanize* America. They promised their fellowship that within the next generation they “will see this country rid of the undesirable element not present in its citizenship, ... the spirit of true Americanism prevailing throughout the length and breadth of our country, and our ideals of government secure” (as cited in Tyack, James, Benavot, 1987, p 169). Oregon enacted a law to ban books deemed unpatriotic that was not overturned until 1984. The fears of the First World War and the questions over immigrant loyalty laid the groundwork for a renewed patriotic education movement which would help to establish social studies courses in the first two decades of the twentieth Century. The inclusion of U.S. history was mandatory in 30 out of 45 states in 1903, this inclusion rate increased to 43 out of 48 states by 1923.

Table B.1

Number of States Prescribing Patriotic Instruction

	<u>1903 (45 states)</u>		<u>1913 (48 states)</u>		<u>1923 (48 states)</u>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
U.S. History	30	67	32	67	43	90
Constitution	9	20	9	19	21	44
State History	13	29	20	42	29	60
Citizenship	1	2	1	2	39	81

Note: Adapted from *Law and the Shaping of Public Education, 1785-1954*, by D. Tyack, T. James, and A. Benavot, 1987. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, p. 171.

The Work of the Committee on Social Studies

The powerful influence of Kingsley, Jones, and Dunn led the Committee to adopt a sociological perspective towards the social studies curriculum that eliminated the chronological emphasis of traditional history (Saxe, 1991). They returned the focus of social studies education

to create *good* citizens. Jones acknowledged the role of history in developing *good* citizens; however, he felt that history should not simply be taught because it was taught in the past, rather history “must answer the test of good citizenship” as does all the social sciences (Jones as quoted by Saxe, 1991, p. 146). Kingsley and other “insurgents” formed the social studies committee as a way to circumvent national history organizations and apply social reforms to history education (Saxe, 1991). The Committee on Social studies focused upon high school curriculum, while allowing history to dominate elementary education (Saxe, 1991). Saxe (1991) believes the committee’s perspective for the purpose of social studies was to address socialization, citizenship education, and infuse social efficiency into the curriculum. Also, the Committee erroneously attributes the purpose of the traditional history as creating nationalism or a national American identity, a lack of understanding of the changing concept of citizenship. The Madison Conference and Committee of Seven did not view history as nationalism building but there is a shift in the 1910s about the increase of patriotic purposes of history is evident. History was coopted into the patriotic citizenship that developed in the First World War and has remained a major argument tread within history education advocates. Illinois passed a law that required middle school educators to teach an hour of civics education, particular devotion to *Declaration of Independence*, Illinois state constitution, and the United States *Constitution* (Mirel, 2010). By 1931, Michigan would require all graduating students to successfully complete a semester of civics (Mirel, 2010). Administrators and Educators were seeking new and innovative ways to teach the new social studies that came out of the Committee on Social Studies Final Report (1916). Was the Committee on Social Studies reacting to Committee of Seven’s perceived nationalism or to the rise of patriotic nationalism in early twentieth century America?

The influence of educational theorists is considered important in the transition from traditionalist to social studies, particularly the indirect influence of John Dewey and David Snedden (Saxe, 1991). Both Dewey and Snedden conceived of history as two distinct subjects, academic and public education. Traditional academic history should be left for the postsecondary levels. Public school level history should be focused on having a social purpose (e.g. assimilation, indoctrination, citizenship education, social meliorism, etc.). Dewey was willing to work within the traditional history framework; Snedden advocated for a more radical break from traditional history (Saxe, 1991). Snedden favored scrapping all vestiges of the traditional history curriculum to be replaced with courses based on the social sciences with particular attention paid to citizenship education.

Dewey favored a more student-centered approach throughout the curriculum that made social studies more relevant to all students, along the lines of cultural pluralists or amalgamationists. Snedden's education program was an act of indoctrination at the lower levels through the use of stories, fables, and biographies from American society. In the upper grades, students would be introduced to techniques, ideals, and attitudes about interacting with other social groups and consider the problems of society (Saxe, 1991). The latter pedagogy closely resembles the beliefs of Herbert Spencer where learning and knowledge is important to understand and change the current situation (social meliorism). Dewey's presence within the Final Report (1916) is more implicit, but impactful especially once the curriculum is put into place. Snedden was Clarence D. Kingsley's superior in Massachusetts and thus had a profound influence upon Kingsley. Saxe (1991) stated that Snedden and Kingsley shared many educational beliefs, he argued that they differed on the goals of social efficiency in curriculum. Kingsley's view of social efficiency incorporated the diversity among the student population in order to

attain a new social order in many ways a blending of the social meliorism with social efficiency. This belief, Saxe (1991) suggests, was the reason why Kingsley selected Jones to chair the Committee on Social Sciences.

Over the next four years, the guiding principle of the Committee on the Social Studies (CSS) and its model, the Hampton Institute, was doing what was best for the students in order to make the students viable employees (Lybarger, 1983). The Committee was not fully unified, the other two powerful figures on the Committee, Jones and Dunn, disagreed about the direction of civic education in the new subject. Jones adhered to a more sociological bent towards social studies, whereas Dunn advocated more civic engagement (Jorgenson, 2010). Jones thought that their new “social studies” curriculum would use the Americanization policy to maintain the current status of ethnic minorities but allow assimilation of new European immigrants. Thus, rather than representing an attempt to induce democracy, social studies “sought to legitimate social, economic, and political inequality” among immigrants and minorities (Lybarger, 1983, p. 466). On the other hand, Dunn used the Indianapolis schools as a test case for the eventual final report of CSS (Saxe, 1992). Administrator Dunn linked citizenship with work as an important way to maintain the status quo for American society, very similar to the Hampton Institute model. He also was the primary author for the Committee’s first publication *The Teaching of Community Civics*. This publication would form the basis for the Committee’s influential final report, which synthesizes the civic vision of the Secretary of the Committee, Dunn (Hertzberg, 1981).

In the Final Report (1916) submitted to the CRSE, the curriculum recommendations included a six-year course of study divided into two similar cycles of study. The notion of creating a two cycle program differed from the Committee of Seven in that the block system

suggested by the Committee of Seven did not repeat courses. The Committee on Social Studies suggested an introduction of topics and repeat of those topics at a later date. This moved the focus of education away from the development of the individual to the development of the group, socialization (Saxe, 1991). The lower cycle started in seventh through ninth grade consisted of geography, European history, and American history/civics. The upper cycle repeated European history, American history, and *Problems of Democracy* course. The *Problems of Democracy* course integrated civics with history, economics, and social issues. The CSS eliminated the need to study ancient history as a separate course. Under traditional history, citizenship education meant explaining the government: the working of the Constitution, the powers of the presidency, and the responsibilities of Congress. One of the major shifts in civic education that came in the 1916 Report was that civics should not only be taught at the high school level, it needs to be infused throughout the social studies curriculum in order to promote civic action (Halvorsen, & Mirel, 2009). This infusion made civic education a more active role in the curriculum over the previous pedagogical model. Students could not simply memorize the role of the president during one year; civics was part of the yearly curriculum.

Reactions to the Final Report

Both historians and social studies educators closed ranks as various groups began criticizing history textbooks. The textbooks were being examined for their attitudes towards the British and Germans. The attacks included book burning and calls by citizen committees for textbooks favoring their particular view (Townsend, 2013). However, the unity among historians and educators was fleeting. Bohan, Doppen, Feinberg, and O'Mahony (2008) indicated that all three committees recognized the need for differences between high school plans, one for college bound and one for non-college bound students. Even though many critics of the Committee on

Social Studies would formally acknowledge there exist a need for the dual role of education, this was problematic for subjects to make the divisions. The idea that two forms of curriculum be developed is problematic as reformers claimed to be creating educational opportunities for all groups but not necessarily equally; however, the divisions of the curriculum were often differentiated by social conditions (i.e. race, gender, or class). Most of the reform efforts ignored the curriculum questions in the segregated African American schools, as well as the poorest parts of the country. The questions over divisions in the curriculum would return with the passage of the National Defense Education Act (1957) which attempted to promote a gifted group of students to follow the scientific track (Kaestle, 2001). As well as the rising reforms of the civil rights movement that brought the question of segregated curriculum.

Most historians stood behind their entrenched curriculum as it had been developed by the Committee of Seven; the social studies educators put forth an alternative in the form of the 1916 Final Report of the Committee on Social Studies. The Final Report had “very little immediate impact on historians” because it failed to clarify what, exactly, constituted a social studies curriculum (Keels, 2009, p. 10). The curriculum of the Committee of Seven was designed primarily for preparing students to enter college; whereas the Committee on Social Studies was designed to promote civic education to all students. The AHA’s Committee of Seven demanded four history-only courses in addition to other social science classes, but this simply could not be accommodated given the other requirements being placed upon school schedules (Keels, 2009). During the 1914 Pennsylvania Education Association meeting, a high school principal attempted to differentiate between traditional history (as espoused by AHA) and social studies, explaining that “the gods and goddesses of Ancient Greece [traditional history] are engaged in mighty conflict with the ashman and garbage collector of to-day [social studies]” (as cited in Saxe, 1992,

p. 270) over the direction of the relevance of the curriculum. Both sides simply allowed state legislatures, boards of education, education professionals, and practitioners to decide (Saxe, 1991). Hunt (1962) believed that the Final Report created a greater sense of confusion than understanding because the College Board ignored the recommendations for nearly 20 years.

The humanistic leanings of the 1890s where education was done for the general well-being became progressive education as learning had to be relevant to a person's normal life (DeBoer, 1991). This was a growing trend not only in social studies but also in science and the other disciplines. Unfortunately for traditionalists, the general rise of progressive education also saw the rise of social studies due to the fact that social studies had adopted many of the contemporary educational trends like social efficiency (Saxe, 1991). The other social sciences were seeking more inclusion of their content within a full public curriculum. Administrators had to find room for the new field at the expense of the entrenched history-only courses.

Prior to the publication of the *Cardinal Principles* report, the NEA asked the AHA to re-examine the Final Report from the Committee on Social Studies. The AHA wanted to limit the influence of social studies while expanding the role of history (Keels, 2009). In 1918, a committee was finally formed called the Committee on History and Education for Citizenship (CHEC). The AHA appointed James Schafer, but the principal author of its report was Henry Johnson. Johnson, a former Minnesota history teacher and a pedagogical professor at Teachers College, was one of the few educators who backed the Committee of Seven (Townsend, 2013). He was the AHA *expert* for education matters and believed that focusing on current issues as demanded by the new social studies curriculum would not allow students to gain an appreciation for the study of history (Evans, 2004; Keels, 2009). This committee was not dominated by the traditional academic professors from only the elite universities. The Committee Secretary, Daniel

C. Knowlton, was a high school teacher (Townsend, 2013). The First World War had changed the dialogue within the curriculum that the Committee could not ignore, the curriculum included indoctrination via Americanization which meant an increase in citizenship education.

The committee attempted to adhere to the principles of history education, yet the reality was impossible. The CHEC faced significant trouble with their agenda being accepted after the end of the First World War. The CHEC recommendations paralleled a previous AHA committee's work in 1909 in terms of supporting the Committee of Seven, but the CHEC conceded that most likely only two years of history were needed in the curriculum. Many members of the AHA felt that three years of history study in high school was a minimum. Further, Schafer's Committee suggested only a Modern European history course for tenth grade and American history course for eleventh grade should be required; the latter was considered as a graduation requirement. Additionally, the Committee advocated for replacing European history with a World history course, which aligned more with the more worldly focus of the new social studies curriculum. They did not necessary call for the elimination of the *Problems of Democracy* course. The CHEC report noted the Final Report allowed teachers some authority to articulate what was happening in their classrooms. Social studies was already getting enmeshed within the schools (Townsend, 2013). Surprisingly, the CHEC's report was disavowed by the AHA governing Council as traditional members felt betrayed by the committee's recommendation ran counter to the curriculum laid out by the Committee of Seven and supported the Committee on Social Studies (Townsend, 2013). The Committee's recommendations were not published in the AHA *Annual Report*, but they were allowed to be published in the highly pro-social studies *Historical Outlook*, which had been *The History Teachers Magazine* (1911-1918) and still edited by Albert McKinley.

Saxe (1991) implied a non-causal relationship between some of the dismantling of the traditional history, as a renewed focus upon modern history was a problem. This new focus on modern history undermined the notion of historical continuity which had been a key concept in the traditional history which wanted students to study ancient, medieval and European history. Whereas social studies was more interested in the problems of the present (Saxe, 1991). The Rugg brothers, Earle and Harold, would argue for educators to assemble into a new organization, the National Council of Social Studies can cite the failure of the Committee on History and Education for Citizenship as one reason for its formation (Saxe, 1991).

With the formation of the National Council for Social Studies in December 1921, the AHA further alienated several of its members by suggesting nearly all *good* and *efficient* teachers were history teachers not social studies teachers (Townsend, 2013). Conversely, these good teachers were also labeled by the NCSS as too conservative in their attitudes towards social studies. McKinley allowed the *Historical Outlook* to be the publication for the NCSS, but he did not provide enough space for non-historical pedagogy (Townsend, 2013). One of the biggest problems with social studies as it continues to develop was that not all subjects and disciplines could be taught, history, civics, and geography were the ones that were most often utilized. As theoreticians created the formula for social studies, they often relied upon history and civics as the main foundations, thus not developing material for geography (Krug, Poster, & Gillies, 1970). As social studies developed, geography would be transferred to the physical sciences and economics would be replace its place in order of importance.

Edgar Dawson, first secretary-treasurer of NCSS, conducted a survey of the state of history and social studies education in schools. From over 2,400 respondents, Dawson concluded that social studies was expanding throughout the curriculum, new teachers were more likely to

be social studies minded, and history content was shrinking. In fact, attitude among school leadership was “to increase space in the curriculum for civics and economics and had a general preference for recent history [American history] over the more distant past” (Townsend, 2013, p. 129). This report would form the basis for subsequent opinions that history was shrinking because the expansion of social studies. Townsend (2013) speculates that college admission boards decrease the requirement for history in favor of social science but the decrease by College Board corresponded with the rising of mandatory American history courses for high school graduation by states.

Table B.2

Percentage of High School Students taking Social Studies Courses

Social Studies Courses	1928	1934
American History	17.9	17.4
European History	6.7	6.2
World History	6.1	11.9

Note: Adapted from *History’s Babel: Scholarship, Professionalization, and the Historical Enterprise in the United States, 1880-1940*, by R.B. Townsend, 2013. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, p. 176.

By the 1920s, several new social science professional organizations were attempting to influence social studies curriculum. In 1914, the Organization of the National Council of Geography Teachers was formed (NCSS, 2006). The American Political Science Association published its guidelines for teaching social studies, which recommended a year of social science and at least a semester dedicated to the study of American government (Evans, 2004). By 1922, the American Political Science Association advocated expanding the American government semester to a full year of government study, a curricular change intended to replace the *Problems of Democracy* course. The American Economic Association likewise advocated for a broader social studies approach to the curriculum. Economists wanted to infuse principles of economics

into the entire high school social studies curriculum. Sociologists, under the Finney Committee, issued a couple of reports permitting the NEA/AHA vision of the social studies curriculum. Sociologists and economists advocated for a more general social science program of study to replace *Problems of Democracy*. In fact, sociologists and economists viewed government as a larger threat to the curriculum than history (Hertzberg, 1981). None of the social scientists liked the capstone course in the 1916 Final Report because they wanted more emphasis upon their own fields. Principals and social studies educators were the only groups advocating the inclusion of *Problems of Democracy* into the curriculum as a way to incorporate the various social sciences. Hertzberg (1981) argued that the only aspect that the various social sciences did agree upon was the primary purpose of social studies was citizenship education; however, they disagreed on the best method of obtaining this education.

Implications of the Committee on Social Studies

The report was more a continuation of the other reports, its importance only became apparent in later decades (Hertzberg, 1981). Saxe (1991) argued that social studies *insurgents* had four step process: undermine traditional history's purpose; eliminate traditional history from the curriculum; introduce social studies proposals; and replace traditional history with social studies. Saxe implied a calculated intent to history education that seems confusing as in many ways many of the ideas of social studies had been articulated previously. The history advocates did not justify or influence themselves into the discussion, unlike other disciplines. The preordained design by the social studies educators did not actually undermine the role of history education. This was a process that included historians, educators, and administrators that created two distinct curricula for the divergent population. However, this fact is often glossed over by contemporary commentators because they want to find a person to blame for the reduction of the

social sciences within the curriculum. The *convictions* of the Committee on Social Studies were: preparation for college requirements should not control the curriculum, high school social studies education should focus upon civics education; and history should serve the “practical needs of citizenship”; all the social sciences should be taught and treated as intermingled subjects committed to civics education; the social sciences should be taught in a way to focus on their relevance to the present-day; and there should be an internationalism over nationalism focus for social studies (Hunt, 1962). Progressive educators would justify the new curriculum as a means “to transform the children of immigrant factory workers into individuals who considered themselves Americans, by intentionally fostering a common civic consciousness,” (Galston, 2005, p 58) assimilation into America’s imagined community.

Lybarger and Kliebard noted that social efficiency greatly influenced the final report and that it would lead the way for progressive education (Jorgensen, 2012). Ravitch argued that the report only confirmed the social efficiency trend (Jorgensen, 2012). Krug pointed to social efficiency as a quest for social reform that attempted to create social control and create an education for general well-being of society. Misinterpretations of the preliminary statements are due to differing versions that were used by various historians (e.g., Ravitch and Lybarger) (Jorgensen, 2012). Neo-conservatives have taken the term efficiency to mean scientific management (a modern notion) which is out of context from the time period (Jorgensen, 2012). There was an attempt to blend efficiency with science, but it was not universal in the first decades of the twentieth century. Progressivism was a spectrum with conservatives favoring scientific application, moderates were Teddy Roosevelt’s New Nationalism and Woodrow Wilson’s New Freedom, and to the left was Dewey and democratic progressives.

Dewey saw social efficiency as stressing the social aspect and more about socialization than scientific and efficiency (Jorgensen, 2012). Jorgensen (2012) does a balanced evaluation of the competing views about the Final Report (1916); he discusses the various historiographic interpretations and the influence or lack of influence of John Dewey upon the individuals writing the three reports. A weakness within Jorgensen is that he views the various interpretations in a historical vacuum. When discussing Krug's interpretations, Jorgensen (2012) notes that social efficiency had a more controlling aspect towards society. While other scholars (i.e. Ravitch, Saxe, and Evans) focus less on the controlling aspect of social studies, they point to other aspects to highlight their perspectives. The significance is that Krug published his interpretations during the 1960s at a time of general social upheavals looking for explanations for why rights were denied to certain groups. Most of the interpretations by Ravitch and Saxe were written during the controversial time between the *A Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983) and National Standards for History where social studies was still a major field within public education. Evans' interpretations were written after the National Standards for History debates as more an examination to the role of the Final Report in the history of larger debate. Jorgensen identified the scholars into different camps but did not identify any rationale for why these interpretations might have happened.

In many ways, advocates for social studies conceived of the subject as a way for oppressed Americans to understand "their place" within society; however, to the dismay of humanists, social studies adopted an aggressive form of social meliorism as progressive education became more popular. Social meliorism blended with Dewey's experientialism to encourage students to question aspects of American society. Eventually courses like the *Problems with American Democracy*, helped social studies identify some of the continual

problems with society instead of simply maintaining a status quo. From this point forward, social meliorist interests continuously influenced social studies curriculum and undermined any notion that social studies should maintain the “traditional” attitudes of America. Critical comments about the Final Report’s emphasis on permitting students to have serious discussions about contemporaneous social problems are valid. However, Saxe (1991) stated that the report called for these curricula but the lack of material following the report did not permit the opportunity to engage students with contemporaneous social ills. The Committee on Social Studies committed the same problem that the Madison Conference and the Committee of Seven committee, the lack of teaching material and training as to what the new curriculum should look like for the students. Saxe (1991) believes that this evolution approach is very Deweyian. Another explanation might be the inclusion of social meliorism into social studies pedagogy over Deweyian developmentalism.

Saxe (1991) stated that the purpose of education is to maintain a status quo by keeping a connection with the elder and younger generations as close as possible. For the Madison Conference was an attempt to maintain a continuum of the status quo while progressive educators, like John Dewey and George Counts, sought to allow more freedom with the possibility of change (Saxe, 1991). Traditional historians could not deal with the problems of contemporary world, thus these problems should be left to the social sciences to handle (Saxe, 1991). Part of the problem as seen from Hunt’s perspective (1962) was that liberalism was too infused in social studies and its great champion Harold Rugg. Society worried that social studies was radical “at least *pink*” in its political leanings which lead to questions on the purpose of citizenship education. The publication of the *Cardinal Principles* was published on the eve of the first Red Scare in American history points to the relationship between the social meliorism that

social studies would later adopt and fears over questions of traditional society that communism brought cannot be ignored. Even after fifty years, the public struggled with the concept of social studies, is social studies “a kind of heterogeneous mixture” or some nefarious concept based on the word social (i.e. Socialism) was still common discussions (Carr, 1965, p. 25).

Jackson and Jackson (1989) argued that history education had been in a *golden age* as a dominant subject from 1890 until 1920. The Committee on the Social Studies end that *golden age* by instilling social studies into the curriculum and forever downgrading history education. Hertzberg (1989) argues that the Final Report contains four types of progressivism including humanistic, scientific management, social efficiency, and child-centered. Inclusion of Progressive education in the report made today’s neo-conservatives view the Final Report as a final betrayal on America Education. The demotion of history is not as problematic for Hertzberg (1981; 1989). The lack of focus on humanistic progressivism or the concern for the development of the individual student that was believed to be critical to the intentions of the two previous foundational reports (Hertzberg, 1989).

Hertzberg (1989) identifies two lasting legacies from the report, the fact that social studies criticized the idea of four years of history as a long-standing tradition, and the notion that curriculum had the intent to only direct students to college. Both of these ideas seem oversimplifications. The first accusation might be true due to the high number of education personnel on the committee, additionally the committee did not want to minimize the role of history rather expand the trend of other disciplines in a history dominated curriculum. As for the second accusation, both Madison and Seven were primarily focused upon college entrance requirements whereas the CRSE was looking at a more general education curriculum. The elimination of ancient history would eventually be replaced with a Western Civilization courses,

seemed to matter to the AHA because many members studied those periods. Rising American nationalism is a potential rationale for eliminating the study of English history. Hertzberg (1989) final complaint of the Final Report was the child-centered classroom; traditionalists favored an adult-centered classroom which is often how history classes are still taught and social studies classes are more student-centered. Progressive educators and “New History” advocates sought to de-emphasize political history and teach students about how history relates to the social and economic issues of the present day.

The neo-conservative critique is against the reforms of Progressive educators that dominated the CRSE in its publication in 1918 of *The Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education*, is a political attempt to recapture the nationalist narrative from preparing citizens. They felt that relevance to students was irrelevant to the history education and that value of social studies hurt the curriculum. The Final Report was part of the process for developing a curriculum for the social sciences and civic education; however, most of the critiques on the work of the Committee on Social Studies came mostly nearly 60 years later. By framing social studies as destroying a *golden age* of history education, commentators have raised questions about the overall value of the social studies to the curriculum as well as questions about the value of history in the curriculum, some of the unintended consequences of their critiques.

Development of a Curriculum

In schools, the field of social sciences dealt mostly with citizen education and needed a single organizational umbrella: social studies. The Commission on Social Studies did several important things: AHA accepted the term of social studies over history within a single educational field upon their support of NCSS; acknowledged the changes within society with regards to student-teacher relationship; and the importance of citizenship education within social

studies (Hunt, 1962). Textbooks began to change in the 1930s, as the narrative (traditional history) was replaced with “New History” books. In Hunt’s (1962) perspective, social studies is taught by the individual disciplines or as part of the study of issues within American society, so that students understand their responsibilities as citizens. Textbook reform has tended to lag 25 to 30 years behind the reform effort regardless of which direction schools wanted to adopt (Hunt, 1962). Conservatives and isolationists during the 1930s and 1940s would see national history and civics as acceptable courses but question other social studies courses as “un-American.”

The emerging tendencies within social studies education debates: traditionalists or professionalists wanted several core courses taught, based loosely upon the recommendations of the Committee of Seven (an economics class, several history courses, government, and geography); a broadly-based social science approach to social studies with an active social meliorist bent based upon the Final Report; or a social studies curriculum highly centered upon a historical center but actively supported by the other social sciences. The tendencies varied yet citizenship education seemed to be at the heart of each method of teaching. The major differences seemed to be where people came in the process. Universities favored the first option while principals favored the last option due to the constraints of high school schedules. C.E. Martz, an AHA member and advocate for more traditional history education, argued for the preeminence of history over the other social sciences because “history, taught well, encompasses every value claimed for social studies” (Evans, 2004, p. 35). But despite the increasingly complicated landscape of history and social studies, history continued to dominate social studies curriculum because historians were the main architects of social studies textbooks (Fallace, 2008).

Setting up the Social Studies Curriculum

As schools started adopting social studies curriculum; the *Problems of Democracy* course became very popular. Members of the “New History” faction, including James Harvey Robinson and Charles A. Beard, supported the use of social studies. In 1925, the AHA, on the behest of the National Educational Association (NEA), set up another committee to examine the curriculum at elementary level, the Final Report only dealt with courses at the seventh through twelfth grades. Educator groups were not entirely happy with either the Final Report or the Committee of Seven Recommendations (Carr, 1965). Other than providing names and organization, educators were not given the tools to implement the curriculum. Carr (1965) pointed to the 1920s as a period where many state educational agencies developed a fairly conservative curriculum practices where they relied on textbook companies. The period between the Committee on Social Studies and the Commission on Social Studies has often described as a chaotic period. This perception is a common theme between the controversies where the curriculum would appear very ineffective and often chaotic, thus the need for reform.

The inclusion of the Hampton Institute’s *Problems of Democracy* as a capstone course for the social studies curriculum would have the most lasting impact. The topics to be covered in the class were of the student’s choice; the process of student subject selection reflected the ideas of yet another curricular interest group, Kliebard’s (2004) experiential faction, which recommended allowing students to have input into their education. Evans (2004) claims that the *Problems of Democracy* was an experiment in social meliorism; however, the competing notions of progressive education appear to have impacted the formation of the new curriculum. Additionally, in the 1910s, high school administrators found themselves under increasing pressure to align themselves with the new guidelines of accreditation. The 1916 Final Report

represented a major break from the recommendations of the AHA, which had encouraged the creation of a curriculum to help all Americans become ‘good’ citizens. The Committee’s Final Report had “very little immediate impact on historians” and caused much confusion about what really constituted a social studies curriculum (Keels, 2009, p. 10). Even though the Final Report called for *Problems of America* to be taught as the senior capstone, several schools taught simple American history, while other schools taught government, economics, sociology, or social problems. However, an increasing number were adopting the *Problems of America* model and thus the social studies model. Edgar Dawson commented that the social sciences disagreement over the *Problems* course was a missed opportunity that would forever damage the field because the dissention between the various social scientists would continue to fester among the disciplines instead of allowing all social sciences to join together to form a single vision for the field (Hiner, 1973).

Historical Outlook (originally *The History Teacher’s Magazine* until 1912-1918), still edited by Albert McKinley, was an official journal for the AHA with a primary focus for school teachers. McKinley was highly sympathetic to the social studies cause. He published several sample syllabi recommendations for grades one through six, Modern European history, and American history that included lessons with other social sciences (Keels, 2009). Eventually, *Historical Outlook* became *The Social Studies* (1934) under the auspices of the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS). McKinley’s syllabi recommendations soon became the established standards for the field. The National Association of Secondary School Principals (NASSP) followed many of the suggestions of the CSS, including institutionalizing the *Problems of Democracy* course (at first a single semester course that was eventually expanded to a full year), an economics course during twelfth grade, and the cessation of history courses at tenth

grade (Evans, 2004). The Committee on Teaching and Albert McKinley were the most vocal advocates within the AHA for social studies curriculum. Adherents of the AHA's "New History" faction were also willing to work with the new National Council for the Social Studies.

From the creation of National Council for the Social Studies, two issues influenced its place within the larger discussion of social studies curriculum: its relationship with other social science professional organizations and the need for a clear definition for social studies. During the 1910s, social efficiency advocates such as Franklin Bobbitt and W. W. Charter advanced the notion of making curriculum more scientific: this included social studies. Earle Rugg, a professor at Columbia University's Teachers College, called for a reconvening of the Committee on Social Studies to detail plans for a social studies curriculum beyond the general recommendations of their 1916 Final Report. The Committee on Social Studies met again in conjunction with the 1921 meeting of the AHA to form the nucleus of the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS). At first, broad consensus was built among some of the professional organizations, including the American Historical Association (AHA), National Education Association, and American Sociological Association. The AHA was the biggest supporter of NCSS and lent it various forms of support, including holding joint meetings for the organization during its first 15 years.

By the middle of the 1920s, the AHA had recognized that they had lost their preeminent position in the curriculum debate as well as history being the only social science taught in public schools. The association attempted to find someone to regain its previous dominance, the two most likely candidates were Max Farrand, a history professor at Yale, and August C. Krey, a professor at the University of Minnesota and former teacher (Townsend, 2013). Farrand insisted that the AHA be open to dialogues between history and the other social sciences and the general

association seemed to be willing to explore the possibility. However, senior historians were entrenched in the notion of traditional history and the inability to compromise on any other curriculum other than the Committee of Seven (Townsend, 2013).

Edgar Dawson, president of the NCSS, was concerned about the absence of historians in the curriculum debate and personally felt that history and social studies were interchangeable when history meant Robinson's "New History" (Townsend, 2013). Many individuals from the association worried about Krey's connection to the NCSS. Dawson thought Krey was a good choice who was not stuck in outdated notions of history education (Townsend, 2013). A committee was organized under the leadership of August C. Krey called an *Investigation on History and Other Social Studies in the Schools*, but the objectives of the committee were vague and with little support by the Association's governing council (Townsend, 2013). Eventually, this would lay the foundation for the AHA Commission on Social Studies.

Meanwhile, NCSS was gaining in strength and popularity among teachers. They formed their own department in the NEA to oversee social studies disciplines within schools including economics, civics, sociology, and history (Townsend, 2013). The *Historical Outlook* started to examine more pedagogical issues related to social studies content and strictly historical issues. At the same time, American history courses began rising while European and Ancient history courses were being offered less and less by public schools. Nearly half of the history teachers were being required to teach other subjects including English, mathematics, and foreign languages, whereas only about 12% of the history teachers were able to teach only history classes (Townsend, 2013).

In 1922, William Randolph Hearst, famous New York City newspaper publisher, started questioning the integrity of school textbooks. He claimed in the newspapers that school

textbooks tended to be bias towards British values and attitudes. The following year, New York City mayoral office conducted an investigation of history textbooks used by the city's school system, the committee confirmed Hearst's claims and banned several textbooks (Mirel, 2010). This continued the trend towards more pluralistic attitudes in civic education. Textbooks were seen as a political tool to gain support or criticize the current administration. In 1927, a Chicago mayoral candidate criticized school textbooks for their British bias to win favor from various immigrant groups (Mirel, 2010).

The Rugg Textbook Series

At first, AHA members like McKinley were the spokespeople for the NCSS, but soon social meliorists and developmentalists began to influence the Council. Teachers College Professor Harold Rugg, Earle Rugg's brother, became the individual most associated with social studies for the next twenty years. As a colleague of John Dewey at Teachers College, he supported experimental interests; but he would be more associated with the social meliorist interest groups. During this period, the influence of professional social scientists upon curriculum waned and university educators became increasingly important in the debate over the shape of the field (NCSS, 2006). The NCSS adopted the stance that social studies was "history and the social sciences in schools" (Evans, 2004, p. 35). The council wanted an integration of the social sciences as the core of the field of social studies rather than a separation into distinct fields (Hertzberg, 1981). Both Harold and Earle Rugg determined that "utility and practicality as the criteria for the selection of content" when developing social studies curriculum (Evans, 2004, p. 5). Educators were adopting very progressive educational theories.

This entire time period reflected wide array of experimentation with educational methods, including some of the theories of John Dewey. Dewey taught history at his school near Chicago

during the 1890s. Kliebard (2004) claims that Dewey's purpose for teaching history, but not social studies, "was to lead the child to an appreciation of the values of social life and to let the child see the forces that led to effective cooperation among human beings" (p. 65). Furthermore, history can be utilized effectively in the developmentalist paradigm because its adherents believe that it flows through a natural course of study. Adherents to this paradigm also believe that reading is acquired through participation in other normal activities, such as attempting to build a clubhouse or cooking a cake. Dewey is often credited with laying the foundation for social studies in the curriculum; however, Dewey does not seem to express a clear opinion with regard to social studies (Saxe, 1992). But despite Dewey's apparent ambiguity, this social meliorist attitude towards history did influence his colleague at Columbia's Teachers College, Harold Rugg.

Schools and teachers were seeking more thematic lessons along the lines of the recommendations from the Committee on Social Studies (Mirel, 2010). Harold Rugg, a social meliorist, believed that while he could not control teacher education or preparation, he could control the content and approaches of the textbook. Harold Rugg's social studies curriculum was centered upon his pamphlet series *Man and his Changing Society*, the first pamphlet series started in 1922. Rugg did not write his textbook from a historian's point of view; his *wise* textbook series was the first full integration of the social sciences into a textbook. He believed that social studies had suffered from "curriculum fragmentation and unnecessary compartmentalization" that could only be reversed by a fully integrated social studies curriculum (Kliebard, 2004). He introduced a problem solving approach to social studies that would meld and incorporate the various social sciences into his textbook. He argued that "the entire social studies curriculum should be organized around problems of contemporary life" as opposed to

focusing upon historical issues (Evans, 2004, p. 40). These pamphlets laid the groundwork for his textbook series, which became a huge financial success as schools started adopting the social studies curriculum model.

Progressive educators seemed to understand the changing dynamics of the 1920s and 1930s as the process of industrialization and urbanization within America became more prevalent, they hoped that Americanization would adjust to industrialization and urbanization (Reuben, 2005) Rueben (2005) argued that educators in the 1920s started to abandon the traditional notion that schools socializing institutions, in fact, educators were looking for a new purpose for education. One of first textbook controversies happened in the 1920s as professional historians utilizing “New History” techniques began publishing American history textbooks that eliminate traditional highly patriotic laden narratives as well as traditional-hero worship biographies. Conservative groups favored the focus more on patriotic content over social science skills. Immigrant groups wanted a return to patriotic content that also included the roles of important immigrants. Cultural pluralists were fighting an anti-discrimination trend by favoring a more multicultural approach to history (Rueben, 2005). Educators began to see civics as a method to value a democratic society and defend democratic institutions (Rueben, 2005). This notion of valuing democratic institutions conformed to the progressive ideal of protecting the general welfare of the citizen and their democratic rights.

Elementary education in urban Midwest schools still relied upon biographies and holidays as the primary form of social studies curriculum. However, sixth-graders were being introduced to traditional American history as part of the curriculum. These progressive schools tried to blend the traditional history with social studies skills and civic education. Nevertheless, “few educators at the time considered including people other than white Anglo-Saxon Protestants

in the teaching of American history or in explicating lessons related to American citizenship” (Mirel, 2010, p. 63). By the first decades of the Twentieth century, older established immigrant groups (e.g. Irish and German) were the most vocal critics of the dominant WASP narrative to American history within social studies education. They advocated for the inclusion of their heroes into the narrative of American history as individuals who help to build the country (Mirel, 2010). However, Irish and German voices were silenced temporarily due to their perceived attitudes towards combatants during the First World War. After the war, shifts in attitudes with regards to the dominate WASP narrative happened because immigrant soldiers compromised nearly a fifth of the fighting Army and immigrants began to react to anti-immigrant feelings within America (Mirel, 2010).

The Commission on Social Studies

By the end of the 1920s, the divisions between the various social scientists and social studies educators centered on the capstone social studies course, *Problems of America (Democracy)*. The broad social studies model had become a fairly the standard curriculum model. Educators like Rugg assaults upon traditional history teaching methods had won many allies in the AHA because members realized that development of the skills and thinking were better pedagogical methods than rote memorization. In 1926, AHA Committee on History and Other Social Studies in the Schools called for a unified social studies curriculum to be developed with the help of all the social scientists and education specialists from various university (Hunt, 1962). Three years later, this committee became the Committee on Teaching within the AHA with the intent on making history education a core subject, this would eventually be called the Commission on the Social Studies.

Krey's Committee on the *Investigation on History and Other Social Studies in the Schools* received a huge boost by the Carnegie Corporation in its third year of inactivity. Carnegie Corporation offer to fund work that sought ways to improve the curriculum starting with objectives, better organization, grade leveling, teaching methods, and teacher preparation (Hertzberg, 1981). The financial support provided by the Carnegie Corporation was immense for the period; the \$250,000 grant to the Committee was eight times the annual budget of the American Historical Association (Townsend, 2013). Consequently, the committee had to meet certain conditions laid out by the Carnegie Corporation. They insisted upon fewer academic professors replaced by individuals with an interest in measuring student learning (Townsend, 2013). So in 1928, the Committee was renamed the *Commission on Social Studies* and became one of the biggest endeavors the AHA would ever undertake.

Members included Charles A. Beard, former Professor of Politics at Columbia University; Isiah Bowman, Director of American Geographical Society; Ada Comstock, President of Radcliffe College; Frank W. Ballou, Superintendent of Schools, Washington DC; Jesse H Newlon, Professor of Education, Teachers College (former superintendent of Denver schools and former President of NEA); Jesse F. Steiner, Professor of Sociology, University of Washington; George Counts, Professor of Education, Teachers College (Also Research Director of the Commission); W.G. Kimmel (Executive Secretary); T.L. Kelley, Psychologist (Advisor on Tests); Avery O. Craven, Professor of History, University of Chicago; Edmund E. Day, Director of Social Sciences at Rockefeller Foundation (Former Michigan Dean of Business); Guy Stanton Ford, Professor of History and Dean of Graduate School University of Minnesota; Carlton J.H. Hayes, Professor of History Columbia University; Ernest Horn, Professor of Education, University of Iowa; Henry Johnson, Professor of History and Education at Teachers College and

Columbia; August C. Krey, Professor of History at University of Minnesota (Chair); Leon C. Marshall, Institute for the Study of Law John Hopkins (also chairman of the AEA Committee on the Schools); and Charles E. Merriam, Professor of Political Science at University of Chicago.

Some similarities exist between the Committee on the Social Studies and the AHA Commission on Social Studies. Both groups were comprised of diverse social science background, not simply history. Both groups advocated for Robinson's "New History" as an important foundation to the field. The influence of John Dewey can be seen in the work of both committees, as was the importance of Columbia's Teacher College. Both committees express the purpose of social studies was civic education. The differences were apparent as well. The AHA Commission on the Social Studies reverted back to mostly university faculty with a few school administrators and no actual current teachers (Hertzberg, 1981). The Committee on Social Studies, like the previous Madison Conference and Committee of Seven, had been summoned by the NEA whereas the AHA Commission did not have any direct connection to the NEA but would get associated with other national organizations (American Association of School Administrators and NCSS).

The Commission on the Social Studies made an important departure from previous AHA committees; they were the first AHA committee to endorse the term social studies (Hunt, 1962). Building on the Final Report, the Commission on Social Studies also advocated for a more foundational approach towards education over indoctrination of students to the narrative (Hertzberg, 1981). The AHA Commission detailed the purported knowledge, skills, attitudes, and values that social studies was to include. The AHA Commission wanted to expand the *Problems of Democracy* course within the curriculum. They would advocate an inclusion of all the social sciences within the curriculum, although history should still be at the forefront of

social studies (Hertzberg, 1981). Additionally, members of the commission tried to point the direction into different directions. Krey advocated a series of consensual reports for the curriculum whereas Beard and Counts tended to be too abstract and general (Townsend, 2013). Ultimately, the Commission would start generating random reports that reflected the different perspectives among the members. A plethora of publications (at least 18 volumes) came out of the Commission's work over the six years that it functioned.

The significant works were done by Charles Beard, advocator for "New History," and George Counts, Columbia Teacher's College and Commission Research Director. Beard attempted to bridge the gaps between history and the other disciplines into the Progressive educator worldview (Townsend, 2013). Townsend (2013) identified this as Beard's *seamless web* where "the perspective of the present and the needs of the future shaped the teaching" of history and other social sciences (p. 175). George Counts headed the Educational Policies Commission which attempted to return civic education to the forefront of social studies (Hertzberg, 1981). Likewise, he laid out an ideal for educating democratic citizens that aligned with Rugg's textbook series as well as the *Problems of American Democracy* course. However, Counts had a vision for how schools should incorporate democratic education, but he did not produce a curriculum for his vision. He believed this vision was a fundamental purpose of school, so social studies may provide the exemplar for democratic education, but all subjects should incorporate democratic education into its curriculum. He would lead the Progressive Education Association.

The Progressive Education Association (PEA), centered at Columbia University, had several connections to the ongoing debates in social studies. George Counts was a major intellectual influence on the PEA. After the Commission finished its work, Counts continued his

work on using social studies as the exemplar through the PEA. In 1940, they issued a report on the state and purpose of social studies for general education. This group took a student-centered approach to how the curriculum should be developed, very much with the developmentalist faction. Dynamic education would allow citizens to adjust to problems and issues that might arise in the American Democracy (Gutek, 1984). One of Counts's favorite projects was to critique American society in favor of a collectivist order, a "democratic collectivism" (Gutek, 1984, p. 85). American society was moving towards holistic society similar to the Rousseau philosophy of the general good of all over the good for the individual, this growing trend would help shape the Commission on the Social Studies (Gutek, 1984). Counts' desire to transform American society into a form of collectivism different from the Soviet model was highly suspicious within American society. Counts believed that to develop this new model, education was key, particularly civic education that was "committed to social planning and reconstruction" that could deal with the problems of the Great Depression (Gutek, 1984). For the future of American society, American schools needed to integrate into all aspects of society and function as a change agency for societal institutions (Gutek, 1984). Counts adopted Beard's vision of history as "a continuing revision of the past based on the historian's values and tempered by this particular time, circumstances, and personality" which for Counts meant that history was a reflection of his own time that could be used to solve current problems (Gutek, 1984, p. 154).

Its final publication *Conclusions and Recommendations* (1934) called for a new social studies curriculum, yet it was not unanimous acceptance of the commission's work (Lerner, Nagai, & Rothman, 1995). Bowman signed with reservations; Ballou, Day, Horn, and Merriam declined to sign due to opposition over terms such as *collectivism* and perception over

indoctrination (Hertzberg, 1981). The influence of Counts over the Commission would have lasting implications for the AHA and for social studies.

Implications of the Commission on Social Studies

The legacy of the Commission on Social Studies is often glossed over as simply allowing the AHA to legitimize the creation of social studies as a field for public schools. However, there are more implications for the future of the field than simply saying social studies is the new curriculum. History was demoted to an important role within the social studies curriculum but not the single voice in the curriculum. Professional historians were distancing themselves from the social studies movement because history was not as dominant but also because the national organization was concentrating on the collegiate level. Many later historians (e.g. Hertzberg, Ravitch, Finn) would claim that social studies had removed history from the curriculum. Yet the Final Report “should be recognized for protecting history during [1920s and 1930s], not eroding it” as many historians like to believe, history remained the centerpiece of social studies curriculum over the other disciplines (Fallace, 2008, p. 2265). Nash, Crabtree, and Dunn (1997) claimed that during the 1930s the AHA tried to reassert its dominance over the NCSS and failed due to the work of the Commission. Educators were taking the lead in the curriculum debates for social studies and many other education fields. However, historians held a dominate role within the NCSS. The organization was not truly articulating the needs for the field of social studies. The criticism took several forms including the dominance of history in schools, the perceived close relationship between AHA and NCSS, the NCSS leadership’s from traditional historical backgrounds, and fear of university based form of social studies (Hertzberg, 1981). In 1934, the AHA ended its close association with the NCSS and eventually distanced itself from P-12 education to focus on postsecondary education and the role of the historian. In 1934, NCSS took

The Historical Outlook and renamed it *The Social Studies* with excess funds from the Carnegie grant. The final separation came after the death of long-time editor McKinley, NCSS founded a new journal *Social Education* in 1936 with recognition from APSA, ASS, and AHA but no financial support from any of the organizations. The Commission marked a temporary hiatus of the AHA from any voice in the development or oversight of public education curriculum until the 1990s.

The Commission reconceived the idea of reforming social studies curriculum away from simply organizing it and critiquing the old system, the various volumes developed upon and created new curricular material (Townsend, 2013). Hertzberg (1981) argued that two visions for social studies began to emerge at the end of the 1930s partly due to the curricular efforts of the Commission. The NCSS advocated “the education of citizens for a democratic society in concrete curricular scope-and-sequence recommendations” along a more traditional social efficiency model (Hertzberg, 1981, p. 61). The other vision also incorporated citizen education but wanted it to revolve around the needs of the students and relevance to current issues along a more social meliorist and developmentalist approach. The latter placed a high value upon the development of curricular material focusing on skills that forced students to examine contemporary societal problems above traditional historical content. As this model became the standard method utilized by social studies educators particularly in the *Problems* course, policymakers increasingly disapproved of the direction taken by social studies education. This conflict between practitioners and policymakers is still ongoing and has repeatedly damaged social studies curriculum.

The social meliorist attitude within the curriculum is connected to the work of Counts and the Progressive Education Association. The PEA condemned the social studies curricular

material due to its continual reliance on textbooks and memorization as a teaching methodology. They misconstrued the goals and accomplishments of Committees of Ten (NEA, 1893) and Seven (McLaughlin et al., 1898). They praised the revolutionary nature of the Final Report yet felt it did not go far enough due to the ingrained practices of previous recommendations. They critiqued the Commission on the Social Studies for not providing instructional direction even though it developed more curricular material than all three previous efforts. The Committee on the Function of the Social Studies was a subcommittee the Commission on the Secondary School Curriculum as well as a part of the Progressive Education Association. The aim of this Committee was to create a curriculum that allowed students to comprehend social interactions with others in society (Woyshner, Watras, & Crocco, 2010). They articulated the purpose of social studies as providing students with the means to interact with others within a democratic society. A desire of the committee was that students would learn to understand and appreciate all parts of society, not only the section that they came from, toleration was the main idea of the social skill. The shift towards academic disciplines and cognitive skills during the 1950s contributed to the fading of diversity toleration (Woyshner, Watras, & Crocco, 2010). When the “New Social Studies” movement in the 1960s looked back on Progressive education, the scholars determined that Progressive education went to an extreme on attempting to make democratic education integrated into the curriculum (Johnson, 2005).

Considering the Progressive purpose for social studies, a Slovenian immigrant and editor, Louis Adamic, toured the urban centers of Northeast and Midwest during the early 1930s. He noted a rising trend among second generation immigrants who were no longer part of European society nor did they feel that they were part of American society, regardless of the Americanization (Mirel, 2010). Adamic called for a more inclusive history to the American

history narrative in order to make immigrants feel pride in their new country's history as well as combat the nativist feelings (Mirel, 2010). New York City politicians embraced Adamic's call for a change and they began changing the traditional narrative to create a more pluralistic vision of America (Mirel, 2010). This attitude also made its mark on the AHA Commission on the Social Studies during the early 1930s (Mirel, 2010). The notion of cultural pluralism as civic education was being infused into the new Progressive conception of education and social studies. Change was assisted by Adamic and other education immigrant leaders who sought to infuse civic nationalism into education (Mirel, 2010). Along with ideological shifts with Progressive educators like George Counts who wanted to stress democratic traditions throughout the curriculum not just social studies. For example, Detroit schools, after the Second World War, published a step-by-step guide for teachers called *Building One Nation Indivisible* to incorporate intercultural understanding within school curriculum (Mirel, 2010). The guidebook provided teachers with ways to handle discussions on sensitive topics, as well as information for teachers about the immigrant and African-American experience (Mirel, 2010).

Townsend (2013) identified three reasons why the Commission failed: firstly, it started during a prosperous period and finished during the Great Depression where schools did not have resources to implement grand recommendations; secondly, diverse views resulting in differing publications and three dissenting opinions from the final report; and finally, the lack of a centralized school system that would implement the recommendations. The fact that the Commission's recommendations required schools to overhaul a curriculum when most schools were struggling to finance existing schools in one of the worst depressions in American history cannot be overlooked. Other appraisals reflect that the Commissions' efforts were not always practical and relevant for teachers (Townsend, 2013). The works were too abstract for most

people to comprehend or investigate. Many critics focused on the lack of a program of study, they did not provide an organization for social studies like previous committees had done (Hertzberg, 1981).

Presenting the information to the AHA community, some of the Commission members voiced their dissent openly. Previous efforts generally received near unanimous support from the Committee members largely because the Committees worked to make consensus, something that was lacking in the Commission. This problem of dissent would reemerge in the 1990s during the National Standards for History controversy. The one lasting recommendation the Commission did have was that decisions about curriculum should be left to the local level, thus the rationale for why they did not make a curriculum (Hertzberg, 1981). As a result, most of the recommendations and work of the Commission never filtered down to the teachers, administrators, specialists, and organizations.

According to Hertzberg (1981), the 1930s really saw the various social science disciplines being fused with each other into the field of social studies. History courses were more inclusive with the other social sciences as a result of the “New History.” Social studies curriculum was developed using more thematic units over specific discipline approaches. The Commission transformed the focus of reform away from organization and more towards examining how it should be taught. The fusion into the field of social studies muted many of the discussions over the purpose of social studies. Citizenship education became a hidden assumption for all education not just social studies (Hertzberg, 1981). Consequently, a struggle over the purpose and direction of social studies were developing in the 1930s that created the first major controversy for the field.

Shifting the Controversies in Social Studies

In the 1930s, the traditionalists were ousted from the social studies debate as the issue changed from what to teach to how to teach it. The purpose of social studies was now well established as citizenship education. The Madison Conference (NEA, 1893) had looked at teaching methodology, including the use of materials. They urged teachers to move away from lectures and utilize a “wise” textbook, include class activities such as debates and discussion, and concentrate on written expression. The Committee of Seven (McLaughlin et al., 1898) made further suggestions, especially involving the use of textbooks and limiting the use of primary sources. Both Committees stressed cause/effect examples and points of view examples as ways for students to acquire the skills and abilities needed to approach information in more unbiased ways (Evans, 2004). However, other than recommendations little had changed in the methods that teachers used for teaching social studies courses. By the 1930s, American history was an essential part of the “core” public curriculum (Hertzberg, 1981). Non-American history (i.e. British, Ancient, Medieval) declined and transformed into a single yearlong “world history” course. Administrators adopted the *Problems of Democracy* course over courses in civil government, sociology, or economics. This course provided the first real change to traditional teaching methods within the curriculum, but how do teachers expand this to the general curriculum.

First Cultural Battles

Harold Rugg’s attempt to correct the ills of society through education received a boost with the onset of the Great Depression in 1930s. The problems associated with the Great Depression turned the contemporary problems, social ills, and problems with American democracy into the bread and butter of social studies classes, but as the 1930s continued, Rugg

started to face some criticism for his textbook. National Association of Manufacturers commissioned a study with the goal to examine the view of private enterprise within various social studies textbooks (Hertzberg, 1981). Bertie Forbes, founder of *Forbes* magazine, led the attack on Rugg for being anti-capitalist. Forbes enlisted the support of the American Legion and other conservative/business groups, which lobbied school boards to stop adopting Rugg's textbooks. Ultimately, the Second World War and the rise of American patriotism undermined the textbook series because the books were perceived to be un-American (Kliebard, 2004). Many of the criticisms concerning Rugg's textbook were really more about how his classes were structured than about contentious content. Content knowledge would also have been a valid criticism, but Rugg's methodology was at the heart of Forbes' critique. The textbook continued to be adopted for several more years by some school districts, but after 1943 it declined dramatically in use.

In May 1942, American historian Allen Nevins penned a piece in the *New York Times* that would provide the opening shot for the first public cultural war over social studies (Halvorsen, 2012). The pedagogical debate that surfaced was over the importance of content knowledge versus the development of skills or thinking. An American History Professor at Columbia University, Nevins led the charge against his colleagues at Columbia's Teachers College by calling for a return to the traditionalist curriculum (Committee of Seven) viewpoint. He argued that the teaching of history was an essential part of being an American (Townsend, 2013). In many ways, he articulated his unhappiness with the manner that history was treated in both P-12 and postsecondary education, a discontent reflected in his attempt to get universities to require history as a general education course. Erling Hunt, editor of NCSS's official journal *Social Education*, articulated the social studies position by stating that students learned more

history under the mantle of social studies than they had under the old history education model because, in the newer model, history was fused into the social studies curriculum (Halvorsen, 2012). Additionally, history education typically utilized a “drill and kill” model for teaching; students had simply to memorize facts and then repeat them back to the teacher. Hunt and Nevins conducted another more public round of debates throughout year. Nevins had the benefit of the owners of the *New York Times* to assist in the persuasion of the public. The president of the AHA, Guy Stanton Ford, publicly remained silent while privately empathizing and supporting with the NCSS leadership (Townsend, 2013).

In April 1943, the *New York Times* released the results from a survey they conducted with the aid of Nevins about college freshmen’s knowledge of U.S. history. The public mostly ignored a previous 1935 survey conducted on historical knowledge. Other surveys examined the number of public schools teaching history or whether history was required for admission into college were also ignored. Nevins portrayed the lack of historical knowledge as un-American and un-Patriotic in the middle of the Second World War. Nevins identified four factors for the failure of students: schools and their curriculum, improperly prepared teachers, immature students, and a lack of parental involvement in education (Halvorsen, 2012). Hunt charged that the survey did not test at elite colleges and pointed out that many students did not take the survey seriously. He also blamed the poor preparation of teachers, who had to educate about subjects for which they must rely upon poorly constructed textbooks, primarily written by historians.

At first, historical organizations like the Mississippi Valley Historical Association praised the survey for pointing out the lack of historical knowledge. Edgar Wesley explained the decline of history in the Mississippi Valley Historical Review where he blamed historians’ unwillingness to participate in designing curriculum, refusal to assist in school problems, low opinion of public

history teachers, neglected their duty as preparers of teachers, poor construction of history textbooks for use in public schools, and finally that social studies suffered from an internal cohesion within the field for creating a set of common standards (Hertzberg, 1981). Wesley has been viewed as a critic of history education that sought to eliminate all history courses from the curriculum (Jackson & Jackson, 1989). He argued that history provided no purpose for students other than memorization of facts.

NCSS and educators argued for thinking (skills); supporters of the *Times* survey argued for content knowledge (facts). The previous debates concerning history and social studies were isolated to universities and educational professionals; now the *New York Times* brought the issue into the public eye (Halvorsen, 2012). The struggle between educators and the public over social studies became a recurring event. The *Times*' survey would develop into the enduring myth put forth by traditionalists suggesting that students at some point in the past knew their country's history and that ignorance about the past is the provenance of the current generation (Halvorsen, 2012). Halvorsen (2012) believes that this very public attack (and subsequent attacks) was a strictly political effort to sensationalize the plight of American schools. The AHA's response was to examine the teaching of history in schools, but they generally focused upon higher education (Hertzberg, 1981). In the larger public arena, politicians tended to agree with traditionalist attitudes towards history while Progressive and left-leaning individuals tended to support social studies. Part of the issue may be that most politicians had learned social studies using traditional methods like rote memorization and considered these methods to be effective.

The validity of this survey was not questioned by the public. The *New York Times* and the Committee on American History, a group dedicated to the improvement of history education in schools, assembled a survey in order to prove their agenda. The question construction of the

assessment was dubious because the agenda of the designers was to prove students did not know enough history (Halvorseen, 2012). Some of the prime examples that were to display student content knowledge were strictly factual questions, like naming all 13 colonies: the students could only receive credit on this question if they answered all 13 colonies correctly. But the *Times* was not interested in a rigorous test analysis of the survey. Students performed better on questions connecting people with their achievements. The supporters of the survey had achieved their dedicated goal: American schools were failing, and social studies was the culprit. Supporters of the *Times* survey argued that reason for the decline lay in promotion of social studies educators who ignored history like the NCSS and the Teacher's College (Hertzberg, 1981).

As a way to quell sentiments about the students' poor performance, another history test was conducted. The American Historical Association, Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and National Council for Social Studies assembled a committee to design a "fairer" test. Social studies educators and professional organizations banded together to combat the onslaught on social studies education (Hertzberg, 1981). The Committee on American History in Schools and Colleges tasked themselves with examining the scope of American history in schools, administering a "fairer" test to students as well as to the general citizenry, providing recommendations for teacher preparation in history, and creating a national standard for American history. The results showed that social studies teachers scored the highest with 69%, followed by "important" Americans as listed in *Who's Who* with 68%. The general population scored 29%, while high school students scored the lowest with 22% (Halvorsen, 2012). The Committee had anticipated better scores on their test; however, the dismal scores were blamed on the poor design of their multiple choice test. The test did show that students generally had a

better grasp of general social studies concepts than specific content knowledge and they also often recognized more contemporary individuals.

The Committee came up with constructive recommendations for history instruction starting in the middle grades and continuing through college. This public debate resulted in factual knowledge being deemed more important to education than skills or thinking (Halvorsen, 2012). That this reconceptualization occurred in the middle of the Second World War is not coincidental. Historical understanding was a critical component of patriotism and both were required in order to construct “good” citizens who were willing to fight in the war. The humanistic interest group aligned themselves with social efficiency interests for practical reasons. Social efficiency methods made measuring student learning easier than it was for the developmentalist and social meliorist interest groups. Social studies remained the core subject preferred to history, educators continued to examine the pedagogical foundations of social studies and align disciplinary skills, and the lines between the factions within the social studies debate continued into next decade. The AHA further distanced itself from public school education, while MVHA attempted to incorporate an education piece into their publications and conferences (Hertzberg, 1981).

Other Social Studies Disciplines

In 1940, the Supreme Court heard a case, *Gobitis v Minerville*, where Jehovah Witnesses’ parents protested a state law that required the saluting of the flag as part of the patriotism education movement of the early twentieth century. The Court decided to remain out of decisions over educational policy and thus out of “compulsory civic socialization” that had been infused in the curriculum (Tyack, James, & Benavot, 1987, p. 191). The victory for patriotism education was fleeting; it lasted for only three years. In 1943, the Supreme Court overturned a flag salute in

West Virginia. Tyack, James and Benovat (1987) argued that the court shifted from upholding the majority to listening to the minority and this shift would lay the foundation for the *Brown v. Topeka* (1954) decision. Traditionalist could see these curriculum decisions as a violation of the notion that history could remain objective and apolitical, whereas social studies was enmeshed in examining societal problems. Historians, believing that social studies could remain out of these political fights, forgot that history can be corrupted for political reasons just as easily as social studies can be used for political activism (Nelson, 2001).

For the most part, the other disciplines remained quiet during the 1940s. The American Political Science Association also set up a committee to look at social studies in 1939. The Committee published in the NCSS bulletin a piece, *Teaching of the Civil Liberties* (1941), but very little was done to promote civics education as a professional organization (Hertzberg, 1981). The American Economic Association focused on higher education during this period. Any publications regarding economics for educators went through NCSS. Sociologists also created a committee but garnered little support from the professional sociologists to develop material for public schools. The burden of defending social studies fell upon the NCSS and educators who were disconnected from the academic fields, if they had even attended college.

The National Council on Social Studies was still articulating a purpose of citizenship education for the 1940s. The focus was less about national citizenship rather NCSS advocated a focus towards internationalism. This was a growing trend among many of the social sciences (Hertzberg, 1981). At the university level, Columbia University introduced a new course in the 1930s called Western Civilization. The premise was to expose the roots of American society through the study of Western European society. Nash, Crabtree, and Dunn (1997) claim this new course had implications for the future development of history education. In hindsight, historians

in the 1990s argued that global education should have been introduced in lieu of the more Eurocentric focus, but global history was not introduced until after the social history movement of the 1960s. Yet, an increase within social studies for more multicultural perspectives began appearing within the textbooks (Hertzberg, 1981). Critics claimed that the cultural pluralism within social studies which attempted to invest minorities into the system were viewed as undemocratic way to teach Americans (Hertzberg, 1981). By the 1980s, Western Civilization was the most common non-American history course taught in Universities and served to underscore the Eurocentric model of America's development. Also in the 1980s, a shift from the Eurocentric model to Global history was happening in higher education but education policymakers were resistant to this change.

Local Attempts to Reform Social Studies

Hunt (1962) noted the need of American education system was influenced by the ideological identities during the Cold War. The ideals of the superiority of democracy needed to indoctrinated among the students so that they could act as good citizens. During the height of the Second World War, Detroit riots erupted over living and working conditions between white and African-American workers. Following the war, various groups within Detroit set up the Detroit Citizenship Education Project to look at what schools could do to prevent another race riot. The study of eight diverse socioeconomic schools taught the fundamental principles of American Democracy effectively; however, the students could not determine how to relate those principles to their own life. Students were not able to discover “alternative solutions to social problems, evaluating evidence, critical thinking, and studying contemporary affairs” within the framework of citizen education (Hertzberg, 1981). Not surprisingly, the biggest issues were found in the

lower socio-economic schools. Detroit schools maintained the content level but attempted to seek methods to make the content more relevant.

General Omar Bradley during in the Second World War commenting on his own soldiers, felt that Americans did not participate in political life of United States because they lacked any interests in its philosophical origins. Whether this view is correct or not, many Americans agreed with it, including Stanley Dimond who oversaw the social studies department for Detroit public schools during the Detroit Citizenship Education Study (Halvorsen, & Mirel, 2009). The Detroit Citizenship Education Study (DCES) main focus was on moving away from content and developing citizens who could deal with real-world problems (Halvorsen, & Mirel, 2009). The findings from the DCES at the elementary level were that students had to feel a sense purpose which meant relevance over history (Halvorsen, & Mirel, 2009). The changes of marginalizing discipline education instituted at the secondary level was inconclusive for impact on citizenship education (Halvorsen, & Mirel, 2009). The DCES proved many Progressive education pedagogy assumptions including disciplined-centered education did not foster good education, student-centered active learning techniques was better, and the need for relevance for the students are key (Halvorsen, & Mirel, 2009).

The city of Denver, Colorado, conducted an eight-year study of its schools in order to determine what courses were needed for its high school graduates to enter college. This activist approach was an important departure from the university-prescribed guidelines that typically had come to schools following a top down model. The implications of John Dewey's experiential philosophy started to influence curriculum. Denver schools placed social studies within English classes. The social efficiency interest group advocated "trimming the deadwood off the traditional academic curriculum," namely Algebra, foreign languages, and history, because the

average population did not use these subjects (Kliebard, 2004, p. 183). The leaders in Denver asked teachers to assist in the development of curriculum. Denver's experimental schools produced students that scored slightly higher than traditionally taught students. Social efficiency started to impart its views upon the general curriculum at large, and the Denver administration developed surveys (tests) to measure student learning.

When developing the curriculum for the state of Virginia in the late 1940s, teachers were also asked to participate in the development process. Educational practitioners finally began to participate in the development of curriculum/standards. Both Denver and Virginia moved away from the curriculum dictated by Universities, which had dominated the development of P-12 curriculum for the past fifty years. A similar reform that swept the nation was a continuation of the 1920s fusion efforts, but to all subjects. Curriculum was developed into core subjects for all students at the schools. Similar to the efforts in Denver, many schools attempted to fuse social studies and language arts. Implementing a block plan where social studies and English were to be correlated in content. The effect of this fusion is not known, but eventually schools would return to a separation of language arts and social studies; coincidentally, Boston Public Schools announced a similar strategy of fusion starting for the fall of 2014 (McDonough, 2014).

Teacher's College initiated a Citizenship Education Project to combat the lack of instruction of American citizens. Funding for this project came from Carnegie Corporation which had on its board General George C. Marshall. The Dean of the Teacher's College, William R. Russell, also enlisted the help of Columbia's new President, Dwight D. Eisenhower. Russell initiated a 15-year plan to revise the nation's schools so that "students became active, responsible citizens through actual, practical citizenship participation" (Hertzberg, 1981, p 78). This project had a very developmentalist approach to education, where students were actively determining

what in their community needed civic participation. The Project major weakness seems to have been lack of tools to assist teachers in the implementation of their *lab practices* (Hertzberg, 1981). Overall, local efforts to reform social studies produced some interesting test cases but no lasting change to the overall curriculum or curricular material.

National Paradigm Shifts

Social studies received some criticism during the 1950s, but it was mostly from historians. Arthur Bestor, who studied at Teacher's College experimental school, claimed that social studies was a not a sound theory of practice. As a Professor in the social studies department at Teacher's College, he focused on content knowledge over methods of instructions. He unsuccessfully tried to get the AHA to become more active in teacher preparation and public education affairs (Hertzberg, 1981). He advocated that schools should only focus on five disciplines: mathematics, English, science, history, and foreign language. Each discipline (both public and introductory level college classes) should be taught with their own discipline pedagogy and no interdisciplinary interaction permitted. The rationale for history over the use of social studies was that it allowed for the education of citizens who would be able to grasp perspectives of change within an ever changing society (Hertzberg, 1981). Bestor appealed to historians to return to the *golden age* of history education before social studies educators corrupted the field with social activism and life adjustment theories. The unintended consequence of Bestor attack on social studies was that historians began to have a negative view on all social studies educators (Hertzberg, 1981).

The rise of social efficiency interests also coincided with rise of America on the world stage. Curriculum needed to be adjusted in order to facilitate the entry of all Americans into college; this was part of the mentality that fostered the G.I. Bill for education. As the 1950s

began, social studies educators began focusing upon how to teach rather than why to teach. Historiographical discussions about the origins of social studies as a field disappeared from teacher preparation and textbooks as social studies became the new accepted paradigm (Hertzberg, 1981). The reasons for this shift are not entirely clear: social scientists were not involved in making the curriculum; educators were more focused on teaching; and a rise in specialization all might be contributing factors. A shift in policy and politics might also have been a motivating factor for a return of more traditional history courses.

The rising political tension with the Soviet Union following the Second World War made criticism of America even more taboo. Progressive education and its call for general education came under attack as part of a communist plot to undermine America's global superiority. Further, discussions over the purpose and philosophy of schools were relegated to minor educational aspect, the main focus that schools of education began turning towards was curriculum development and teacher preparation. The rise of McCarthyism was not limited to high profile individuals; school districts also implemented their own hunt for communists. A round of loyalty oaths were initiated for teachers, state mandatory policy loyalty oaths still exist as part of teacher contracts today. Social studies educators were seen as a haven for red-leaning communist sympathizers and, as such, it needed to be removed from the curriculum (Evans, 2004). Many social studies teachers were placed under a microscope and questioned about their loyalty to America. Politics again played into the social studies debate and ultimately proved the downfall for the *Problems of Democracy* course. McCarthyism also accelerated the attacks on textbooks like Rugg's *Man and his Changing Society* and calls were made to ban any textbook deemed un-American (Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn, 1997). A high percentage of textbooks deemed un-American came from social studies.

The impact of the early Cold War on classroom curriculum was also quite remarkable. Curriculum reverted from highly integrated courses back to stand-alone subject courses with measurable content. Traditionalists called for a return to the 1894 vision of history education. Social efficiency advocates favored social studies as a method to teach the social sciences. The issue of how to reorganize social studies, make it a core subject, and define its purpose became the central issue again for the field. All of these post-Second World War influences forced a redefinition of social studies in the 1950s. Attempts to abandon social studies altogether were passed over in favor of returning to a social sciences model. For example, the citizenship education model, which often utilized the problem-solving model in order to produce *good* citizens, became increasingly popular. Ironically, this citizenship model mimicked the original conception of social studies and it continues to be an influence in social studies curricula today.

Hunt (1962) advocated for the need that social studies, including history, needed to focus on the present and the needs of the present. Some groups still pressed for history to replace social studies, but they were not as central during the 1950s. Even within the history camp, conflicts about what kinds history should be taught became contentious: some advocated a more science-modeled history (inventions), others advocated a larger civilizational approach, and still others liked the more meliorist approach to history (Evans, 2004). In many ways, the history taught should be from a more social history lens than a traditional historical lens. In the midst of these seismic shifts within the field, the various factions involved in the debates continued to struggle over making social studies a more equitable discipline to all of the social sciences. Social studies educators wanted curricular materials from the other social sciences in order that students could deal with current problems. The concept of dealing with real social problems was reconceived as a need for relevancy within the field.

But, in addition to the social science model, a new and “innovative” theory for teaching social studies gained momentum after the Second World War. This new teaching method looked at particular issues and classes were issues-centered courses. This theory dealt more with contemporary social issues and represented a quasi-return to the *Problems of America* course model. Issues-centered courses utilized the problem-solving skill method and also incorporated a single large-scale research project for learning. New problems arose as the theory of social studies and the practice of social studies diverged; teachers found the theories of social studies difficult to implement due to the humanistic attitudes still held by the policymakers.

The launch of Sputnik in 1957 caused a shift in American education. The widespread belief that “American schoolchildren were learning how to get along with their peers or how to bake a cherry pie, ... Soviet children were being steeped in the hard sciences and mathematics” lent credence to the calls for an adjustment within American curriculum (Kliebard, 2004, p. 266). Whereas educational decisions and issues were generally left to local districts, Sputnik spurred the national government to take an interest in public education for the first time. A national paradigm shift placed mathematics, sciences, and foreign languages as national objectives; English and social studies were regulated to secondary status. A huge influx of capital was poured into education, an unintended side effect was the return to prominence of humanistic interests, and the concurrent focus upon content, in curriculum. Kliebard’s four interest groups each found money and adherents after Sputnik, but the rise of subject-focused curriculum persisted (humanistic).

The new focus on mathematics and science had its own impacts upon the social studies debates. Having “absorbed significant elements of both social efficiency and social reconstruction [meliorism],” social studies was permitted to develop with little governmental

oversight (Kliebard, 2004, p. 270). Following Sputnik, social sciences at universities began to change directions. Western Civilization courses were slowly replaced by Global or World history courses, a result of a new awareness among social scientists of the need to transform the disciplines in ways that helped explain how America fit into a new global world (Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn, 1997). The NCSS rebranded the mission of social studies to be “the most inclusive ... part of general education in the United States [so] to help young people learn to carry on the free society they have inherited, to make whatever changes modern conditions demand or creative imagination suggests that are consistent with its basic principles and values, and to hand it on to their offspring better than they received it.” (As quoted in Massialas & Kazamias, 1964, p. 20)

The Social Sciences Reforms Social Studies

A basic assumption about civic education is that any discipline could achieve a sense of political socialization of students and thus create an understanding of citizenship for students. The social sciences advocates fell into this fallacy during their effort to control the social studies curriculum and prepare students to be *good* citizens (Gardner, 1970). Creating *good* citizens cannot simply happen by teaching content from history or other social sciences, there needs to be a conceptualization of what constitutes a good citizen and thus how do you obtain the skills to be a good citizen. This fallacy was done during the Final Report and will continue to plague social studies to the present day. The most typical curriculum maps (See Table B.3) for the 1950s and early 1960s had returned to more traditionalist views (Carr, 1965). The first cracks in the traditional system came when NCSS called for another Commission on the Social Studies in 1958. NCSS would enlist the support of various social science organization and the American Council of Learned Societies, the result was the publication of *The Social Studies and the Social Sciences* which formally launched “New Social Studies” movement and its various project

models (Carr, 1965). The new Commission was part of another round of reforms throughout education that had been building throughout the 1950s and education received a huge boost with the launching of Sputnik.

A major paradigm shift within the field of history, Robinson's "New History" had been gaining popularity among the historical academy and social studies. History as a profession would move away from traditional history of political, military, and the majority towards an examination of social history, ethnic studies, gender studies, and various underrepresented groups. Additionally, the 1950s saw the rise of another historical movement, *consensus history*. *Consensus History* returned to many of the beliefs of Herbert Baxter Adams as the historians should be seen as an observer rather than an activist (Hertzberg, 1981). In terms of the visions of American democracy, Progressives like Robinson viewed the continuous struggles of the past as the triumph of the American plutocracy over European elitism. In the Consensus vision American democracy was seen as the various groups coming together peacefully to solve America's problems. Consensus history fit nicely into the politics of the 1950s and the Norman Rockwell vision of small town America; unfortunately, it does not fit well into the changing realities of American society.

The Origins of the "New Social Studies" Movement

Students trained during the 1920s and 1930s using Rugg's textbook were familiar with questioning the truth and developing their own critical thinking habits; by the 1950s, those students were rising to places of authority with society. The lasting impact of the Progressive educators was the increasing number of students in public schools. Thus, the purpose of education and its curriculum had to change to the rising population and the changing demographics. In the academy, a rapid increase of individuals obtaining social sciences degrees

happened at the same period, including large segments of the population that had not previously had the opportunity to attend college. These new social science graduates often did not want to uphold consensus history, nor maintain the status quo for various ethnic groups. Students started looking at immigrant groups, ethnic minorities, and gender to find out their impact on American society (Hertzberg, 1981). This investigation had happened prior in local communities, but these investigations were happening at more and more universities and by more and more students.

Table B.3

Suggested Social Studies Curriculum under “New Social Studies” Movement

Grade	Subjects
1	Life at home and at school; pets; holidays; farm life
2	Community helpers and workers; transportation; communication
3	Expanding community; food, clothing, shelter; other communities
4	Living in other lands (type geographic regions); state history; state geography
5	United States history and geography; Latin America; Canada; Western Hemisphere
6	Geography of Western Hemisphere; geography of Eastern Hemisphere; Old World backgrounds of the history of the United States
7	Geography of Eastern Hemisphere; world geography; United States history
8	United States history; geography; state history; civics
9	Civics; vocations; world history; world geography
10	World history; world geography; modern history
11	United States history; world history; problems of democracy; civics
12	Problems of democracy; government; economics; sociology; United States history

Note: Adapted from *The Social Studies*, by E.R. Carr, 1965. New York, NY: The Center for Applied Research in Education, Inc., p. 7.

For example, history moved away from the focus on dates, wars, and politics towards a full embrace of “New History” methods and thinking. Historians started looking at bigger pictures; additionally, new voices and perspectives were being added to the narrative of history. A focus on different social perspectives leads to re-evaluation of traditional theories and conceptualizations of the discipline. A more multicultural approach was included in the narrative

of history that included historical voices that had been ignored, i.e. African American, women, and other ethnic groups. The belief that “one cannot study any nation’s history as the whole without understanding the parts in all their variety” became the backbone of the social history movement (Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn, 1997, p. 77). Additionally, historians departed from the traditional belief that one truth existed for the past and embraced the idea that, given a certain set of documents, different conclusions could be legitimately developed (Symcox, 2002). The notion of shifting paradigms in order to create a new consensus was pioneered by Thomas Kuhn (1962).

By the early 1960s, many social studies educators felt that reform within the field needed to take place (Keller, 1964). Keller (1964) saw the problem as the focus on citizen education as causing the *doldrums* within the social studies field. Coming out of the Progressive Education Association, citizenship education should not be limited to social studies but incorporated in all education (Keller, 1964). Keller (1964) reflected that social studies concepts are generally being taught well throughout most of the United States, but he argues that it is the lack of any context and content that is the problem. Keller (1964) returned to the notion that term social studies was problematic and should be replaced with “history and the social sciences” as a way to eliminate the unclear purpose of the courses (p. 41). Keller’s work while intention to clear up any previous confusion about the purpose of social studies appears to have convoluted the issue for educators. Keller (1964) viewed history as a way to establish a person understanding of their place within society, so where they came from and why they think the way they do, became another competing theory for the purpose of social studies.

The National Council for Social Studies spent the 1950s attempting to infuse the other social sciences into the social studies curriculum. They continued to publish their year book to assist educators around particular themes. In *Social Education*, the Council started publishing a

section called the *New Viewpoints in the Social Sciences* which examined the more scientific side of the social sciences (Hertzberg, 1981). The problem with *New Viewpoints* was the fact that the contributors were not always acquainted with social studies curriculum. Three years after the first article, the journal theme revolved around American history. Contributors focused on various interpretations in American history and mentioned the use of primary sources as a tool in teaching. But teachers did not always have ability or training to diverge from the indoctrinated curriculum of how the American Revolution was typically taught to students. This disconnection between teachers and curricular designers would be a source of contention throughout the “New Social Studies” movement.

American Council of Learned Societies and NCSS published a combined volume of articles that examined the relationship between the social sciences and social studies as a precursor to *The Social Studies and the Social Sciences* (Carr, 1965). One aspect from the volume dealt with the core discipline for social studies: the historian and political scientist suggested history; anthropologist sought the inclusion of anthropology concepts in the core; the geographer could not see how history permitted an understanding of global issues; the economist wanted economics used to teach citizenship; the sociologist wanted a method to tie different sociological themes; and the psychologist looked at the situation from a psychological viewpoint. The introduction addressed the issue of the different perspectives that suggested that social studies either could foster citizenship education or introduce students to the various social sciences. Hertzberg (1981) argued that this joint volume is a perfect example of how the participants in the debate regarding social studies have forgotten the previous debates and conversations as educators were attempting to introduce teaching practices that were already suggested 50 years prior.

Social studies leaders followed the example of other disciplines to reform their subject by re-altering the focus away from content and again towards skills. Educational specialists suggested that any child could learn any subject if the subject was taught effectively. Moreover, students could learn to be anything if given the proper tools, a further departure from content knowledge in favor of skills development. For social studies, the ultimate hope was that students could become junior social scientists (Evans, 2004). By the early 1960s, several attempts were already in progress to teach students economics in elementary levels; and a few historians re-introduced the notion of utilizing primary sources as a teaching method (Evans, 2004).

The idea of project center came from the 1950s movements in science and mathematics (Evans, 2010). In 1956, MIT Professor Zacharias suggested to the MIT President that the university make 90 20-minute films on physics content with university physicists starring as facilitators (Evans, 2010). The funding for the project would come from the six-year-old National Science Foundation (NSF). By the end of 1956, six different curriculum reform projects were being funded by the NSF. The Harvard University psychologist Jerome Bruner gathered influential university professors to the Woods Hole Conference in September 1959 that focused on reforming curriculum for mathematics and science (Evans, 2010). Even though the focus was mathematics and science, this conference laid the groundwork for the project model that would characterize the “New Social Studies” movement. Bruner would become the spokesperson and intellectual architect of these project models. Bruner articulated the following principles: students should be provided with the basic structure for mastery of any subject; content knowledge and facts were not essential to learning; any student at any level can learn any subject if taught effectively; and learning would occur if the material was interesting, the deep structure

of the subject (Evans, 2010). For history this was more about the process than about the facts and details of history.

Even though advocates of the “New Social Studies” found traditional discipline divisions, they saw the overarching disciplines needed a major interdisciplinary social science approach to teaching of social studies (Massialas & Kazamias, 1964). In the beginning, many educators advocated for interdisciplinary efforts, but once discipline specialists started to participate, interdisciplinary practices often ended (Cohen-Cole, 2014). The rising notion of specialization within disciplines had been part of the professionalization of many fields; disciplines had compartmentalized away from interdisciplinary views. For the field of social studies, a blending of many different disciplines, had been fairly common from even the Madison Conference, academics, many who were generalists, understood the need for some form of interdisciplinary to formulate a cohesive field. The various social studies disciplines felt the need to bring in the various other social science professions. However, as competition for project money increased, the result was often the development of discipline specific centers. The one exception was Bruner’s Center at Harvard which would create *Man: A Course of Study* (MACOS); yet even this Center was highly influenced by anthropology.

The pedagogy for the “New Social Studies” movement should revolve around decision-making or problem solving that integrated the social sciences (Engle, 1964). The biggest difference between the disciplines of the social sciences and field of social studies is that social studies main goal is to prepare citizens, whereas social science investigates social issues (Engle, 1964). Considering the influence of Progressive educators from the 1930s, they explored the social issues of the day and tried to solve these problems. During the first phase, social scientists wanted to train students to only explore the problems.

The Efforts of the “New Social Studies”

President John F. Kennedy’s administration expanded the federal education reform to include other subjects than mathematics, science, and foreign languages. In 1962, federal funds finally made their way to social studies with the initiation of Project Social Studies. The Project’s aims were to disseminate research, prepare teachers more successfully, and improve the subject overall. Typically research or projects had been funded either through professional organizations (such as the AHA), private foundations (i.e. Carnegie or Ford Foundations), or local districts (like the Denver schools). The national government provided mostly universities with funds to create educational centers across the United States with little oversight or direction. Charles R. Keller, head of the new John Hays Fellows Program for outstanding teaching, published an article, “Needed: Revolution in Social Studies” in 1961. He claimed that social studies was not a subject but a collection of the diverse disciplines that did not always fit together in a recognizable pattern (Hertzberg, 1981). Keller believed the revisions laid out in the Final Report curriculum did not conform to the changes in the various disciplines. He sought to focus upon training students on what a historian and social scientist does rather than attempting to foster attitudes about citizenship. This was a foundational principle among many of the new project centers set up at universities with the assistance of federal funds.

Policymakers had the feeling that discipline specific education might return under these various projects. Educators argued that they wanted to integrate social studies to create a cultural history that included anthropology and literary theory – in other words, to create “a grand synthesis of the human experience” (Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn, 1997, p. 81). With over 40 curriculum centers throughout the United States, Project Social Studies promised to revolutionize the field; however, these centers were not coordinated and were slow to produce. State oversight

in curriculum was also problematic during the “New Social Studies” as politicians tried to declare learning objectives with directions on how best to obtain those objectives (Carr, 1965). Carr (1965) counters the arguments against a history-centered social studies curriculum by stating that history should be used to interpret the present, and the content needs to be adjusted to what *is* relevant to the present day not what *was* important.

“New Social Studies” is characterized by “identification of the structure of the individual disciplines and/or basic social science concepts, discovery or inductive teaching and learning, use of the modes of inquiry of historians and social scientists, an attempt to build in cumulative, sequential learning, the notion that any idea can be taught successfully in some form to any child at any age, the challenge to the older subjects (history, geography and civics) by the social sciences, the proliferation of an explosive variety of new audio-visual materials, and teacher involvement, largely through field testing in experimental classes” (Hertzberg, 1981, p 108-9). The “*Newer* Social Studies” movement (starting in 1968) was characterized by the term relevance, as it was driven more by the motivations of students to participate in civic activities, civil rights, political rallies, anti-war protest, etc. Students became social activist instead of the little social scientist (Evans, 2010).

Historians during the “New Social Studies” wanted the students to think like a historian and begin to request the evidence to formulate their own understanding of nature of history (Krug, Poster, & Gillies, 1970). Reformers felt that by using memorization or utilizing the textbook, teachers were not really instructing history only indoctrinating their students (Krug, Poster, & Gillies, 1970). Many of the reformers felt the bad techniques within social studies were not the fault of the academy but the fault of the teachers who taught each of the disciplines. Coincidentally, the 1960s also saw the rise of schools of education in the public university and the

beginning of the professionalization of the teacher position within society. Teachers were poorly prepared and lacked a clear understanding of the purpose of social studies even though many reformers could not agree on the purpose either (Krug, Poster, & Gillies, 1970). The purpose seen from policymakers for history was returning to the notion of nationalism and patriotism; most teachers did not necessarily acknowledge this as their purpose (Krug, Poster, & Gillies, 1970).

Even though historians had these concerns, they were hesitant to participate in many of the reform efforts. The “New Social Studies” projects were the milieu of the social sciences, as most historians stayed away from it (Hertzberg, 1989). Few projects were developed by historians or were even participated by history faculty. Historians continued their avoidance of public education efforts that started after the Commission on the Social Studies. The specialization/professionalization of historians also did damage to the field of social studies as attempts to see a cohesive narrative was lost between the various paths of inquiry historians lost sight of the bigger picture. Even though they had no direct input into the curriculum, history still remained the dominant discipline within social studies and the changes within the discipline would eventually filter down into public education without any direction or understanding for the teachers (Hertzberg, 1989).

A concern during the “New Social Studies” was to control the local impact on the classroom, particularly teachers. Allowing teachers to design social studies lessons, many social scientists had caused the traditional problems within the curriculum. Teachers could not address a fundamental purpose of social studies understanding one’s place within society without guidance. Teachers are not prepared with dealing with topics that the public might consider taboo (i.e. sex, religion, race, etc.); and thus *expert* scholars needed to lay out the curriculum for

teachers to follow (Hunt & Metcalf, 1968). The scholars believed teachers did not stray from the curriculum so that they could keep their positions, thus teachers stuck to traditional content. Hunt and Metcalf (1968) stated that simply teaching students that America is an absolute good is no better than a dictatorship (Soviet system) and thus America needs to be seen as one of many heritages not a single one. Reject the melting pot in favor of cultural pluralism (multiculturalism). Hunt and Metcalf (1968) indicate that content is the lazy method of teaching social studies, facts are nothing without interpretation. A return to the Deweyian notion of reflection over the simple rote memorization that was commonplace would invigorate the field (Hunt & Metcalf, 1968).

The promise of the “New Social Studies” movement was to “overhaul the entire field through projects (See Table B.4) in every area from sociology to geography, anthropology to civics, geography to history and beyond, lest students enrolled in schools throughout the United States fail to lead the postindustrialized world in academics” (Stern, 2010, p. ix). One of the purposes of the projects was to by-pass the teacher by providing materials that were *guaranteed* to improve student learning (Evans, 2010). Moreover, if the teachers and educators were providing questionable service, professionals in the field should be better able to relate the content. So, innovative materials were going to be produced by content experts for public school children. Late to party, reform was already going on in mathematics and science but it took Keller’s remarks for a new revolution for reformers to react (Evans, 2010). The Endicott House Conference gathered 47 social scientists and educators to discuss the development of a social studies program modeled after the mathematics and science projects. Robert Feldmesser, a sociologist, argued that the problem with social studies laid in the dominance of history within the field (Evans, 2010). Historians at the conference immediately took up defense for their

discipline, except for Fenton who agreed with Feldmesser about the bad teaching of traditional history. The work and theories developed at Endicott House would eventually turn into a textbook/curriculum called *Man: A Course of Study* (MACOS), headed by Jerome Bruner.

Bruner was credited with influencing many social studies projects and imparting the discovery method or inductive teaching method as a common pedagogy (Hunt & Metcalf, 1968). Hunt and Metcalf (1968) suggested that the social studies projects needed to be evaluated but only the Harvard project (initially under Donald Oliver) would provide a radical change to traditional social studies. Ironically, Oliver would step aside for personal reasons, so Bruner would take charge of this project, and radically alter the trajectory of Oliver's work. A guiding principle of Bruner is that content is not important, skills and reflection are more important for student learning (Hunt & Metcalf, 1968). Hunt and Metcalf (1968) defines social studies as the aim "*to help students reflectively examine issues in the problematic areas of American culture*" which harkens back to views of Rugg and Counts (p. 288). As with Commission on Social Studies, reformers did not want to reorganize the curriculum, rather they wanted to make it meaningful to students, a blending of the social sciences, and accessible to teachers using a problem-centered pedagogy (Hunt & Metcalf, 1968).

Implications of "New Social Studies" Curriculum

Hughes (1964) sees a return to a traditional model where history can include the other social sciences into the future by inclusive rather than interdisciplinary approaches. The "New Social Studies" movement wanted to create an authentic pedagogy similar to scientific method where students confront a problem and explain the causes; this was an essential part of *Teaching High School Social Studies* (Massialas & Cox, 1964). A flaw in the "New Social Studies" projects was that PhD often designed the projects to teach the nuances of their discipline by

simply taking college level material and skills and transferring them down to lower grades. A lack of direct classroom experience was a problem among the designers who tried to formulate plans isolated from other disciplines and schools of education (Fenton, 1970). Some critics of the “New Social Studies” were willing to allow social science to play a role in social studies as long as it was limited to the role determined by historians; some historians advocated for better inclusion of the social sciences to strengthen the field of social studies. Newmann (1970) argued that if curriculum was developed by each discipline there was “no real value” in social studies instruction; the general social sciences form a commonality to create educated citizens and the essential needs of society.

“New Social Studies” movement was linking of sociology and history with a blending of other social sciences (Krug, Poster, & Gillies, 1970). The influence of the social upheavals of 1960s can be seen in the “New Social Studies” movement, prominent historians like Hofstadter advocated for a closer contact within the social sciences and history (Krug, Poster, & Gillies, 1970). The question remains is whether history is part of the humanities or social science, during the “New Social Studies” most seem to feel that history is outside of the “New Social Studies” movement which was more a discipline specific project based movement. The social science reformers critique of history was that it was too focused on providing detailing evidence and unwilling to make connection to current issues whereas historians counter that the social sciences rely too much on jargon and thus it is too hard to read for students (Krug, Poster, & Gillies, 1970). In their analysis, Krug, Poster, and Gillies (1970) suggest that in order to deal with complex problems of society history and the social sciences must integrate. Further, there is a danger for the field due to the lack of integration. Teachers are expected to integrate the various disciplines when the disciplines cannot integrate themselves freely. History should provide the

Table B.4

Projects associated with “New Social Studies” Movement

Sponsor	Purpose	Years	Major Contributor
<p>Purdue (headed by Lawrence Senesh) focused on the economics in elementary schools (prior to 1961)</p> <p>California state standards published in 1962 went from titled <i>social studies framework to the eight social sciences</i> (Hertzberg, 1981, p 103).</p>	<p>High School Geography Project (geographic professional association participated – Association of American Geographers, National Council for Geographic Education) was primarily disciplined centered – launched in 1961</p>	<p>Harvard aligned with traditional citizenship development of social studies, focus on public issues headed by Donald Oliver.</p>	<p>Amherst College (headed by Van R. Halsey; started in 1959) and Carnegie-Mellon (headed by Edwin Fenton) focused on the use of primary sources (fenton was working on it in the 1950s)</p> <p>Sociological Resources for the secondary schools and anthropology curriculum study project also launched in 1961.</p>

foundation for the social studies because it establishes a set of common knowledge, concepts, and methodology (Krug, Poster, & Gillies, 1970). This vision of social studies reflects back to the social studies envisioned by Rugg without the *Problems of Democracy* course.

The discipline of sociology continued to develop through 1960s, making it one of the more utilized social sciences. Sociology projects were thought to be more useful during the “New Social Studies” movement and thus the discipline needed to be more incorporated into the high school curriculum (Krug, Poster, & Gillies, 1970). A good citizen needs to understand the origins of American democracy, how the current government works, and the ability to make informed decisions. Economic advocates realized the importance of the last aspect for their discipline. They used the notion of citizenship to obtain certain understanding to make informed decisions, the public needed to receive economic understanding within public school (Krug, Poster, & Gillies, 1970). During the “New Social Studies” movement, economic education leaders utilized the concept of discovery learning so that students could analyze economic problems and learn the concepts underlying the economic issues of American society (Krug, Poster, & Gillies, 1970). For a country that dominated the world with its free market, most Americans have at best a simple understanding of economic concepts and how the free market system really works (Krug, Poster, & Gillies, 1970).

After three years of work and with more centers continuing to open, few curricular materials were available for use by teachers. By 1967, the initial funding for the projects were ending. Centers started producing material that examined contemporary issues. The materials produced were “among the most innovative and influential commodities ever produced for use in social studies classrooms;” however, most of the material produced in these centers never made it into classrooms (Evans, 2004, p. 127). Several attempts were made to disseminate information

from the projects but most did not make it to teachers until the early 1970s. Krug, Poster, and Gillies (1970) attempted to analyze impact of the movement during it, they felt that the researchers were attempting to obtain higher cognitive thinking while the teachers were satisfied with simply recall and recognition. Teachers accept all history as indisputable fact and thus teach students the content in this manner, while one of the objectives of the “New Social Studies” movement was to train students to inquire into the evidence like a real historian (Krug, Poster, Gillies, 1970). Another example is that geography is often considered as listing places on a map instead of asking question about how society and geography interact. Krug, Poster, and Gillies (1970) determined that social history movement within the history discipline permitted historians to examine history through the lens of other social sciences using new techniques.

A naivety existed among university faculty who were proponents of the “New Social Studies” that a broad consensus existed in the general population about certain core values. Advocates during this period believed that the only way to generate a sense of need for social studies was to make it relevant to society. This was, of course, a return to the old social meliorism theory. The impact of the “New Social Studies” movement filtered down to most teachers but movement would come to an end. The question of relevance to social problems that were going on during the 1960s was often ignored by the social science reformers. Students were active participants in the social problems; yet they did not discuss them in the social studies classroom. They lacked the desire to review what happened to previous reform efforts. The projects were only isolated in schools willing to participate in the experiment, generalization of the concepts were not always possible. Furthermore, they had little understanding for the role of the teacher other than simply a facilitator to their concepts. Project centers had also assumed a rather passive role for the student to simply accept the content the teachers were providing

without any connection to society. “New Social Studies” methods were soon applied to area, ethnic, gender, and minorities studies in a way to increase cultural pluralism over WASP nationalism (Hertzberg, 1981). If social problems (i.e. Civil Rights, Vietnam War, etc.) were to be integrated into the “New Social Studies” model, proponents had “failed to pay much attention to the social problems or to delineate a general approach to how the social sciences could be combined or integrated for purposes of instruction” (Hertzberg, 1981, p 132). The real problems of the world could not be handled under the new vision of social studies.

A major critique of the curriculum design arising from the “New Social Studies” movement was confusion over specific terms *structure*, *inquiry*, and *concept*. Not all disciplines have *structure*; historians argue that history has no structure. *Inquiry* became understood by practitioners as problem-solving or critical thinking instead of undefined purpose the reformers had for it. Social studies curriculum was to be designed around concepts but there was no clear understanding of what were social studies *concepts* (Hertzberg, 1981). The most daunting critique came from Standard Education Professor Richard Gross who suggested social studies now lacked a clear purpose. Another critic Duke History Professor William Cartwright noted that “New Social Studies” reformers appeared to indicate that all previous social studies efforts were ill-conceived (Hertzberg, 1981).

Evans (2010) states that the “New Social Studies” movement that was initiated under Bruner, Keller, and Fenton was very much a university devised curriculum project. He identified the social upheavals of 1968 as a transition from the traditional “New Social Studies” movement view and what Evans calls the “*Newer* Social Studies” movement. A parallel curriculum alignment between colleges and high schools created Black, Native American, and Women’s studies courses. Social meliorism rose again as educators strove to attain the “Great Society.” A

plethora of mini-courses was developed within each school or district, most were connected to relevant current events topics: ethnic, race, and gender issues. The typical social studies courses offered were on history or government courses on contemporary America, Western America, Colonial America, Civil War, state and local politics, Presidency, and youth and the law. In the academic year of 1976-7 at one California high school, Tamalpais High School, 44 social studies courses were offered (Evans, 2010). The mini-course model was continued into the early 1980s.

Evans (2010) parallels this “*Newer Social Studies*” movement with issues-centered education due to the connection to numerous social issues of the day. Back-to-basics movement returned to the discipline focus that existed prior to the “New Social Studies” movement (Evans, 2010). The “*Newer Social Studies*” movement did suffer from the problem of following the developmentalist philosophy where students were more active in determining their education. Innovation was not always seen as a positive aspect to education, many teachers were dismissed due to desire to use material not deemed appropriate for student consumption. Lawsuits began springing up to defend teacher academic freedom; however, the influence of traditional philosophy of teaching dominated the upper administration. Often controversial teachers, even ones who pursued lawsuits and won, would ultimately leave the profession (Evans, 2010).

Jackson and Jackson (1989) characterized the “New Social Studies” movement as a formless curriculum that attempted to mimic science. The hands-on approach favored by many “New Social Studies” educators were deemed inappropriate by a rising conservatism due to the shift from teacher centered curriculum (Humanistic) to student centered curriculum (Developmentalist). Further, “youngsters” could not be inquisitive or skilled without a through grounding in historical content knowledge (Jackson & Jackson, 1989). The notion of relevance is

critical to the growth of democratic education and the role that teachers play into developing curriculum that is relevant is also very important (Johnson, 2005).

Cohen-Cole (2014) states that Bruner's work and other initiatives in what became known as the "New Social Studies" movement were attempts by academics to deal with the perceived problems created in education by the progressive movement of the 1920s and 1930s. These centers attempted to reject the educational teachings of John Dewey and other progressive thinkers. In the early 1950s, intellectuals (like Arthur Bestor and James Bryant Conant) felt the new focus on vocational and practical knowledge was problematic. They sought to reintroduce the disciplines into the high school curriculum through the use of postsecondary academics with the hope of creating "insightful, liberated minds" for America (Cohen-Cole, 2014, p. 195). The signature pedagogy at the beginning of the "New Social Studies" period was discovery-based learning which does seem similar to the progressive child-centered learning, the only difference is who dictates the topics to be learned. Bruner's book *The Process of Education* became the second most influential education book during the 1960s and 1970s (Cohen-Cole, 2014). Bruner claimed that Deweyian model of child-centered learning did not allow for knowledge to develop, and children could only gain knowledge through studying material that they were unfamiliar (Cohen-Cole, 2014).

The "New Social Studies" Controversy and the Legacy of MACOS

As with previous reform efforts, conflicts would arise out of the efforts of the "New Social Studies" advocates. Congressman Clayton Adam Powell, chairman of the House Labor and Education Committee, held hearings in 1966 about the bias within the textbooks against African American citizens. When the committee asked the Commissioner of Education Harold Howe about what the national government was going to do about the bias, Howe replied that he

could make recommendations, but the states had ultimate authority over the textbooks (Lerner, Nagai, & Rothman, 1995). There was already a growing concern over the lack of social history within the textbooks, as well as fear by parts of society over the call for more multiculturalism. Yet, this also points a new trend within education and particularly social studies, conflicts over content within the textbooks. Previously, complaints about textbooks centered on lack of skills and alignment towards the various recommendations but never about what content was included in the textbooks.

Federal cases over the issue of textbooks from 1850 to 1955 amounted to 7 total cases, six of them came during the interwar period (Tyack, James, & Benovat, 1987). Some of the academic freedom issues would eventually turn into textbook controversy. The parents of Kanawha County, West Virginia schools initiated the most famous of the textbook controversies in the 1970s. The school board approved over 300 books for use in the various language arts classes. A minority of parents used violent intimidation (e.g. dynamite on school property, bullet holes in school buses) as a means to get the school curriculum “that emphasizes basic skills and patriotic indoctrination” (Evans 2010, p. 21). Kanawha was not first textbook controversy during this period but it became the model for neo-conservatives assault upon with curriculum that they did not agree.

The critiques of previous reformers had been textbooks, but it was less about content. During this period, a shift happened where content and political leanings were being examined as part of the textbook (Heilig, Brown, & Brown 2012; Lerner, Nagai, & Rothman, 1995). Edwin Fenton had published a “New Social Studies” textbook that was banned by the state of Georgia because it might disrupt society. Frances FitzGerald examined numerous history textbooks and bitterly criticized the influence of social studies on history education (Hertzberg, 1981). She

further complained about the liberal practice of sprinkling minorities and women throughout American history. She sought a return to the idea of America as being a melting pot (consensus history). By the mid-1970s, the course distribution commonly used for social studies follows this format (many states and school district adhere to a similar format even today) – World History / Culture / Geography; eighth grade – U.S. History; ninth and tenth grades – World Culture / History; eleventh grade – U.S. History; and twelfth grade – American Government and another social science. Social studies curriculum was being organized into a standardized form that would be adopted by most schools to facilitate their students’ entrance into college.

Gallagher (2000) argues that curriculum reform efforts of the 1960s neglected an important aspect, the language to convince the general public of the way to reform education. One of the early problems with the “New Social Studies” as envisioned by Bruner was that postsecondary disciplines have been generally out of touch with education that needed to be remedied (Cohen-Cole, 2014). Bruner’s vision sought to eliminate the focus on content which was learned through general rote memorization and learn concepts and skills (Cohen-Cole, 2014). Students would learn social studies by learning about present-day social issues and problems. The curriculum would be determined by professional academics who could broaden the minds of students, teachers, and other policymakers (Cohen-Cole, 2014). The funding of the model projects began in 1963 with a little over \$1 million provided to Harvard’s ESI Elementary Social Studies Project, this would be the most discussed federal funded project during this era. When Bruner, replaced the previous director of the project, a drastic alteration of the course happened. Under Oliver, the course examined the evolution of human culture, *Evolution of Man and Society*; under Bruner, the course explored what was human nature, *Man: A Course of Study* (Cohen-Cole, 2014). Just as with the Kanawha textbook, the controversy and language of the

controversy were controlled by the opposition, reformers combatted the minority opposition with their language. Thus, the power of the situation was often left to the opposition to control. Social studies educators often allowed the opposition to control the language and narrative of the controversy (e.g. tenure, charter, standards-based reforms). Reformers were focused on the reform with the belief that the reform would speak for itself (Gallagher, 2000), something that Bruner and Nash did not learn until it was too late.

By the 1970s, nearly all children in America were involved in some sort of formal education; thus, for the first time, the curriculum really did apply to most Americans. The most influential events during the “New Social Studies” era involved the use of the *Man: A Course of Study* (MACOS) textbook series and the issues of academic freedom often connected to the use of MACOS. MACOS was the climax of the academic freedom and textbook controversy stemming out of the “New Social Studies” movement (Evans, 2010). Harvard Educational Development Center, headed by Jerome Bruner, initiated a new series of textbooks called *Man: A Course of Study*. The Harvard Center was radically opposed to the discipline specific curriculum desired by policymakers mostly because of Bruner’s influence. The participants were very much committed to the notion of interdisciplinary study for the textbook and its material (Cohen-Cole, 2014). The Harvard Social Studies Project was directed by a committee of Jerome S. Bruner, Gerald Else (classics), George C. Homans (sociology), Charles E. Brown (superintendent), Douglas Oliver (anthropology) Franklin Patterson (government), Everett Mendelsohn (science history), Frederick Burkhardt (ACLS), and Jerrod R. Zacharias (physics). No historians were on the steering committee.

In 1970, Krug, Poster, and Gillies (1970) speculated that students would generally enjoy the whole Harvard Social Studies project due to the “vividness of the primary sources—literary

and graphic,” that would be infused within materials. This textbook series stressed the key developmental stage of the upper elementary levels (fourth, fifth, and sixth grades). The rationale for Harvard’s focus on the upper elementary was the influence of Jean Piaget’s educational theory, which outlined the stages of development for students (Symcox, 2002). Piaget implied that children could not begin to understand abstract concepts such as time until they were in the upper elementary grades, particularly fifth grade. Many educationalists adopted the Piaget theory as a sound principle, and this influenced the teaching of social studies in the lower elementary grades for several decades. Thus, MACOS attempted to transform the field by debuting social studies concepts in upper elementary grades instead of introducing social studies at the secondary level (seventh and beyond).

MACOS wanted to create students who are little social scientists that could examine the question of what makes people more human (Cohen-Cole, 2014). The idea of training little social scientists fostered the idea of infusing skills over content, as the students were trained to think like various social scientists regardless of the content. The use of MACOS peaked in 1972 with over 1,700 schools utilizing the textbook, but more importantly many teacher preparation programs utilized the textbook as a model for teaching (Cohen-Cole, 2014). Teacher training for MACOS was similar to the student experience as teachers used the discovery-based method to understand how to teach with the textbook (Cohen-Cole, 2014). The inclusion in teacher preparation would have a more lasting impact as teachers used the model to develop other lessons and concepts for social studies.

The first attempt to eliminate MACOS happened in 1970 when a Christian fundamentalist parent attempted to have it removed from the local Lake City elementary school in Florida. Traditionalist interest groups and political conservatives started attacking the federal

funding of the textbook. They focused their attacks on the notion that the book raised questions but did not provide answers for the students (Evans, 2004). Essentially, the argument against MACOS was that it required students to think through problems, issues, and the curriculum. The anthropological upper elementary textbook posed the question “What is human about human beings?” (Evans, 2010). The MACOS team incorporated a film depicting traditional Eskimo lives including the ritual of placing the elderly or invalids on blocks of ice and sailing them out to sea (Evans, 2010).

George Archibald, Congressman John B. Conlan’s (R-AZ) legislative aide, led the verbal and political attacks on MACOS and its ally, NCSS. Archibald’s attacks “sounded the ominous tone of a renewal of the war on social studies” that impacted more than just social studies curriculum (Evans, 2004, p. 144). Archibald’s criticisms also targeted any form of academic freedom within public schools and were successful in restricting academic freedom as teachers were increasingly limited in what they could teach. Archibald made claims that social studies was taken over by a minority group of intellectuals with the intent of undermining American education (Evans, 2010). In actuality, it seems that politicians were attempting to control the curriculum that a majority of the population was supporting. He advocated a return to the traditional history format of indoctrination that prevented students from drawing their own conclusions about society. The immediate effect for education was a reduction of federal spending on curriculum material, particularly any social studies materials. The NSF had provided \$189 million to development and implementation of curricular material over a 25 year period (Wiley, 1976). After MACOS, the NSF nearly stopped funding all education projects because Congress threaten to conduct full investigations into all projects the NSF funded. To avoid any further pressure, NSF would have limited participation in public education for the next ten years.

Bruner's "New Social Studies" and MACOS was an attempt to bring a small enlightenment to the world of social studies by allowing others to see how other places might find happiness. Happiness was not simply found in middle class America, Conservative groups saw this as an assault on traditional American values. During the 1970s, students were not asked to "evaluate the reasonableness of cultural practices, the texts asked the students to affirm the ongoing validity of these cultural differences within the American national context" which did not maintain traditional values which schools were deemed to support (Woysner, Watras, & Crocco, 2010, p. xv).

The reaction to MACOS's thought provoking method lead conservatives to see the textbook as embedding "anti-American, liberal, and secular humanist" attitudes into the minds of fifth graders (Cohen-Cole, 2014, p. 218). The conflict over the textbook raged in Massachusetts as well as across America including Florida, Arizona, Texas, California, Georgia, Vermont, and Washington. The conflict was not only over content by the method in which it employed (Cohen-Cole, 2014). Conservatives claimed MACOS was influenced by John Dewey's progressive education and would lead to a dismantling of the American political system (Cohen-Cole, 2014). Defenders of MACOS were numerous compared to the very vocal small group of conservative detractors, yet the defense was unorganized and random. Arizona attempted to claim that MACOS represented secular humanism which it deemed was a religion and thus MACOS should be banned as a breach of the church and state separation (Cohen-Cole, 2014). The MACOS debate exposed an issue as to what is the purpose of education and specifically social studies: to create citizens. What type of citizens should American classrooms create?, dutiful indoctrinated citizens or free thinking citizens. The first leans more to the focus of a highly content classroom while the other comes from looking at humanity through the lens of various social science

disciplines. MACOS and many of the social studies projects were more concerned with generating skills within students rather than focusing upon certain content (Cohen-Cole, 2014). The rejection of MACOS also meant the rejection of many social studies projects and the idea of discovery method as a signature pedagogy for social studies (Cohen-Cole, 2014). The lessons of MACOS would be forgotten as the rise of discipline education begins to take shape. Parallels are made between the defunding of the NSF because of MACOS and attempts to defund the Common Core (Hassard, 2013).

The “New Social Studies” movement must be looked at through the lens of the politics of the time. It started because as an offshoot of the mathematics and science project of the 1950s and did not get any attention until after Sputnik. Debate rages as to the direct impact of the movement on the teachers and curriculum, yet some impact can be seen in the period since it ended. One of the problems came from the early proponents who saw this not as a reform but a revolution in the curriculum that would destroy what had come before when they should have seen it as a more evolutionary process started by Rugg’s textbooks (Evans, 2010). The President of NCSS Samuel P. McCutchen suggested in 1958 that social studies should be a discipline itself instead of trying to incorporate the various social science disciplines. Neo-conservatives claim that by the 1960s, social studies reformers had little inclination to maintain support of the Final Report (Hertzberg, 1981). They no longer wanted the independence of the social sciences; they advocated to varying degrees a fusion model of the various disciplines. History was viewed as too influential and needed to be reduced in focus, and citizenship education was also deemphasized to more vague focus (Hertzberg, 1981).

Rise of Discipline Education within Social Studies

The History Teacher began publishing lesson suggestions for teacher only in 1968 and the general focus was at first on higher education. The Organization of American Historians (OAH, formerly Mississippi Valley Historical Association) issued the first alarm to history education in 1975. The organization conducted a state of the discipline survey for most states. Richard Kirkendall, Executive Secretary for OAH, claimed that too much emphasis on current events, rising importance of the social sciences, the perception that history was not a valid school subject, too much competition with other school subjects including multicultural education, and student view that it was irrelevant or boring (Hertzberg, 1981). Historians did not begin connecting the problems with history education at the postsecondary level to the public schools until the OAH survey. Social studies educators did not perceive the issue of postsecondary history problems as even connected to social studies until nearly the end of the 1970s. These two misconnections would have an impact on future of social studies education as it appears to have been in trouble without knowing it (Hertzberg, 1981). Richard Gross conducted a survey comparing the number of secondary social studies classes offered in 1961 and 1974, the results saw that history and social studies classes were not being offered as much; however, increases in courses offered were found in economics, sociology, and psychology courses with low general enrollment.

A Nation at Risk

In the 1970s, the United States lost ground as the dominant world economic and political power. The defeat of the Vietnam War, the OPEC Oil Embargo, the Iranian Revolution, Watergate, and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan pointed out some of the weaknesses of the United States' foreign and domestic policies. The 1980s found the United States in its first major

economic recession since the Great Depression. As America suffered economic hardship, other countries seemed to rise to prominence economically, e.g. Japan. Like right after Sputnik, leaders sought to understand why the United States had started to fall behind once more. Yet again events outside of education started a chain of events that catalyzed a new attempt at educational reform. With the 1980 election of Ronald Reagan, neo-conservative interests rose to power and dominated America's political and educational scene for most of the 1980s and 1990s (Evans, 2004). The neo-conservatives sought to move "Federal policy away from equity to an emphasis on excellence" (Evans, 2004, p. 150). The parallels between the Committee of Ten and President Reagan's National Commission on Excellence in Education (NCEE) go beyond the fact that both were blue-ribbon panels. Both committees generated reports that profoundly influenced the direction of education in the decades that followed them. The National Commission's report, *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform* is still influencing educational policy and reform efforts.

The Commission accumulated already available evidence, but the Commission's tone was slanted against schools for causing the current economic crisis (Evans, 2004). In fact, this report started a new round of federal attempts to reform education which has generally *done to* educators not *done with* educators (Elmore, 2003). *A Nation at Risk* reflected the current American Cold War mentality to "see education problems as national ones, ... [and explore the] role the Federal government could play in making improvements" (Vinovskis, 2003, p. 129). The NCEE laid out simple conclusions with equally simple recommendations to address the complex issues of education (Gordon, 2003b). The report's suggestions included improving teacher salaries, training in-service teachers, and making teaching a highly desirable profession (Gordon, 2003a). The suggestions reflected many of the concerns of neo-conservatives education

advocates who pushed for a back to the educational basics, a focus upon reading, writing, and mathematics. Reagan campaigned on the elimination of the Department of Education; however, during the 1984 campaign, Reagan called for more reform of education directed by federal mandates that would expand the Department of Education (Symcox, 2002). The biggest federal mandate was the expansion of national educational research centers like the National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES) in order to better track the *crisis* (Vinovskis, 2003). Neo-conservatives' supporters of Reagan were in a quandary because their fiscal conservatism demanded that they cut spending, and yet most of the proposals for educational reform required increased spending on education (Symcox, 2002).

The report emphasized the need for a social efficiency models in order to measure progress towards the business-minded goal of making America economically dominant again (Evans, 2004). National educational statistics had been accumulated since 1867, but the real push to compile educational statistics began in the 1960s at the urging of social efficiency advocates during President Lyndon B Johnson's Great Society effort. The federal government generated a National Report of educational trends in the form of the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP). The NAEP started in the mid-1960s with the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1965, it focused on how American students did nationally not locally. Additionally, the designers of the NAEP were concerned about the longitudinal measure of the NAEP which are not as important in today's reporting of the data.

Table B.5

History of the NAEP Assessments (1969-2024)

Year	Content	Grades	Framework Changes or Other Assessment Changes
2024 (Proposed)	Arts	8	New Framework
	Foreign Language	12	New Framework
2023 (Proposed)	Mathematics	4, 8, 12	Re-introduce LTT
	Reading	4, 8, 12	
	Science	4, 8, 12	
	U.S. History	8, 12	New Framework
	Civics	8, 12	New Framework
2022 (Proposed)	Geography	8, 12	New Framework
	Economics	12	
	Technology and Engineering Literacy	8, 12	
2021 (Proposed)	Mathematics	4, 8	
	Reading	4, 8	
	Writing	4, 8, 12	
	Mathematics	4, 8, 12	
2019	Reading	4, 8, 12	
	Science	4, 8, 12	
	U.S. History	8	
	Civics	8	
2018	Geography	8	
	Technology and Engineering Literacy	8	
	Mathematics	4, 8	
2017	Reading	4, 8	All Assessments are Digitally administered
	Writing	4, 8	
2016	Arts	8	
	Mathematics	4, 8, 12	
2015	Reading	4, 8, 12	
	Science	4, 8, 12	
	Civics	8	
	Geography	8	
2014	Technology and Engineering Literacy	8	New Framework
	U.S. History	8	
2013	Mathematics	4, 8, 12	
	Reading	4, 8, 12	
2012	Economics	12	

Table B.5: *History of the NAEP Assessments (1969-2024) (continued)*

Year	Content	Grades	Framework Changes or Other Assessment Changes
2011	Mathematics	4, 8	New Framework
	Reading	4, 8	
	Science	8	
	Writing	8, 12	
	Civics	4, 8, 12	
2010	Geography	4, 8, 12	New Framework used on only 12 th Grade
	U.S. History	4, 8, 12	
	Mathematics	4, 8, 12	
2009	Reading	4, 8, 12	New Framework used on only 12 th Grade
	Science	4, 8, 12	
2008	Arts	8	
2007	Mathematics	4, 8	New Framework
	Reading	4, 8	
	Writing	8, 12	
2006	Civics	4, 8, 12	New Framework
	Economics	12	
	U.S. History	4, 8, 12	
	Mathematics	4, 8, 12	
2005	Reading	4, 8, 12	New Framework
	Science	4, 8, 12	
	Mathematics (4,8)	4, 8	
2003	Reading (4,8)	4, 8	New Framework
	Mathematics (4,8)	4, 8	
2002	Reading	4, 8, 12	New Framework
	Writing	4, 8, 12	
2001	Geography	4, 8, 12	New Framework
	U.S. History	4, 8, 12	
2000	Mathematics	4, 8, 12	New Framework
	Reading	4	
	Science	4, 8, 12	
	Civics	4, 8, 12	
1998	Reading	4, 8, 12	New Framework
	Writing	4, 8, 12	
1997	Arts	8	Long Term Trend is no longer Reported yearly (every 4 years in Math and Reading)
1996	Mathematics	4, 8, 12	
	Science	4, 8, 12	
1994	Geography	4, 8, 12	New Framework
	Reading	4, 8, 12	
	U.S. History	4, 8, 12	

Table B.5: *History of the NAEP Assessments (1969-2024) (continued)*

Year	Content	Grades	Framework Changes or Other Assessment Changes
1992	Mathematics	4, 8, 12	
	Reading	4, 8, 12	
	Writing	4, 8, 12	
1990	Mathematics	4, 8, 12	
	Reading	4, 8, 12	
	Science	4, 8, 12	
	Civics	4, 8, 12	Aligned with Citizenship Assessment
1988	Document Literacy	4, 8, 12	
	Geography	4, 8, 12	
	U.S. History	4, 8, 12	
	Reading	4, 8, 12	
	Writing	4, 8, 12	
	Computer Competence	4, 8, 12	
	U.S. History	4, 8, 12	Ravitch and Finn conducted first significant analysis using NAEP
1986	Literature	4, 8, 12	
	Mathematics	4, 8, 12	
	Science	4, 8, 12	
1984	Reading	4, 8, 12	
	Reading	4, 8, 12	First major overhaul of NAEP (Sampling is changed, administration is changed, &
	Writing	4, 8, 12	
	Citizenship	4, 8, 12	
1981-1982	Mathematics	4, 8, 12	NAEP is administered throughout school year
	Science	4, 8, 12	
	Social Studies	4, 8, 12	
1979-1980	Art	4, 8, 12	
	Literature	4, 8, 12	
	Reading	4, 8, 12	
1978-1979	Art	4, 8, 12	
	Music	4, 8, 12	
	Writing	4, 8, 12	
1977-1978	Mathematics	4, 8, 12	
	Consumer Skills	4, 8, 12	
	Citizenship/Social Studies	4, 8, 12	
1976-1977	Basic Life Skills	4, 8, 12	
	Science	4, 8, 12	

Table B.5: *History of the NAEP Assessments (1969-2024) (continued)*

Year	Content	Grades	Framework Changes or Other Assessment Changes
1975-1976	Citizenship/Social Studies	4, 8, 12	First Test Not Part of Long Term Trends (LTT) Assessment
	Mathematics	4, 8, 12	
	Citizenship/Social Studies	4, 8, 12	
1974-1975	Art	4, 8, 12	
	Index of Basic Skills	4, 8, 12	
1973-1974	Reading	4, 8, 12	
	Career/Occupational Development	4, 8, 12	
	Writing	4, 8, 12	
1972-1973	Mathematics	4, 8, 12	
	Science	4, 8, 12	
1971-1972	Music	4, 8, 12	
	Social Studies	4, 8, 12	
1970-1971	Literature	4, 8, 12	
	Reading	4, 8, 12	
1969-1970	Citizenship	4, 8, 12	
	Science	4, 8, 12	
	Writing	4, 8, 12	

Note: NCES Website (Updated 10 July 2017)

The data from NAEP was one of the sources of evidence used by the NCEE to generate their recommendations. At the same time as the publication of *A Nation at Risk*, the NAEP went through a drastic redesigned of the national assessment. The original contract for the administration and design of the NAEP shifted away from the Education Commission of the States and went to a private corporation Educational Testing Service (ETS), which currently holds the NAEP contract (Vinovskis, 1998). ETS was partly chosen because they had extensive experience with the use of large-scale assessments, they administered the SAT. Under ETS, the design and governance of the NAEP changed. In addition to the tests, participants had to supply information about students, teachers, and the schools. The corporation deposited the results into a new national center, the National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES). They wanted to

implement some new statistical theories about sampling and measurement theory. ETS also wanted to increase the frequency of the four key subjects: writing, mathematics, reading, and science (Vinovskis, 1998).

Reagan's Secretary of Education Terrel Bell began using the results of the re-designed NAEP for various interpretations. Using a wall chart, he displayed state results so to provide state comparisons. This was a new use for the NAEP because at the time the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) or American College Testing Program (ACT) were the only assessment used to make state comparisons and those tests only attempted to measure the potential aptitude of college bound students. The SAT and ACT were also used as evidence to formulate the conclusions for *A Nation at Risk*. However, in the 1980s, ETS administered all assessments that were used by policymakers to make decisions about student achievement.

Bell's chart was a sign of things to come as federal oversight the general direction of education became important. The Commission suggested that national government needed to determine if the financial support given to states and districts were improving student achievement. Prior to *A Nation at Risk*, the federal government provided financial support to education but did not account for how the money was used. This shift should be directed back to the MACOS controversy. The NCEE wanted to improve schools but they also wanted to measure a school's value to America. The value of education was important to create individuals who valued a free democratic society (Fuhrman & Lazerson, 2005). Fuhrman and Lazerson (2005) pointed out that *A Nation at Risk* did not suddenly highlight the issue; it was only a federal point in a trend that many states had already become concerned over local education authority (p. xxvii).

States began to require more than simply a course title but they began to develop formal standards for teachers to use for instruction (Fuhrman & Lazerson, 2005). Beginning in the 1970s, New York and California had already rolled out statewide assessments that included history (Grant, 2006b). As more states considered accountability programs, several state education agencies informed the Department of Education that they needed assistance with devising ways to assess their students (Vinovskis, 1998). The leaders of the NAEP decided to assist localities by comparing national results with local results (Vinovskis, 1998). In 1984, the Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO) and several state governors initiated a plan to start cross-state comparisons using the NAEP for the first time; state education agencies relinquished some their educational authority to the national government.

In true yellow journalism style, the media once again weighed into the education debate by rallying around an “educational crisis” that had been ongoing for nearly 40 years. As Schissler (2009) points out, “a crisis is defined as a short period of time when things get out of control. A crisis that lasts for more than 40 years cannot be given this label; rather, it could perhaps be regarded as a structural feature of a major social change, accompanied by any number of crises” (p. 98). *A Nation at Risk* also pointed out how poorly prepared teachers were at training future citizens, but not in the traditional sense. The report was focusing upon preparing citizens for the future world economy and citizens to be part of an economically-prepared citizenry. History and social studies did not get mentioned specifically when talking about obtaining qualified teachers for subjects including mathematics, science, and English (Vinovskis, 2009). Social studies was included in the high school curriculum but the report neglected to provide any direction on the organization or intent. Decisions were left for local districts. In the

report, social studies is identified as a training place where students can become “informed and committed” citizens in “our free society” (NCEE, 2003, p. 185).

With all this controversy surrounding education and economy, social studies came out of the MACOS and textbook controversies without a clear direction for the future. The government was focused upon those disciplines they determined were of economic value for international competition: mathematics, English, technology, and foreign languages. Social studies appeared to be “a field adrift” (Evans, 2004, p. 153). The fundamental problem for social studies was that it could be defined using any number of terms, so all of the struggles and clarifications dealing with social studies began to break down under the new political pressure of the neo-conservatives.

Symcox (2002) points out that the publication of Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities* (1996) led to an increased interest in the question of national identity. She implies that identity has been a question with which history and social studies have both grappled; yet, she overlooks one reality. Both history and social studies have been victimized by their repeated inability to define their identities within the field of education. The multiculturalism or cultural pluralism of the 1970s was seen by neo-conservative interests as undermining the image of “a shared national identity” (Symcox, 2002, p. 76). Moderate reformers within the neo-conservative group “believe that social studies lacked narrative and coherence, ... encouraged victimization, divisiveness, and negativism,” which conflicted with their need to write a coherent positive history of America that minimized negative aspects and fostered national identity (Symcox, 2002, p. 77).

As part of the redesign of the NAEP in 1984, social studies was dropped from the testing schedule and replaced by U.S. History (1986), Geography (1988), and Civics (1988). Under

Reagan, “progressives in social studies were swimming against a rising tide;” social efficiency controlled by humanistic interest groups influenced the curriculum and teachers simply went along for the ride (Evans, 2004, p. 154). At first, the left leaning academe suggested that education be placed back into the hands of the teachers and principals, favoring more teacher-centered activities; this was not the trend in education (Symcox, 2002).

Bradley Commission

Concern over the decline of history majors sparked an interest in the national historical organizations. Historians started looking for reasons to explain the lack of history undergraduates, and a new onslaught was launched on social studies (Henry, 1993). A conclusion by the organization was that the dominant role of history in social studies teacher preparation had been losing ground for twenty years. Thus, for many historians the problem was social studies had usurped the role of history in public education (Fallace, 2008). Further evidence was that bad high school teaching of social studies also contributed to declining enrollment (Nash, Crabree, & Dunn, 1997). Diane Ravitch penned an article in November 1985 called the “Decline and Fall of History Teaching.” In the article, she proclaimed that history as a discipline was in trouble and that the main culprit was social studies (Evans, 2004; Henry 1993). Ravitch recycled the myth that students simply did not know history, and insisted social studies was the culprit in this travesty of ignorance. Ravitch suggested that the curriculum needed return to a *golden age* of history education and the problem would be solved. Liberal education reform efforts (Progressive) to foster equity among all students, particularly those efforts connected to social studies, had a negative impact on America (Symcox, 2002). Ravitch advocated for a return to traditionalist history based on chronology and textbooks, teachers should ignore the questions of relevancy to students. Nash, Crabtree, and Dunn (1997) echoed Ravitch’s recycled myth that

the “United States was gathering a head of steam to overcome history illiteracy” without the understanding that there had never actually been a *golden age* of students knowing history (p. 77).

In the one of the first analysis of the redesigned NAEP, Ravitch and Finn (1987) used the evidence from the 1986 NAEP tests on Literature and U.S. History to expose the lack of content knowledge that high school students possessed. Ravitch and Finn (1987) justified their preference for literature and history as superior to mathematics and science because students “who study [literature and history] subjects become more knowledgeable, more perceptive, and more thoughtful ... [and thus] they [help] interpret for us the human experience” (p. 251). Critiques of Ravitch and Finn’s work were summarily dismissed; neo-conservatives had adopted the notion that the humanities and education were in a stage of dire crisis and all new evidence only seemed to confirm their opinions (Symcox, 2002). During the redesign of the NAEP, social studies was replaced with a test on U.S. History with very little commentary.

Neo-conservatives, headed by Ravitch, led a charge to formally replace social studies with history by enlisting the aid of several historians and politicians. The guiding principle of neo-conservatives was that following the Second World War, social studies was determined to minimize the influence of history from the curriculum, led primarily by social studies educators who had a distaste for history’s dominate role (Hertzberg, 1989). University historians own much of the blame for ignoring of educational preparation of social studies teachers who often only took survey courses in history, which typically were large lecture (Hertzberg, 1989). Ravitch would be the architect of initiating another investigation as well as choosing the participants who were mostly noted historians. With funding from Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, the Bradley Commission (1989) laid out the foundations in *Historical Literacy: The*

Case for History in American Education that the new curriculum includes social studies every year during the elementary grades (1-6) and at least four additional years of history in the secondary grades (7-12). Members included Kenneth T. Jackson of Columbia (Chair), John M. Arévalo, Harlandale High School, San Antonio, Marjorie Wall Bingham, St. Louis Park Senoir High School, Teacher Minnesota, Louise Cox Byron, Booker T Washington HS, Atlanta GA; Charlotte Crabtree, UCLA, Gordon Craig, Stanford Univ; Hazel Whitman Hertzberg, Teachers College Columbia University, Claudia J. Hoone, Public School #58, Indianapolis IN; Nathan I. Huggins, Harvard University; Michael Kammen of Cornell University, William E. Leuchtenburg, UNC, Leon F. Litwack of the University of California at Berkeley; William H. McNeill, University of Chicago; Diane Ravitch, Teachers College; Charles Shotland, Blind Brook High School, NY; and C. Vann Woodward of Yale University. They did not investigate the state of history education, they simply assumed there was a problem in history education and thus created a history curriculum. They also claimed that their intent to broaden students' understanding of the world by the study of the world history (Bradley Commission, 1989).

The Commission permitted social studies to continue to be taught, provided that it was based upon history. Members from the other social studies disciplines were not invited nor any individual committed social studies. A flaw in their findings was that they did not examination of pedagogy of the field nor they address the how pedagogy fit with their intended purpose, citizenship (Evans, 2004). The Commission stressed the importance of including teachers in the discussion over history education. Out of 17 members, only 5 members were teachers; of those 5 – two taught high school with a load of advanced placement classes (Arévalo and Bingham) and one high school teacher at a Magnet school (Byron); a single middle school teacher (Shotland); and a single elementary teacher (Hoone). Further, three of the professors had affiliations with

schools of education: Crabtree was exclusively in the school of education; but both Hertzberg and Ravitch taught in Columbia's History Department and Teachers' College.

Bradley Commission advocates wanted to teach history in the traditional manner in order to return to a more indoctrination or nationalism flavor of history. The Commission simply wanted to turn the clock back to 1892 and declare history an essential element of the curriculum at the cost of social studies (Bradley Commission, 1989). The Commission argued that the purpose for history education represented a "binding heritage" based on our democratic tradition (Bradley Commission, 1989, p. 17). Students needed to understand how events established the current American citizen society. Ravitch and others rejected the idea that students should learn cultural pluralism and favored an assimilationist approach to citizenship. This was a hand-picked Commission was endorsed by both AHA and the OAH. The report would prompt the creation of a new national organization the National Council for History Education (NCHE) to promote historical thinking in schools. Supporters did not see a problem with the Bradley Commission's recommendation because for many historians it simply meant inclusion of history in the curriculum. Additionally, the recommendations indicate a rejection of recent historical literature that looked at the social problems within American history.

Historians believe that "democratic citizenship and effective participation in the determination of public policy require citizens to share a collective memory" (McNeill, Kammen, & Craig, 1989, p. 104), and thus history establishes the collective memory essential to citizenship. This does not preclude that they will be *good* citizens or that they will understand how their collective memory works today. History cannot predict the future but can help understand potential avenues of causality (McNeill, Kammen, & Craig, 1989). The teaching of history is important so that students understand the evidence as well as differing perspectives, to

question what cannot be proven (McNeill, Kammen, & Craig, 1989). Ravitch (1989) points to the knowing of American history as important for the commonality of students. She does not question the teaching but the methodology of engraining history within the general knowledge of all students, almost to the level of reading or mathematics. Ravitch complaint about the lack of history is more about methodology, she argued that certain facts need to be established before certain abstract concepts could be addressed (e.g. studying *Brown v Topeka* and race relations).

The teachers in the Bradley Commission were very concerned about the role that they would play in committee, because they did not simply to bemoan the lack of history in the curriculum; but to establish what was being done well in schools for history and call for more action similar to that (Arévalo et al., 1989). Yet, the voices of the teachers from the Commission are still much muted in the final recommendations. Wilson and Sykes (1989) spent time talking about teacher preparation, simply knowing dates (rote memorization) is not what makes a good history teacher, rather it is a level of historical understanding that is often not included in general survey courses. A deeper level of understanding than simply knowing the chronology of events, but how events fit together. Additionally, a teacher has to determine how make the story of history relevant to the students so that they internalize the ideas, concepts, and understanding into their own personal development (humanistic progressivism) (Wilson & Sykes, 1989). Students need to understand that not all historians agree on a set of events, but often they are only exposed to the textbook which is a synthesis with little disagreement among the “experts” (Wilson & Sykes, 1989). Content is still a focus of the Bradley Commission, but there is an understanding that content should be transferred to students in a “usable pedagogy” otherwise students will simply return to rote memorization of facts (Wilson & Sykes, 1989, p. 277). The Bradley Commission forcefully challenged the historical community to return to the classroom to

assist in the preparation of teachers because it felt that by remaining outside the discussion of teacher preparation, history was falling behind. This fits into the notion of discipline and national history standards, many of the claims and suggestions were adopted by Nash and others when writing the standards.

The neo-conservatives v progressive educators, there are absolutes v student relatives that need to be addressed (need to flesh this out). Neo-conservatives stress a teacher centered classroom where students must obtain certain concrete abilities in order to progress to further abstract concepts (Piagetian). While progressive and neo-progressive educators stress student's ability to understand, there does not need to be a shared commonality among students, diversity is a good thing. Ravitch (1989) claims that the demise of history as the center of social studies has only been since the 1960s (rise of "New Social Studies"). Likewise, social studies is the *dumping* grounds for any education curriculum fad that does not have a home (mini-courses) which causes diffusion of the field (Ravitch, 1989, p. 60).

Historians have not answered the question as to what the utilitarianism of studying history in public schools is, which Ravitch (1989) says is to understand how and why the world we live in exist in the form it does. Further, people need to understand how society choose its leaders and why we should choose those leaders, not exactly good citizens just active citizens.

History will never be restored as a subject of value unless it is detached from vulgar utilitarianism; it should not be expected to infuse morals or patriotism. Properly taught, history teaches the pursuit of truth and understanding; it establishes a context of human life in a particular time and place, relating art, literature, philosophy, law, architecture, language, government, economics, and social life; it portrays the great achievements and terrible disasters of the human race; it awakens youngsters to the particularities that distinguish cultures and societies from one another; it encourages the development of intelligence, civility, and a sense of perspective (Ravitch, 1989, p. 68)

A common misconception of the connection between social studies and Progressive education is the way social studies exemplifies the evils of Progressive education. For Progressive education is often construed as an anti-intellectual movement that sought student controlling the classroom and its curriculum, the stew of disciplines known as social studies exemplifying all that is considered wrong with Progressive education (Hertzberg, 1989). Hertzberg (1989) says that this is a misapplied assumption because neither the traditional history (based Madison Conference (NEA, 1893)) curriculum nor the social studies (1916; Nelson, 1994) curriculum were essential parts to the curriculum. Hertzberg (1989) states that scientific history that developed in the late nineteenth century and citizen education were linked early on and forced to create a dynamic new curriculum. There is no evidence to support this supposition. The Madison Conference suggested a curriculum with discussion, student reports and investigation, debates, observations of the local government, integration of history and geography, and use of primary materials which was a major transition from traditional historical pedagogy of rote memorization (Hertzberg, 1989). Hertzberg calls this humanistic progressivism because it fostered the private and public roles of students.

According to Hertzberg, the Committee of Seven continued the second-tier status of history in the curriculum that was to develop students to understand their future status in society (Hertzberg, 1989). Seven followed the pedagogical foundations laid by the Madison Conference in terms of developing critical thinking skills through history, along the lines of humanistic progressivism (Hertzberg, 1989). The “New History” movement took traditional humanistic progressivism and made it relevant to students by focus on more contemporary histories (Hertzberg, 1989). Hertzberg (1989) seems to point out that the tensions between academic historians and school administrators began the undoing of the *good* traditional history. These

school administrators were using and implementing *scientific* methods (Progressive) to make decisions about school curriculum, but Hertzberg neglects to identify the evolving reality of the changing schools from college preparation to mass education.

Barton (2012) suggests the Bradley Commission is the culmination of longer trend of criticism over the lack of history education within the curriculum. Barton points out that numerically the number of history courses required by states had not altered very much. During the 40 years since the first criticism by the *New York Times*, several studies (Downey, 1985; Gross, 1976) seem to counter the argument of the critics. Barton (2012) notes that number of credits that a social studies major needs to graduate has increased over the twenty years since the mid-1980s. Barton (2012) concedes that the social studies or history is not lost in the high schools; rather there is a definite concern over the marginalization within elementary and even in middle schools in some states. With regards to elementary marginalization, Barton points out that the evidence used is largely perceptual data of the teacher (2012). The perception of social studies within elementary has decreased, but it never was essential for the elementary curriculum. Several studies (Paxton, 2003; Whittington, 1991; Wineburg, 2005) have shown that a *golden age* of historical knowledge has never existed. Barton (2012) notes that the administrative organization of social studies parallels science in that there is a general term, but discipline approaches within the general field of study. Thornton and Barton (2010) claim that the idea of discipline courses arises in 1980s as historians, educational reformers, and neo-conservative advocates identified the perceived decline in history and determine the scapegoat for this perceived decline to be the villain of social studies. While the debate over disciplines versus social studies raged, national mathematics associations initiated a trend to create *standards* as guidelines for the states in the mid-1980s (Fuhrman, 2003).

A National Curriculum through Standards

After the publication of *A Nation at Risk*, educational issues became a political hot button that was addressed everywhere from the national pulpit to the local school boards. Evidence included the results of the re-engineered NAEP tests, which showed students not passing, a decrease in SAT scores, and a decline in American student performance when compared to international students. The reality of evidence did not matter; the perception was that American education was falling behind and the federal government and state leaders needed to act. President George H.W. Bush initiated the push for national standards for the core education subjects in 1989 under his *America 2000* educational platform. President Bush requested that Sandia National Labs conduct their own study on the state of education. When the results of Sandia's analysis validated *A Nation at Risk*, President Bush had the report delayed until after the election (Stedman, 1994; Symcox, 2002). The Sandia Report, in fact, repudiated the findings of *A Nation at Risk*, claiming that the analysis was simplistic and did not look at the long-term trends or other influencing factors such as the increased number of students taking the SAT (Stedman, 1994). Furthermore, any focus on the SAT was not very reliable given that NAEP scores remained relatively stable throughout the *crisis* years of the 1980s. President Bush looked towards the British example, where they implemented a new national curriculum during the 1980s; however, the British model is problematic for United States schools. Britain uses a national control mechanism for educational policy whereas the United States has no national apparatus to direct educational policy (Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn, 1997).

Table B.6

Major Committee Memberships

	University Historians	University Social Scientists	University Educators	Administrators	P-12 Teachers	Total
Madison Conference (1893)	CK Adams, James Robinson, AB Hart,	Woodrow Wilson,	William Scott, Edward Bourne, Jesse Macy		Abram Brown, Ray Green Huling, Henry Warren	10
Committee of Seven (1897)	AB Hart, Andrew C McLaughlin ^a , George Fox, Charles H Haskins, Lucy Salmon H. Morse Stephens					7
Committee on Social Studies (1916) Jorgensen	James Harvey Robinson (Columbia), William H. Mace (Syracuse),	W.A. Arey (Hampton), E.C. Branson (UNC), Blanche Evans Hazard (Cornell)	J. Lynn Barnard (school of Pedagogy, Philadelphia)	Clarence D. Kingsley (Massachusetts), Thomas Jesse Jones (Ed), Arthur William Dunn (Ed), George G. Bechtel (Principal), F.L. Boyden (Principal), W.J. Hamilton (Super), William A. Wheatley (Super, ED)	Henry R. Burch (Philadelphia), F.W. Carrier (Somerville, MA), Jessie C. Evans (Philadelphia), Frank P. Goodwin (Cincinnati), J. Herbert Low (Brooklyn), S.B. Howe (Newark), William T. Morrey (Brooklyn), John Pettibone (New Milford, CT)	21

Table B.6: *Major Committee Memberships (continued)*

	University Historians	University Social Scientists	University Educators	Administrators	P-12 Teachers	Total
Commission on Social Studies (1934)	Charles A Beard, Avery O Craven, Guy Stanton Ford, Carlton JH Hayes, Henry Johnson, AC Krey,	Isaiah Bowman AGS, Leon C Marshall, Charles E. Merriam, Jesse F Steiner	George Counts, Ernest Horn, Jesse H Newlon	Frank Ballou (Super), Ada Comstock (Pres), Edmund E Day (Dean)		
349 Commission on Social Studies (1958 – NCSS)		Howard Wilson			Social studies and the social sciences	
National Commission on Social Studies in the Schools (1987)						

Table B.6: Major Committee Memberships (continued)

	University Historians	University Social Scientists	University Educators	Administrators	P-12 Teachers	Total
350	Bradley Commission (1988)	Kenneth T. Jackson of Columbia (Chair); Charlotte Crabtree, UCLA; Gordon Craig, Stanford Univ; Nathan I. Huggins, Harvard University; Michael Kammen of Cornell University; William E. Leuchtenburg, UNC; Leon F. Litwack of the University of California at Berkeley; William H. McNeill, University of Chicago; and C. Vann Woodward of Yale University.	Hazel Whitman Hertzberg, Teachers College Columbia University; Diane Ravitch, Teachers College;	-	Charles Shotland, Blind Brook High School, NY; John M. Arévalo, Harlandale High School, San Antonio; Louise Cox Byron, Booker T Washington HS, Atlanta GA; Claudia J. Hoone, Public School #58, Indianapolis IN; Marjorie Wall Bingham, St. Louis Park Senior High School, Teacher Minnesota,	17
	National Standards for History (1992)	Nash, Crabtree, Dunn				
	Common Core (3C)	Undisclosed				

Note: ^a indicates the chair was part of this group; if they were split they were counted in both

President Bush's educational platform was not *per se* a national curriculum, but it was intended to "inspire new ideas in education at the Federal, state, and local levels" in order to help America compete globally (Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn, 1997, p. 150). The recommended "national curriculum" included mathematics, English, science, history, and geography. Under President Bush's *America 2000* program, social studies was replaced by an undefined application of history and geography in the curriculum (Saxe, 1992). Standards-based reform has been a dominant part of educational policy since *A Nation at Risk*. Standards-based reform is that "all students should master a common core of academic material, and if they do not, then the state should hold teachers, administrators, and sometimes the students themselves accountable" (McDermott, 2009, p. 92). Initially, the standards-based reform measures did not require that all students be held accountable to the same standards (McDermott, 2009), this might be part of the influence of vocational education advocates within education.

Reforming education through standards is seen in a series of the federal program legislation in the form of Goals 2000: Educate America Act (1994) and the Improving America's Schools Act (IASA, 1994) became the centerpieces of President Clinton education policy (McDermott, 2009). IASA was incorporated into the ESEA and infused standards-based reform into any state receiving federal money, thus states started the process of adopting state standards for some degree of accountability (alongside national standards that were in development). No major group came out in opposition to the notion of a national curriculum or to the possibility of a national testing program. Throughout 1991, support for the initiative continued to grow (Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn, 1997). When issues arose, the issues concerned the national assessment and the development of a national accountability system. But in 1992, an election year, the national

assessment was killed so that President Bush would not have to veto an education bill and the national curriculum was transformed once more into guidelines for the states to adopt.

In 1988, Charlotte Crabtree received a \$1.5 million grant to analyze history instruction and develop teaching examples for history over a three-year period (Vinovskis, 2009). The neo-conservatives had gotten President Bush to recognize history and geography as subjects for the curriculum. The NCSS leadership argued to reform leaders that social studies could be used as an umbrella for history, geography, and the other social sciences (Parker, 1991). The neo-conservatives and some university leaders simply ignored their arguments. As a result, NCSS, following the lead of mathematics, decided to create its own set of standards without federal funding in an attempt to establish *de facto* national standards for social studies. They decided to utilize a consensus model to generate their standards and used a new broader definition for social studies (Evans, 2004). In January 1992, NCSS announced their new definition for social studies: “the integration of history, the social sciences, and the humanities to promote civic competence” (quoted by Evans, 2004, p. 165). Scholars and practitioners wanted to know what exactly was meant by the term *civic competence*. NCSS did not have a clear answer. After nearly eighty years of continual argument and struggle, social studies gave a vague definition that left many people the freedom to have various interpretations of the value for social studies. Educators continue to argue over what *civic competence* might mean to the field.

While other educators still postulate other notions of the meaning for social studies itself. Nelson (2001) suggests that social studies should be defined “as virtually all social knowledge—the most inclusive, overarching field that envelopes content from all other subjects,” which is a true interdisciplinary view of social studies (p. 16). Brophy and Alleman (2009) echoed the defining of social studies in elementary as a focus on the social world. No single definition for

social studies exists but the division within the field is crippling for the field within public education.

The Development of the Discipline Standards

In at least half a dozen other countries in the past 30 years, conflict between “political intent and educational practice in history education” has played out in similar patterns (Taylor & Guyver, 2012, p. xiii). For a group that prides itself on knowing history, the Bradley Commission did not seem to be aware of the historical struggles engaged in with regard to matters of social studies and history. Nelson (2001) claims that “the history establishment as parent-guardian of social studies” had already given history an elevated position over the other social sciences (p. 18). Social studies leaders failed to respond, due likely to a lack of forceful leadership within the social studies field. NCSS did not take a very assertive role in defending social studies from these attacks; a few individuals attempted to argue the social studies position but were more like rocks in the tsunami of education reform. Additionally, the other social sciences did not participate in the discussion and sat on the sidelines as NCSS attempted to fend off the neo-conservatives. Evans (2004) claims that this debate differed from previous struggles for three primary reasons: the willing enlistment of the historical academe, assistance from private foundations for financial and organizational support, and creation of a history curriculum in California.

Key participants in California’s History-Social Studies Framework were Professors Charlotte Crabtree and Diane Ravitch; the latter had already rejected the social studies model as problematic (Symcox, 2002). The rationale for developing history standards for California was that “the social studies curriculum has been difficult to define because it is organized as a loose confederation of social science disciplines, rather than as a single discipline with a coherent

intellectual framework and methodology” (Symcox, 2002, p. 74). The notion that social studies did not have a single pedagogy was not a new critique, nor had it not been explored in the past. Symcox (2002) also notes that the neo-conservatives only permitted one textbook company, Houghton Mifflin, to be utilized by school districts under the new California standards. Lynne Cheney, head of the National Endowment of Humanities (NEH), hailed the California reform as a model for the nation (Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn, 1997).

For all praise of the new California history standards, the reception was not always positive. In 1991, the Oakland school board rejected the Houghton Mifflin social studies textbooks for being too Eurocentric (Symcox, 2002). Oakland laid the foundation for an alternative direction that the history standards could enlist that did not conform to the neo-conservative model. The leaders of the neo-conservative movement wanted to elevate the importance of history, but they also tied the politics of nationalism in with the teaching of history. Following a different model, New York adopted a new set of standards for social studies, but its standards were critiqued for their multicultural biases (Symcox, 2002). Diane Ravitch publicly criticized Thomas Sobol, the New York Commissioner of Education, by suggesting that New York follow the California model. Neo-conservatives favored standards similar to California, social studies advocates favored standards like New York. These were the two largest education markets.

In 1987, the National Commission on Social Studies in the Schools (NCSSS) was formed by the AHA, the Carnegie Foundation, NCSS, and the Organization of American Historians (OAH). The Commission was composed of members from the various groups, but it favored historians because of the participation of AHA and OAH, the other disciplines were included through NCSS. Nash, Crabtree, and Dunn (1997) suggest that historians and educators ended the

50-year silence between the two groups in order to develop standards, but only on the terms of the historians. Social studies advocates were forced to come to the historians' point of view or be left out of the discussion. The recommendations of the Commission did reflect the dominant position of history in social studies (Symcox, 2002). The Commission suggested that high school curriculum should be a three-year program of world and U.S. history, but they also integrated the other social sciences by studying global topics and issues. Middle school was to focus on more local history, as well as local problems, topics, and issues. Even this commission, which was not controlled by neo-conservatives, had a history-centric view of social studies: this view was quickly becoming the established trend in the field (Evans, 2004).

Gilbert Sewell, a neo-conservative working for Education Excellence Council under the guise of the American Textbook Council, critiqued all social studies books as ineffective (Symcox, 2002). For the moment, the neo-conservatives, who favored a very nationalistic agenda for education, found an ally in the university academe, which favored a multicultural perspective towards learning. This differing viewpoint between neo-conservatives and university professors would eventually be catastrophe for the standards movement. Both at the moment, both sides were calling for a set of standards for the curriculum, specifically a history curriculum.

With national standards efforts looking to expand outside of mathematics, the National Endowment of the Humanities (NEH), headed by Lynne Cheney, commissioned the UCLA-based National Center for History in the Schools (NCHS) to create a new history curriculum. This center's work became known as the National Standards for History (NSH). The announcement of this federal grant awarded to NCHS reignited the issue of the dominance of history in social studies. Political scientists, sociologists, geographers, and economists argued that their disciplines deserved equal inclusion within the curriculum. A less important debate did

surface among scientists during the development of the national science standards, but this debate was not about breaking science up into disciplines but was, instead, about the amount of each science to be taught at each grade level (Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn, 1997). Science standards attempted to integrate the various scientific fields under the broad heading of science. Additionally, science could point to a single pedagogy, if slightly flawed, that unified all the disciplines, the scientific method.

Historians, including the two national historical associations, argued for a social science curriculum with history as its primary pillar. Neo-conservatives had managed to elevate history to the top of the standards pile, but the neo-conservatives did not control the content or definition of history curriculum. Symcox (2002) believes that neo-conservatives were motivated by the notion of power “used to legitimize knowledge: to decide which knowledge or truth is the correct one,” which would further legitimize their own political power in America (p. 4). Ravitch advocated for the science model; Cheney supported the notion of multiple groups participating, but she insisted that the standards must remain history focused (Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn, 1997). Symcox (2002), who was assistant director of the NCHS under Charlotte Crabtree, believed the neo-conservative view of the NSH was “a thinly disguised attempt to inculcate students with a relatively conflict-free, consensual view of history;” however, the neo-conservatives were forced to agree to the consensus model for the NSH by the NCHS committee (p. 101).

Many educators still argued for a social studies curriculum, giving attention to all social sciences. This had been the established method since the Final Report and those groups that had not participated in 1916 were afraid to be excluded from decisions. But instead of implementing a system of traditional values through power of content knowledge in history, the neo-conservatives accidentally created a vehicle to bring social meliorism into history education

(Symcox, 2002). Assorted organizations soon established standards groups in the various social science disciplines: geography, civics, and economics studies following the NCHS examples (Schneider, 1993). In 1994, with the *America 2000* plan now getting federal funding, the plan was modified and became law called *Goals 2000*. The national government funded a total of four centers: the original NSH, as well as standards centers for geography, civics, and economics. Congress also changed the standards into a voluntary movement for state and local districts instead of *America 2000*'s more national standards movement (Evans, 2004).

Another Series of Cultural Battles

The NSH project was headed by Gary Nash (U.S. history), Charlotte Crabtree (Elementary Education), and Ross E. Dunn (World history) but they were not the sole authors. In addition to the university faculty, the National Center for History in the Schools had participants from Council of Chief State School Officers (state superintendents), Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (school leaders), Organization of History Teachers, National Council for History Education, National Council for Social Studies, and Council of State Social Studies Specialists (Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn, 1997). The NCHS utilized a consensus model that incorporated university and P-12 educators in collaboration. The consensus model was less about content knowledge and more focused upon the skills and thinking. The NCHS was dedicated to making general education incorporate several of the innovations that developed during the 1960s in the field, especially those that moved history away from the study of great white protestant men (Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn, 1997). The union that had developed to obtain history standards over social studies standards was quickly falling apart.

Origins of the Controversy

The first conflict within the committee dealt with the idea of multiculturalism: how much content in the curriculum should include the struggles, accomplishments, and civic contributions of African Americans or other minorities? Neo-conservatives like Chester Finn favored Eurocentric history; educators and professors favored the inclusion of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism won (Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn, 1997). The next argument was over Eurocentric history (western civilization courses) versus world history. The disagreement fell along political lines with neo-conservatives (e.g., Finn and Ravitch) favoring western civilization and AHA adherents favoring the growing trend towards global history. Once again neo-conservatives lost (Symcox, 2002). The once dominating voice of the neo-conservatives in the push towards standards for the history disciplines were being silenced by the consensus of the committee. Nash suggests that Finn's ideological opposition as part of the project comes from his extreme right political stance and urges that it be dismissed (Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn, 1997). A major paradigm shift in public schools happened as western civilization classes were replaced with global history (Symcox, 2002). This shift also replicated the movement in postsecondary education away from western civilization courses towards global history courses.

The developers of this new curriculum first created a set of guidelines for historical thinking and understanding that were the foundations for the standards. NCHS identifies historical thinking skills as students' ability "to evaluate evidence, develop comparative and causal analyses, interpret the historical record, and construct sound historical arguments and perspectives on which informed decisions in contemporary life can be based" (National Standards for History, Basic Edition, 1996). Nash, Crabtree, and Dunn (1997) stated that "American culture has ... the idea that history, especially the history of the nation, consists of

‘the truth,’ a body of fixed information, objectively known, and that the job of educators is simply to train children’s memories in the facts they need to be loyal and industrious citizens,” a similar view to that which social studies educators have been using for the past 80 years (p. 175).

The NSH project wanted to look at how best to teach historical understanding instead of historical content. NCSS members on the committee advocated that history still be made relevant to the students. Linda Levstik, an NCSS member, favored an active curriculum over the notion of passive learners (focus on content). The standards were divided into two parts: a skills section and a general content section. The broad content items were linked back to specific skills that students were to accomplish through their course of study. The standards, especially the sample lessons, did take a more active student-centered tone (Symcox, 2002). Seixas (1993b) looked at historical understanding in eleventh graders and concluded that teachers were not aiding in the historical understanding of high school students. The standards’ goal was an attempt to move away from the passive memorization method of traditional history teaching. Education incorporated many theories of educational psychology, which was moving away from a teacher-centered classroom to an active student-centered classroom (developmentalist). This was not a trend only in social studies/history but within all the disciplines. Students were to develop skills and critical thinking abilities instead of reciting the year that Jamestown was founded. The NSH divided history skills according to five categories: chronology; comprehension; analysis and interpretation; research; and issue analysis and decision-making. The NCHS developed sample curricula and lesson plans to go along with the standards. The standards focused upon the big picture of historical movements instead of specific content knowledge. They advocated a minimum of six full years of history between fifth and twelfth grades.

The other social sciences mimicked the history pattern, focusing more on skills than content knowledge when they developed their standards. Geography standards were divided into six themes that students needed to understand in order to apply geography skills (National Geographic Society Committee on Research and Exploration [NGSCRE], 1994). These geographic themes included 18 geographic standards across the curriculum. Each standard focused on the geographic skills within each theme so that students developed skills and concepts connected to geography. Geography standards urged two years of study during secondary school, as well as a senior elective course. Civics standards focused on conceptual objectives that related to citizenship and the rationale underlying civics study (Center for Civic Education, 1994). Five major questions formed the basis for standards that revolved around the role of citizens and how the American political system worked. Civics standards consisted of a series of questions that students should be able to answer about civics and government; the standards provided for no underlying skill development. Both the geography and civics standards were generally well received by their stakeholders.

Likewise, the Council of Economic Education focused on concept objectives for student mastery of economics (Council of Economic Education, 2010). The Council of Economic Education enumerated 20 standards for economics that attempted to teach the fundamental ideas and concepts of the discipline as well as an understanding of abstract theories like wealth distribution, the role of prices, and the morals of economic theory. Economic standards were benchmarked in order for students to have varying degrees of understanding of the 20 standards in fourth, eighth, and twelfth grades. Only half of the student population in America took a semester course in economics, but even though it was not represented by a specific course, the impression was that economics needed to be incorporated into lower level curriculum (Buckles

& Watts, 1998). The 20 standards delineated by the Council of Economic Education were content-based so that students were intended to demonstrate an understanding of economic principles rather than mastery of a theoretical framework of skills. The various disciplinary standards, when added together, called for a minimum of eight years of study in secondary school (sixth to twelfth grades) before civics or economics were even added to the secondary curriculum. Administrators simply could not fit the recommended amount of study into a typical school day. Marzano and Kendall (1998) analyzed all the standards for every discipline that received federal funding and calculated that if students were to accomplish every standard and benchmark identified, they would have to be in school for 22 years!

Without federal funding largesse or even federal sanction, the NCSS continued to work on their standards project. Many educators felt that the alternative social studies standards were a reasonable alternative to the overwhelming number of standards within the specific disciplines. Others complained that the NCSS standards were a weak compromise, damaging to all the disciplines. In actuality, the standards were organized into “thematic strands that were clearly disciplinary,” and thus were not really any better than the four other projects (Evans, 2004, p 169). Buckles and Watts (1998) identified that the only set of standards that adequately incorporated economics was the NCSS standards. NCSS tried to focus on skills and general content for all areas with very few specific details in any one area. Further confusing the issue, several groups attempted to create a voice for what the standards movement should look like for social studies. Parker (1991) advocated that local districts renew the curriculum of social studies skills and ignore the debates continuing at the national level. Even though NCSS led the fight, several other social studies organizations attempted to formulate a future for social studies (Evans, 2004). By the end of the national standards movement, between the individual

disciplines and social studies organizations, more than 1,300 pages were devoted to the social studies standards.

The Implications of the National Standards for History

The feuding over the National Standards for History often simplified into two distinct camps; the writers viewed the standards as a way to demonstrate the continuing struggle within America between its ethnic groups. On the other side, the critics sought history standards for creating patriotic subjects who are loyal to the national achievements (Johanek, & Puckett, 2005). These two factions are not new to American society, nor are they new to the social studies debate. The most interesting piece is that historians did not see this conflict coming until it had already happened. By the late 1990s, 28 states adopted the revised history standards as their social studies curriculum which included standards for civics, geography, and economics in a much more watered-down form. Three states had separate civic education standards (Johanek & Puckett, 2005).

Cheney and other conservative opposition was perceived as a *hidden agenda* to exclude minorities in favor of assimilationist faction of civic nationalism (Stern, 2000). In the middle of the NSH was a debate about the nature of history, should it be traditional history (history of dead white men) against history of inclusion (“New History”). The majority of the committee was less about the content and skills, but for neo-conservatives this was the real struggle for the historical discipline (Stern, 2000). The rhetoric used by the neo-conservatives was that of traditionalist history; whereas Nash and others were arguing for developing historical skills akin to the “New Social Studies” movement. Additionally, other parts of society were just as concerned about the lack of content as the neo-conservatives, they saw “extreme multiculturalism [as] ... about turf, power, patronage, and money—it is a very lucrative business” (Stern, 2000, p. 153).

The neo-conservatives were not the only stakeholders to see the NSH fail; multiculturalists definitely had a stake in either promoting or destroying the NSH (Stern, 2000). This co-dependency of neo-conservatives and multiculturalist initiated an argument over the nature of American history and its ultimate historical truth and determining evidence to support that truth (Stern, 2000). The idea that evidence was essential to social studies might have helped establish an authentic pedagogy for the field, yet the politicization of the social studies has made it much harder as standards are being reviewed and revised in governor mansions and state houses. An uneasy balance needs to find as unidentified generic social studies skills are just as problematic as overly content heavy standards (Stern, 2000). Unfortunately, ethnic groups did not see the need to participate in a debate between conservatives and intelligentsia, this apathy would have ramifications later.

Scholars missed the early signs that there would be issues with the new standards. In the summer of 1994, the Smithsonian Institute proposed a permanent display of the *Enola Gay*, the bomber that dropped the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima, Japan. The debate revolved around the question of the national memory that neo-conservatives favored versus the multiculturalism that historians favored. This exhibit became one of the most controversial museum exhibits in U.S. history. A Republican-controlled Congress, veterans, and the American legion squared off against the Smithsonian and historians. Congress stipulated that the Air Force have veto power over parts of the exhibit with which the Air Force disagreed. Historians argued that museums needed freedom from government interference in the displaying of artifacts. The *Enola Gay* controversy politicized history and politicians from all sides wanted their opinions heard (Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn). However, as the *Enola Gay* crisis raged on, the NCHS continued working on their standards without consideration of the political implications of history.

By the end of 1994, NCHS's history standards were mostly complete. Symcox (2002) argues that the world history standards were actually more controversial than the elementary and U.S. history standards, but the U.S. history standards hit closer to home and the public outcry was more politically motivated. The battle over the U.S. history standards derailed the entire national standards movement for all subjects, not just social studies. The war of words included a renewed struggle between neo-conservatives and the history academe over the importance of content knowledge (e.g., George Washington or Nat Turner). Lynne Cheney, the former head of the NEH, wrote an editorial criticizing the U.S. history standards, with which she had been intimately involved, on the eve of their release. Cheney, who had given copies and "knowingly" approved early versions of the history standards, now led the charge against them (Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn, 1997). Cheney claimed the standards attempted to include too many groups (multiculturalism) at the expense of the "important" facts of history. Her claims mobilized neoconservative pundits, who jumped on the bandwagon and began criticizing the standards. The general media started the counting game, identifying the number of times particular names or events appeared in the standards or lesson plans. Among the issues that upset neo-conservatives was the negativity towards certain episodes of the American past – such as McCarthyism or racism – instead of a hagiographical narrative of how America has attempted to create a more perfect union (Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn, 1997).

The central question raised by this controversy was not about whether history or social studies should be taught but was instead about the very purpose of history education (Evans, 2004). This question has plagued social studies curriculum for decades. Nash, Crabtree, and Dunn (1997) would claim the neo-conservatives believed that "history, like politics, is about national identity" and whoever controlled history controlled national identity (p. 7). Critics of the

standards movement saw it as an attempt to maintain an America dominated by Eurocentric ideals in order to keep minorities in their traditional roles. Before the firestorm died down, Cheney and Nash had held televised public debates over the standards. Print media tended to like the tone of the history standards but few individuals or groups enthusiastically supported them (Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn, 1997).

During the middle of the cultural war, NAEP unveiled the framework for the 1994 U.S. history assessment. The framework actually paralleled the NSH to a large degree, but no one criticized the NAEP for the similarities (Symcox, 2002). In response to the imminent unveiling of the National Standards for History, Senator Slade Gorton (R-WA) called for a vote to abolish all standards even before the full history standards were unveiled. The Senate vote passed 99-1 and the standards were rejected by the Senate. In many ways, this controversy mirrored the troubles brought on by the 1943 *New York Times* survey. Nash and Dunn attempted to quell the controversy by redrafting the standards into a smaller single volume and they deleted many of the suggested classroom activities that were at the heart of the controversy. Risinger (1995) says that the opposition to the NSH misapprehended the goals of the standards, which were to revision history education with a skills-oriented focus. The opposition did not criticize the notion of making students have historical understanding; instead, they criticized the absence of their desired content. Risinger (1995), a member of the NCHS committee, further believes that the primary goal of the standards was to create an “informed citizenry” (p. 389). This suggests that the general feeling among the writers of the NSH was that, through the study of history, teachers can develop “good” citizens.

The standards movement continued to be problematic as more people started to criticize it. Darling-Hammond (1994) argued that the formation of National Standards for History would

simply consist of a list of terms that students would have to learn to pass a test. She felt that standards would not allow students to learn and grow. Furthermore, she predicted that standards would “create a static and bounded conception of curriculum that is at odds with this understanding of learning” (Darling-Hammond, 1994, p. 481). Parents, teachers, and other stakeholders feared that standards would eventually lead to national testing even though the national assessment aspect of standards reform had been removed prior to the convening of any standards setting projects (Evans, 2004). In 1980s, the Christian Coalition, headed by Pat Robertson, spearheaded another attempt to eliminate the Department of Education as a way to guarantee that funding of education would be subject to parental control. Symcox (2002) argues that “evangelical Christians condemn[ed] the child-centered teaching methods by educational theorists and psychologists” because they wanted to control the factual knowledge accessible to students (p. 151). The NSH were also caught up in the growing trend among Christian conservatives to question general educational techniques.

Thus, the NSH became a lightning rod for educational problems and especially highlighted the perils of federal involvement in education (Nash, Crabtree, & Dunn, 1997). Ironically, orders poured in for the NSH; many educators ignored Cheney and the other neo-conservatives in order to have a set of history standards at last. Symcox (2002) insinuates that the neo-conservatives won the 1990s cultural war because they used simple language to sway the public; the historians who understood the complexities of history, on the other hand, tried to argue with the public about the abstractions of teaching of history. Nash, Crabtree, and Dunn (1997) argue that the real target of the neo-conservatives was actually not the NSH and that the neo-conservatives were actual targeting political funding of the NEH and the National Endowment of the Arts. Whether or not the history standards were the target, the standards were

undermined and ultimately were not adopted by the national government. But despite the failure of the standards at the federal level, state Departments of Education still needed to find curricula for social studies and/or history education.

The standards were not limited to the discipline of history, standards were created by geography, civics, economics, and social studies. After the dismantling of the standards movement, experts from their disciplines were utilized to determine the standards (Costrell, 2000). Those experts felt that their discipline was as important as any other discipline and should be given equal amount of time as any other discipline, unfortunately the reality is that social studies is a second-tier subject that dated back to the 1890s. Moreover, the experts do not deal with questions of relevancy to the students nor the interconnectedness of the field of social studies.

The *voluntary* economic standards that were developed in the late 1990s by “non-economists, who refuse and reject professional input” did not have the same appeal to university economists (Costrell, 2000, p. 170). Of the social studies disciplines, economists tend to be the most supportive of their discipline being incorporated into the other social studies disciplines or more likely the general term *social studies* (Costrell, 2000). Costrell (2000) points out one of the biggest problems with discipline specific standards is that disciplines do not integrate other disciplines well into their standards. For example, the U.S. history standards neglect the inclusion of economic reasoning which was a major criticism from economist because NCHS did not include either an economic historian or economist in the development of standards. So, when developing their examples of teaching for the Great Depression, the standards neglected the abundant scholarly literature developed by economists that debunked several traditional myths. Additionally, any pertinent teaching examples on the causes of the Great Depression from the

initial National Standards for History examples were eliminated from the revised NSH due to the political pressure, various stakeholders had to determine how to teach the causes of the Great Depression with no framework or literature. The textbook makers utilized some of the examples from the original NSH, but mostly it was left to their discretion (Costrell, 2000). Costrell (2000) feels that model used by Massachusetts utilized for standards of *History and Social Science* where the various disciplines get to supply input into the standards seems the most logical method for developing standards.

Aftermath of the National Standards Movement

George H.W. Bush and Bill Clinton administration used standards, assessments, and accountability to encourage a systemic reform effort within education (Evers, 2014). The standards under Bush were to be content based standards. Under Clinton, the standards tended to move toward more skill focus which might coincide with a general swing by educational reformers to a more student-centered model for teaching. The NCSS advocated within their 1996 standards for an issue-based authentic pedagogy (signature pedagogy) for social studies due to the importance of civic education (Simon, 2005). Scholars believe that the standardized testing culture to narrowly focuses the curriculum to measure “discrete pieces of information from an assumed uniform curriculum” (Simon, 2005, p. 115). Democratic deliberations and issue-centered curriculum do not fit into those discrete pieces of information and thus they cannot be adequately measured. Teachers who want to focus on citizen education are punished because the high-stakes testing culture goes against their pedagogy (Simon, 2005). At the time of the NSH development, America experienced a historic transitional event. The Cold War was ending and all the ideological underpinnings and rationales for American education came into question again. The idea that America needed patriotic furor in defense of the nation had dissipated with

the fall of Communism (Tosh, 2008). Could this transition also undermined the consensus notion of citizenship education? The high points of traditionalist agitation often happened at periods when America was in an apparent struggle with outside forces: 1940s, 1950s, and 1980s. History will continue to reexamine itself to determine the roles of international politics plays in domestic decisions.

The impact of testing upon the standards movement cannot be ignored, an assessment should only reflect the objectives of the subject which should be spelled out in the standards developed. Democratic deliberations are about confronting contemporary issues that interest students. This notion is similar to Rugg's *Problem of Democracy* curriculum but with more student-directed input rather than teacher led curriculum (Simon, 2005). Civics educators are weary of the reliance on social studies as the means for incorporating civics into the curriculum, they have noted the decrease in the amount of civic education that students have been taking since the 1960s. In the 1960s, curriculum commonly offered three courses related to civic education; whereas in the 1990s students commonly take only a single semester of any civic education. Civic education is scattered throughout the general social studies curriculum dominated by history education (Johanek & Puckett, 2005).

Johanek and Puckett (2005) discussed the Civics NAEP that noted a noticeable achievement gap in the scores between whites and other minorities. They noted that a part of the achievement gap might also be connected to the lack of relevance to those groups within the social studies curriculum. The desire of conservative groups to create a patriotic citizen is problematic if all the examples are white males; the exclusion of other groups is problematic. The pedagogical argument for citizenship education has been to create patriotic citizens by teaching them but not engaging them. Scholars theorized that educated citizens are more likely to

participate civic activities. Johnson (2005) pointed out that teachers who do not have a voice in creating policy or curriculum, should not be expected to teach students about how to best be citizen advocates. The example to the students is counter to the goal of citizenship education.

The National Standards for History should not be considered the final version that dictates all future curriculum but should instead be viewed as a good start for further development of curriculum (Dunn, 2009). As an outgrowth of the new focus on historical thinking skills in the NSH, new research has been conducted into student understanding of historical concepts. Various scholars (e.g., Barton, VanSledright, & Wineburg) started to examine student understanding of historical concepts as outlined in the NSH. Much of the new research has focused on elementary levels, challenging the Piagetian notion that students did not develop an ability to understand abstract concepts, especially time, until the fifth grade. Barton and Levstik (1996) conducted interviews with 58 students (K-6) to determine student understanding of time. The researchers established the notion that younger students understand the concept of time; however, the researchers also discovered that student understanding and articulation of time develop over the course of the elementary school years. VanSledright and Kelly (1998) examined whether students could achieve some form of historical understanding. They determined that teachers do play a role in encouraging students to use alternative sources in order to understand ideas but that students do not always gain an understanding of historical concepts. In a more comprehensive examination of history across various levels, Wineburg (2001) conducted several studies into the cognitive theory of student understanding of the past. Wilschut (2009) points out that “reading a source is not an historical skill, but interpreting content of a source *from some other time*” is a skill that was not a focus of social studies or history education before the 1990s (p. 128-9).

Civic nationalism has once again become a focus of social studies; however, the direction of the reform is in flux as scholars attempt to understand how to develop *good* citizens. Barton and McCully (2006) scrutinize Northern Ireland's attempts to connect student understanding of history to identity and how student attitudes change after exposure to the national curriculum. They conclude that historical understanding is formed at an early age and that school history classes add to, but do not supersede, student identity. In fact, the research suggests that students use various sources to mold their own national identities to conform to their beliefs. Barton (2009) followed up on the identity study that was hailed as a success. But Barton also determined that national identity is formed before students are introduced to Northern Ireland's national curriculum. Alonso-Tapia and Villa (1999) looked at the understanding of causality by seventh-graders. According to the Spanish National Standards, students are supposed to master the concept of causality in seventh grade. They determined that most students did not achieve this objective as set in the National curriculum. Thus, Alonso-Tapia and Villa (1999) were not able to deduct why students could not achieve the causality concept as set by the curriculum but felt there was a connection to the development of the concept in lower levels.

Social Studies Standards in the Realm of Accountability

A national curriculum and a national assessment were side-tracked by the history standards dispute. The controversy over the NSH "reveals how policymakers and opinion-makers, including academics, pundits, politicians, and the press, used their positions to advance particular intellectual and ideological agendas, and how their contending efforts drove curricular policy throughout the 1980s and 1990s" (Symcox, 2002, p. 2-3). Attempts were made to put aside partisanship in the 2000s with the passage of the No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act of 2002. Aspects of the standards movement even began to reappear in NCLB as it called for states

to establish state standards. In the end, despite all the controversy, the standards movement did not die; it simply shifted from federal governance to state governance. States did develop standards but the similarities between the social studies standards vary extensively, more than other subjects. State standards movements eventually turned into the Common Core curriculum which attempted to develop a form of standards for social studies once again.

For several years, two sets of national standards in existence; those created by national professional organizations (i.e., NCSS, NCTM) and those created by National Assessment Governing Board (NAGB) for the NAEP (Goertz, 2009). Since 1918, two types of standards have existed, one for program and another for content, which aligned with the notion of a set of standards for college-bound students (more akin to Committee of Ten recommendations) and a set of standards for vocational or non-college bound students (more akin to *Cardinal Principles*) setting up a system of two different standards (Goertz, 2009). The standards based reforms initiated by *A Nation at Risk* were an attempt to merge these into a single set of standards for all students. These reforms were a major shift within education by align the curriculum, connecting teacher preparation, and measuring student achievement (Goertz, 2009). The educational reforms of the 1990s laid the groundwork for NCLB because the legislation demanded standards in reading and mathematics, assessments, and identification of low performing schools, NCLB did not happen in a vacuum it was more of a crowning of the 1990s reforms.

The National Level and Social Studies

Many states had implemented standards-based reforms during the late 1990s, Texas was one of those states attempting a terrible record of educating students. The Texas miracle where standards and state testing aligned to those standards showed student achievement increased over a couple year period. The education reforms of Governor George W. Bush formed the basis for

the national reforms upon Bush's election to the presidency. Upon the reauthorization of the ESEA (more commonly called No Child Left Behind Act), Bush implemented many of the strategies of that neo-conservatives had been calling for over the previous 15 years. Haney (2000) was documenting how the Texas miracle was only a temporary increase to student achievement, eventually student scores regressed to the mean. One of the stipulations that states had to agree to in order to receive federal money was the implementation of state standards for all core subjects, nearly all states except for Nebraska and Iowa had standards for the mathematics and language arts (Carnoy and Loeb, 2002). By 2004, all states had standards in mathematics, language arts, science, and social studies. A side effect was that some states developed *good* standards and others did not.

Another aspect of NCLB was that states needed to make teachers, schools, and districts accountable for all student to learn the standards. This implementation of accountability has typically dominated the conversation about NCLB because accountability meant measuring student achievement through state assessments. The focus of NCLB on assessing reading and mathematics would have placed undue strain on state officials to generate a valid test based on their 2004 standards (Levinson, 2012). This seems to be a common opinion among the literature that assessing social studies would have been "too contentious" and thus it would be better to remain apart from the testing (Levinson, 2012, p. 254). Levinson (2012) believes that standards, assessments, and accountability help to foster the democratic character within education by establishing a system of checks on citizenship education. Education is the core of *civic empowerment* that need mechanisms to maintain an oversight over the educational system.

The debate over National Standards did not end; many conservative education think-tanks still favored some form of national standards. In 2006, Center for American Progress and

Thomas B. Fordham Institute joined together to oversee a gathering for the potential of national standards (Debray-Pelot, 2009). The groups supported coalition, claimed that not enough content was within the standards being developed by states (Debray-Pelot, 2009). The example that the coalition used was the claims of proficiency by states compared with the level of proficiency exhibited on the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP). Similar to NCLB, both national political parties once again introduced legislation for some form of voluntary national standards in the form of Standards to Provide Educational Achievement for All Kids (SPEAK) Act. This legislation was designed to encourage the National Assessment Governing Board (NAGB) to create voluntary national standards aligned with the NAEP (Debray-Pelot, 2009). Soon other groups (i.e., MacArthur and Gates Foundation) were advocating voluntary national standards in reading, mathematics, and science that were more rigorous than the ones created by individual states under NCLB (Debray-Pelot, 2009).

The call for national standards was because states did not reform under NCLB, rather the appearance that student scores on the NAEP were not improving even though students were improving on the state assessments (Debray-Pelot, 2009). Politicians had hoped that educational reform policy would be adopted and student achievement would be able to attain the 100% goal of student proficiency by 2014. Policymakers utilize history to either defend their particular policy or they use history to justify the discontinuation of a particular policy often the examples are misapplied or misunderstood (Dougherty, 2009). One of the major problems between history and the other social sciences, historians should not use records to test a hypothesis, support an argument, or develop a theory; they raise questions from exploration of evidence and continually reframe questions as new evidence is discovered. Most other social scientists tend to follow some form of the scientific method which is to use evidence to prove a theory (Steffes, 2012).

Historians want to examine and explain how change happens, especially as it is connected to the notion of chronology (Steffes, 2012). Ultimately, the differences in epistemological approaches might be the biggest problem with social studies that attempts to blend two very different epistemological approaches to a single discipline in order to create a single authentic pedagogy.

Implications of high-stakes accountability are perceived to change teacher instruction, to narrow the curriculum, and ignore the lowest and highest achieving students (Goertz, 2009). Are these the only negative implications? Vinovskis (2009) noted that most of the research is directed at mathematics, reading, and science; where social studies has received less concern. Vinovskis (2009) calls for more rigorous investigation into student understanding of historical thinking but the lack of focus on social studies means few investigations are being conducted in the field. Vinovskis (2009) claim that the rationale that policymakers want to keep history as part of the curriculum is the learning of history is believed to prepare future citizens. Traditionally, students understanding of history has been similar to other subjects tested by the NAEP, flat with few students obtaining the NAEP level of proficient (Vinovskis, 2009). Secretary Spelling proclaimed the NCLB was *working* when student scores were compared between the 2001 and 2006 NAEP exams in U.S. History and Civics (Vinovskis, 2009); ironically NCLB does not require any accountability of social studies beyond the creation of state standards. Policymakers tend to favor a more traditional approach to social studies where history is based on a shared heritage instead of an examination of historical evidence (Vinovskis, 2009).

The enduring myth of social studies education is that at some point – in any society, not only America – a bygone generation knew more about the past than the current generation: this is an historic fallacy (Halvorsen, 2012; Henry, 1993; Lee & Howson, 2009). Nash, Crabtree, and Dunn (1997) quoted famed historian Christopher Hill, who said that history needed to be re-

written every generation not because history changes but because the present changes. “The very introduction of history into the curricula of Western countries in the nineteenth century ... clearly was politically motivated. To forge national unity, citizens of nation-states should develop a feeling of belonging to a community, and it was believed that sharing a common past could enhance the development of such sentiments” (Symcox, 2009, p. 1). Other countries, including the Netherlands and England, have faced similar struggles over the role of history and methods for teaching it in schools (Barton 2009; Symcox, 2009).

In 1994, historians suffered the same setback that social studies advocates had dealt with numerous times before, when traditionalist interests imposed their vision on curriculum. Likewise, the traditionalists, with the help of social efficiency experts, resurrected the myth that the current generation had not mastered as much content as previous generations. Additionally, social studies curriculum was divided once more among the various social sciences with no clear vision for the field in the public curriculum. Numerous studies (Grant, 2006b; Heafner et al., 2007; Hutton, & Burstein, 2008; Kelly, Meuwissen, & VanSledright, 2007; McGuire, 2007; O’Connor, Heafner, & Groce, 2007; Savage, 2003; Seixas, 1994; Sorensen, 2006; Stevens, Wineburg, Herrenkohl, & Bell, 2005; Vogler & Virtue, 2007; Yeager & van Hover, 2006) focus on the floundering of social studies in the era of high-stakes testing. As a result, no vision for history, civics, economics, or geography education is provided because all of these disciplines simply cannot be taught when social studies itself is being squeezed out of the public education, only to be replaced by tested subjects such as reading, writing, mathematics, and science. Barton (2009) echoes the problem with traditional history teaching when he warns that practitioners “may render history meaningless if [history educators] adhere so closely to the academic discipline that we neglect to help students understand the myriad ways in which the past is used

in contemporary society” (p. 266). Thus, convincing policy makers and the public alike of the relevance of history and/or social studies will be the key to the field’s continued existence.

Teaching of American History (TAH) program was an afterthought by Senator Robert Byrd (D-WV) that would be included in NCLB act. The amendment would fund \$100 million for local education agencies to join with other institutions (higher education, historical organizations, museums, etc.) to determine ways for teachers to improve history education (Vinovskis, 2009). TAH was similar to the “New Social Studies” projects of the 1960s, where a lot of work was done with little dissemination of the information gathered. The TAH did not develop a mechanism for evaluating the programs or practices, nor what constituted a standard which to define (Vinovskis, 2009). The TAH was discontinued in 2012 due to governmental and economic fiscal problems.

The Common Core, Literacy, and Social Studies

The importance of social studies for high school students is apparent in the fact nearly 4 million Advanced Placement exams taken in 2013, about 40% were from social studies courses (U.S. history, World history, U.S. government, comparative government, European history, psychology, microeconomics/macroeconomics, and human geography). And the number appears to be increasing each year. Evers (2014) points out that Common Core started in 2006 by state education leaders and standards advocates from the Bush and Clinton administration. The Common Core of education standards were developed to create voluntary state standards for a consortium of states. The state governors decided to initiate the consortium with the intent to develop *de facto* national standards, followed by a national level assessment aligned to those standards. The lessons from the NSH storm were considered when creating the Common Core standards; firstly the standards were created by a private financed company (independent of the

any government funding) and secondly, this also removed the oversight at the federal level (Evers, 2014). Achieve, Inc. was created in 1996 as a non-profit advocacy and consulting firm by the National Governors Association and would eventually formulate the Common Core Standards. Achieve suggested that the national government encourage states to participate in the Common Core based on the German reform model.

The Common Core is generally focused upon language arts and mathematics. For social studies, there are two different strands with the common core, one is tied to language arts and the other is the College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards. The language arts is primarily about teaching literacy skills; the standards are called *Common Core State Standards for English Language Arts in History/Social Studies, Science, and Technical Subjects* (CCSS-ELA). This set of standards is a cross discipline series of standards for promoting literacy across the school curriculum. The focus of CCSS-ELA is primarily on elementary level literacy skills among the curriculum courses outside of language arts. The Common Core shifted the reading pedagogy in elementary away from fictional accounts towards more non-fiction accounts, particularly science and social studies related. Lee (2013) notes that with the focus on literacy, teachers are paying attention to the development of reading skills, not the skills associated with the discipline. The discipline focus within the CCSS-ELA for social studies is on document analysis, use of evidence, and democratic discourse which at times appear in line with traditional social studies pedagogy. Lee (2013) points out that teachers favor a more integrated approach to curriculum as articulated in the CCSS-ELA. However, this is where marginalization of social studies curriculum is generally seen; teachers spend less than three hours a week on social studies, often viewing it as the least important subject. Lee (2013)

believes that the CCSS-ELA will increase the use of social studies within the elementary grades in an attempt to reverse the marginalization trend of the early 21st century.

The social studies standards created under the Common Core are the College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards were unveiled in 2013 to the general public. They were not adopted; they were to go through a process similar to the other standards where the committee would receive feedback and revise them. A revision has not been put out nor a date on when the C3 standards should be adopted. The C3 standards parallel the CCSS-ELA standards in the sense that they rely upon skills more than content (Au, 2013). Some of the critiques of the C3 standards are that they blindly accept democratic values as always good and that America is generally portrayed in only positive aspects, no questioning of social issues—a very traditional interpretation of citizenship education (Au, 2013). In June 2013, the Council of Chief State School Officers announced that they were focusing on the implementation of the Common Core standards for language arts and mathematics and thus did not have the resources to deal with revisions of the C3 standards. The NCSS took over the responsibility of overseeing the revising portion and implementation of the C3 standards (Gewertz, 2013)

One of the biggest concerns regarding the Common Core was the comparison of educational reforms across states, so instead of periodic samples across states with the NAEP, there would be yearly data to compare groups of students and see whether reform efforts are being successful (Evers, 2014). This is a double-edged sword, good to see what works, bad for politicians who will receive blame if education across state borders are not improving as fast. Au (2013) believes that the literacy standards are acceptable for basic standards, but they are not standards developed specifically for social studies or history. In fact, Au (2013) states that they

are the opposite of most social studies standards that rely too much on content, CCSS-ELA standards rely solely on skills.

States and Local Controversies

Since the failure of the NSH, the focus at the national level has dissipated but the controversies at the state level has reignited several of the same conflicts. While discussing the Kentucky accountability system, Cunningham (2004) pointed out that one of the major benefits and problems with content standards is that the participants in the process are passionate about their content. States get experts in their fields, often university professors from the disciplines, for social studies do states gather all the disciplines or simply those disciplines that they think are important. The implications can be incredible for the field of social studies. They tend to develop standards in the ideal world and have trouble conceiving of a reason to considering spending effort on other content. Thus, the content tends to be too broad and teachers are not able to cover all the material adequately.

Textbooks are a critical part of any classroom. They also provide a way to control the curriculum to maintain the dominant culture over the minorities (Foster, 2012). Attempts to “correct” history textbooks began in the 1880s when the Union veterans under the organization of the Grand Army of the Republic started calling for corrections to history textbooks about the Civil War (Tyack, James, and Benavot, 1987). Southern states wanted textbooks that presented the *true* history of war of Southern independence used in history classes.

The polarization of politics in American society has had an immense influence on social studies education as multiculturalists argue for more inclusion of American past sins while equally politically charged groups want to indoctrinate an ideological agenda upon students that impose a white Anglo-Saxon protestant image on America (Loveless, 2014). Loveless (2014)

implies that debates about content and pedagogy have been limited to schools of education and only occasionally appearing in public forums. The change happened when accountability allowed the public to track schools and measure if teachers are performing their duties of educating American youth. Educators bemoan the unintended consequences of large-scale assessments, especially of the narrowing of the curriculum, yet parents and politicians do not seem to criticize the narrowing of the curriculum (Loveless, 2014).

Several public controversies have erupted in the past decade over the use of social studies textbooks (Campbell, 2013). In California, many ethnic groups feel that social studies standards in the state do not reflect the population or the scholarship of the times. The most publicized was the Hinduism controversy in sixth-grade textbooks during 2005-2006. Two Hindu religious groups used the California revision process to *correct* facts about Hinduism and Indian history; however, the new information contradicted general established literature in order to support the perspectives of the religious groups (Bose, 2008). Bose (2008) makes a case on how the Hindu religious groups used their version of history to be imposed on the general population understanding of Indian history; likewise Bose (2008) compares this Hindu religious attitude with the attitudes of the Christian right and its influence on social studies curriculum. Controversy is not limited to political leanings, religious, and other social markers can have just as important influence on what content should or should not be included in social studies curriculum.

On the other side, politics in Texas attempted to limit the voices of ethnic groups from the curriculum. In 2009, Texas revised their social studies standards, politics played a larger role in the formation of content standards than in the codification of skills objectives. Lepore (2010) conflated the rise of a political party with the ideas embodied in the Texas Social Studies

Standards stating that a member of Texas School Board was joining history and religion by pushing forward the new state standards. By parts of society this was a reverse of the multiculturalism of the 1994 NSH. NAACP claimed this was an attempt to indoctrinate students with a 1940s version of history. Politicians once again were manipulating the history in order to indoctrinate students (Lepore, 2010), standards can be used by both sides. In another classroom, students were investigating the causes of the American Revolution where they were shifting through evidence, evaluating the evidence, and critically synthesizing the evidence to recreate history, ultimately the standards are controlled by the political party in control, but the teacher can still utilize good teaching if they are equipped with the right tools. How much difference is there between the Massachusetts standards and the Texas standards?

Savit (2009) identifies legal cases going through the courts concerning adequate funding for social studies programs within states. The “courts could require states to provide students with the level of education outlined in state standards” but adds that this still would not address the issue of good standards (Savit, 2009, p. 1303). When Fordham Institute evaluated state standards for U.S. history, Stern and Stern (2011) declared that most state standards were “mediocre-to-awful” (p. 2). Their criteria were whether the standards included a chronological thinking and not “ahistoric themes organized into different social studies strands” in other words as long as it wasn’t social studies (Stern & Stern, 2011, p. 7). Kidwell (2005) examined state policy and civic education in P-12 and concluded that, due to the general lack of quality found in state standards for civics, much of the understanding of civics came from individual teachers.

Conclusion

Standards are evolving and incorporate various aspects of citizenship education motivation and how best to teach people to be citizens. Grant (2007) identified a primary

dilemma facing the social studies/history education community, whereby professors, teachers, and policymakers do not work together to develop effective curricula. This failure was caused by the differing goals that each of these three groups pursues (Grant, 2007). University professors' research education without returning it to the classroom, teachers spend most of their time preparing students for tests or advancement, and policymakers are only interested in assessing students (Grant, 2007). This dilemma might be an oversimplification of the issues with regard to social studies education, yet this illustrates a real problem within social studies education. In order to create effective curriculum, these groups need a common starting point. During the development of the National Standards for History (NSH), the committee's goal was to strengthen "the cooperative trend among educators because it brought together a large team of historians, teachers, curators, and other interested citizens" and their united defense of their discipline(s) formed a bond among them (Nash, Crabree, & Dunn, 1997, p. 370-1); however, they neglect to mention the undermining of social studies leaders who had been working on establishing the importance of social studies in the curriculum. The new material and mentality from the original "New Social Studies" movement was finally filtering down to the classrooms, but the outcomes were not the intended outcomes that project centers had anticipated.

Considering the interaction of Grant's (2007) three groups, the common point is often civic education, yet the competing methods to achieve civic education have led to some pedagogical structure problems for social studies. Some of the misconceptions about the field of social studies education can be attributed to an endemic failure to understand why *social studies* originated (Nelson, 2001). Historians adhere to a view that social studies came about and *destroyed* history education. History was a well-established discipline with a clear purpose that social studies corrupted and changed the purpose. Social studies advocates attribute its formation

to a congruence of several events in 1916 forming a disciplinary “Big Bang Theory” (Saxe, 1992). Both of these interpretations neglect the complexity of determining the truth in history. Social studies’ actual origins are more confused and complex that influence the field today. Fortunately, each new analysis of the field’s origins has given researchers more insight into the conceptual and ideological underpinnings of the field itself. The idea of social studies was not an afterthought in the education reform movement; it was more an issue of reconceptualization of the field that is still debated today.

During the 1990s, the key historians constructing the National Standards for History (NSH) identified the project’s main goal as constructing a new way to transform students into citizens. However, this goal was not an innovative reform, just the latest spin on a century old debate. Tosh (2008) believes that academic historians tend to remove themselves from the world and implications of history due to the potential political ramifications. This aloofness can be seen in the evolution of the social studies standards with potentially dangerous ramifications for the field. The experiment of social studies may be coming to an end, but so may the inclusion of all its disciplines within public education. The value of the social studies seems to be a question that policymakers say is important, but it is also one of the first areas cut.

“Reform movements begin as responses to a perceived threat, and usually they reflect shifts in the political culture” so 1890s, 1940s, and 1980s saw a rise in conservative reforms, whereas 1920s, 1960s, and 1970s saw a rise in liberal reforms within education (Symcox, 2002, p. 12). The origins of social studies education are embedded in the origins of American curriculum. Before effective curricula can be made, social studies practitioners (P-12 teachers) must understand when, why, and how American curriculum developed, as well as who played instrumental roles in its evolution (Saxe, 1992).

Harold Rugg attempted to formulate an authentic pedagogy through his textbook series (problem-based learning) for use in the *Problems of Democracy* course. Progressive educators continued and expanded civic education into the general curriculum with social studies at the center of the curriculum. Traditionalist, at the beginning of the Second World War, undermine the focus of developing citizens with a desire to return to more nationalist history; this would continue into the 1950s with the assistance of the McCarthyism. “New Social Studies” arose to infuse interdisciplinary discovery-based learning led by academics through projects; however following their lead, teachers and students would devise their own curriculum based around relevant issues. Conservatives attacks on the MACOS would lead to a renewed effort to return to more traditionalist teaching. Neo-conservatives determined that social studies permitted this continual pulling away from the focus of nationalist education (rise of textbook controversies) and they begin the process of disentangling of social studies into its disciplines. During a economic crisis a new Red Scare returns politicians attention to education, *A Nation at Risk*. Its publication starts a process of accountability for the rising costs of education and seeks ways to determine why schools are failing, rise of federal oversight. Implementing history standards to limit the influence of liberal social sciences, however history standards include the principles of cultural pluralism and thus must be rejected. States are left to determine their own standards for social studies, some return of traditional history, others embrace multiculturalism in the standards, and most attempt to blend both sides with little success. Consequentially, controversies continue over content, textbooks, and purpose of standards.

For most of social studies’ lifecycle, history is the glue holding together all of the social sciences. The debates and in-fighting between the social sciences has weakened the field to the point where it is viewed as less important than the other core subjects. Due to the political nature

of the disciplines, both history and social studies have issues with the ways they are defined in society. Tosh (2008) explains that the three traditional functions for historical knowledge are: creating an imagined community (indoctrination); explaining how we got our rights and justifying them; and training to evaluate evidence (favored by historians). At the dawn of the standards, historians did not isolate themselves from the other social sciences, nor did the social scientist seek to extricate history from the curriculum. This notion is a form of what Sam Wineburg (2001) calls *presentism* on the part of contemporary commenters trying to justify their conceptualization of citizenship education.

These uses of historical knowledge can form common ground for the disciplines and social studies (Nelson, 2001). The backgrounds that historians and social studies educators share could be embraced to strengthen the field (Fallace, 2008). Politics and issues of definition will doubtless persist for many years. Given the inevitability of conflict, social studies professionals and educators must decide what the future holds for social studies education. Educators must examine the history of the social studies movement and learn from its problems and triumphs; otherwise, in the immortal words of George Santayana, the history of social science education is doomed to repeat itself. Historians should consider a fourth rationale for historical knowledge to help students make informed decisions as citizens (Tosh, 2008); this rationale would align the disciplines together under a common umbrella.

No matter the time period or the political perspective, a common goal of social studies education has always been to prepare students to be citizens. Often the debate is over pedagogy, what is the best approach to preparing citizens. The real debates within the field tend to focus upon the best way to make students become engaged citizens.

The narrative has begun to shift away from the notion of field or discipline organization to concern over skills, thinking, and content. Leaders of the social studies movement would argue that their discipline is more about skills and thinking than about content. Both history and social studies advocates want students to think about issues; the main difference is when the thinking framework should begin. Historians want to begin with the past whereas social studies practitioners argue for a more contemporaneous and relevant focus. Tosh (2008) suggests that historians suffer from the trap of thinking *about* history, thus students are taught to think *about* history. He advocates that historians should think *with* history and teach students to also think *with* history. In many ways this is the core belief of what many historians and social studies advocates claim is the purpose of their field.

Disconnecting history from the present to avoid political waters, like multiculturalism or nationalism, is problematic. Granted a level of objectivity is obtained about historical decisions but at the cost of its implications for the future (Tosh, 2008). The price of objectivity by avoiding questions of relevance might be the field's consequential validity for all the disciplines under social studies. An interesting proposal, Hanna (1987) suggests a very progressive view in that fact that a child world does not simply comprise of history alone, rather all the social sciences help to make them people and thus the field needs all the elements to generate a quality individual. Hanna (1987) advocated that social studies as a blending of the social sciences should be taught in elementary grades, whereas the field should be divided up in secondary into the various disciplines (similar to science education); yet the various stakeholders would have to forget its interpretation of the past and move the field forward.

Social studies is often described as dry and boring. The curriculum tends to be a focus on information-assimilation. Teachers are focused on students getting the *right* answers as

determined by the state standards. The skills that students are trained to learn in traditional social studies classes include: determining what is on the test; obtaining short-term recall for the test; and addressing specific individual points. A guiding principle of Jerome Bruner's that influenced "New Social Studies" movement is "the content of learning is the data of reflection we are saying, in a different context, that no content has meaning apart from the method by which it is verified and used, an assumption that is basic to many of the current projects in social studies" (Hunt & Metcalf, 1968, p. 283). Content and context matter for social studies and the teacher's role is to determine ways to blend them together. Tosh (2008) calls this blending the *organic relationship* between the past and present. Kelly, Meuwissen, and VanSledright (2007) offer two alternatives for the future of social studies: continue the humanist model of memorizing facts or create a "rich history curriculum with powerful pedagogical practices and learning outcomes" (p. 138). Standards are created and reviewed every ten years in social studies, but most of the focus of these reviews tends to be on content facts rather than skills. A gap exists between the expert-devised standards and what students actually learn. Grant (2007) states that social studies curriculum decision-making is accomplished by three very different groups: professors, policymakers, and teachers. Social studies teachers try to interpret the standards and make them fit the reality of the classroom.

The Future of Social Studies Standards

Levinson (2012) compares the Texas Standards controversy of 2010 with the National Standards for History fiasco in the early 1990s. Both processes were based on a consensus model representing a very democratic process. Yet, as the Common Core was being adopted by the states, this reemphasized the trend of politics voicing a say in the education standards and why

the Common Core did not necessitate the need to develop social studies standards at the time (Levinson, 2012).

In 2010, Ravitch (2010) announced that her continual support of national standards were now unadvisable because standards implied that there could only be “correct answers” to the questions formulated by the standards. She had been a longtime advocate for social studies standards, but in actuality she favored history standards. She claims that most state standards were devoid of any meaning or “concrete descriptions” (i.e., content), she was annoyed that social studies did not mention many historical content examples within the standards (Ravitch, 2010). So she feels that the standards do not require students to know any historical content. *A Nation at Risk* was a “response to the radical school reforms of the late 1960s and early 1970s” and thus it was necessary to use to fix the problems of the educational reformers (Ravitch, 2010, p. 23). She saw these reforms as causing the dilemma that American education has been put through since then, and the examples she uses for the problems of the reforms were allowing an English teacher to teach mathematics, and a mathematics teacher to teach English, this does not seem to be what most of the educational reforms tried to attain.

Ravitch (2010) wanted to see a return to a strict content-based standards which never really existed. Ravitch (2010) believes now that testing has harmed non-tested subjects, for example a New York City elementary teacher stopped teaching social studies, science, and art in order to devote all their energy to test preparation for reading and mathematics. States report that their students are learning more each year because test scores are going up, yet NAEP scores remain generally flat across the board (Ravitch, 2010). One of the fallacies of testing is that *good* teachers raise test scores and a *good* teacher is determined by improving test scores (Ravitch, 2010). This seems to lead to a faulty conclusion.

In the past year, social studies has seen some very disturbing developments. The NAGB announced that they were discontinuing the NAEP assessment of fourth and twelfth grades for U.S. History, Geography, and Civics beginning in the 2014 assessment cycle. Those tests will be replaced by a technology assessment that will be only be administered via the computer. The NAEP will continue assessing eighth-graders in those subjects with the expectation to add a World History assessment after 2018. However, the World History assessment was to be during the 2012 assessment cycle, and no indication on whether economics will be assessed again. The NAGB seems to devalue the importance of the various social studies disciplines, the national organizations did not seem to notice.

In May 2014, Boston public schools announces the discontinuation of their administrative section for history and social science, all social studies administrators were fired (Ferreira, 2014). The history and social science division was fused into the language arts division to form a new curricular division: humanities. All social studies classes in the lower grades (K-8) are eliminated; they are part of the new humanities classes (which is not clear). At the high school level, only selected social studies courses were kept (primarily though courses affiliated with Advanced Placement). The rationale for this drastic realignment was that the new CCSS-ELA and Massachusetts state standards favored this new organization model.

The College Board recently unveiled their new AP U.S. History standards. The Republican National Committee (RNC) and other conservative organizations claimed that the new standards devalued America. Criticism ranged from its emphasis placed on ethnic groups to the negative image of American *heroes*. The College Board was accused of favoring criticism of America and that they needed to strengthen the content knowledge of the standards. David Coleman, the new head of the College Board, acknowledged the concerns of the RNC. He

announced that the College Board would release an early practice test that used the new standards (Gewertz, 2012). Speculation over the uproar might also stem from Coleman’s previous position as head of the Common Core. Nevertheless, the College Board who oversees a purely private-funded test that universities have a choice to accept or not accept has fallen into a similar trap as the previous attempts to develop social studies standards for many of the same reasons, control over the national identity.

Timeline of Events in Development of Social Studies Standards

Table B.7

Events Related to the Development of Social Studies Standards

Date	Event
1867	National Center of Education Statistics begins collecting data on schools
1867	American Social Sciences Association begins
1884	American Historical Association begins holding meetings American Economic Association
1892	Committee of Ten initiated by NEA
1894	Madison Conference is called to examine history education in public schools American Psychological Association
1897	Committee of Seven (AHA)
1898	Recommendations from Committee of Seven American Political Science Association
1900s	Hampton Institute begins teaching social studies American Sociology Association
1909	Committee on History in Elementary Education publishes report
1911	AHA Committee of Eight (?) McLaughlin Committee, AHA Committee on History in Secondary Education (Committee of Five?)
1912	Committee on Social Studies begins deliberations
1916	Recommendations from the Committee on Social Studies published
1921	National Council of Social Studies (NCSS) inaugurated Committee of Eight (part 2)
1932	AHA Commission on Social Studies begins meeting Rugg publishes his first textbook series Publication of AHA Commission on Social Studies (total of 17 volumes) American Manufacturing Association launches attacks on social studies textbooks
1942	Allen Nevins publishes article in New York Times about lack of American history in public schools

Table B.7: *Events Related to the Development of Social Studies Standards (continued)*

Date	Event
1943	New York Times conducts survey of College freshman knowledge of American history
1957	Launch of Sputnik Woodcock summit Bruner’s Process of Education
1961	Charles Keller article; beginning of “New Social Studies” movement Project Set up
1965	President Johnson signs into law the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA)
1967	<i>Teaching of Social Studies in High Schools</i> is published (introduction of “New Social Studies” into social studies teacher preparation)
1969	First NAEP tests are administered First NAEP test of Social studies is administered First NAEP test of Citizenship is administered Congressional hearings over MACOS and other education projects causes NSF
1975	to stop funding nearly all secondary education projects due to drastic governmental budget cuts towards NSF
1975	OAH Survey on state of history Education Kanawaha Book controversy
1977	NCSS survey of the state of Social Studies in schools
197?	
1983	<i>A Nation at Risk</i> is published, sparking a national crisis in education (crisis continues)
1984	First NAEP test is given in U.S. History
1987	Publication of <i>What your 17-year old needs to know</i> (analysis of first history NAEP test)
198?	Bradley Commission to investigate history Education
198?	Based on the work of the Bradley Commission, the National Council of History Education is formed to promote history education as a school discipline
1990	National History Standards are being developed with assistance from National Endowment of the Arts, headed by Gary Nash, Charlotte Crabtree, and Ross Dunn
	Federal government funds development of national standards for Geography, Economics, Civics (NCSS requests funds for developing social studies standards but it is denied)
	Goals 2000
	NCSS privately develops Standards for Social Studies
	Lynn Cheney publishes a critical editorial in <i>Wall Street Journal</i> 2 days prior to the official publication of the National History Standards
1994	National History Standards are officially published

Table B.7: *Events Related to the Development of Social Studies Standards (continued)*

Date	Event
Jan 199?	Senate votes no confidence in National History Standards, resulting in the discontinuation of all education standards
1996	Revised National History Standards are published (excluding teaching examples) Voluntary National Standards for all subjects are adopted by the federal government
Jan 2002	ESEA reauthorized (renamed No Child is Left Behind) mandating states to develop standards for Reading, Mathematics, Science, and Social Studies
200?	NCSS revises its standards for Social Studies Religion and Hindu Controversy in California
2009	Common Core is unveiled for Mathematics and Language Arts Texas issues an updated set of social studies standards with severe criticism by various groups
2013	Common Core publishes Literacy in Social Studies and other places C3 disseminate to the public with no timetable for implementation
2014	NAGB announce that the NAEP tests for U.S. History, Geography, and Civics will now only assess eighth-graders (eliminating fourth- and twelfth-grade assessment)
2014	Boston Public Schools eliminates all administrative social studies position and folds history and Social Science division into Language Arts to be called Humanities
2014	Republican National Committee criticize the new AP U.S. History standards that they do not contain enough content in the standards

APPENDIX C: NAEP TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE CODES

Table C.1

Teacher Survey Questions and Question Codes (2010)

Survey Question	Fourth Grade	Eighth Grade
Years of experience	VB333653	VB337243
Years of experience teaching social studies	N/A	VE041101
Entered teaching an alternative certification	VC309863	VC309863
Identified as highly qualified by state	VC309886	VC309886
Highest degree	HE001012	HE001012
Undergraduate Concentration	VB333658	VB333658
Did you major or minor History or History Education	VB333659	VB333659
Did you major or minor Geography or Geography Education	VB333660	VB333660
Did you major or minor Political Science	VB607676	VB607676
Did you major or minor general social science or social science education	VB334021	VB334021
Did you major or minor other social science	VB610604	VB610604
Did you major or minor education	VB482660; VE113515; VE113516 VB378391;	VB482938; VE113515; VE113516
Did you major or minor in language arts	VB378392; VB378394	N/A
Graduate Concentration	VB345619	VB345619
Did you major or minor History or History Education	VB345620	VB345620
Did you major or minor Geography or Geography Education	VB374402	VB374402
Did you major or minor Political Science	VB607677	VB607677
Did you major or minor general social science or social science education	VB374403	VB374403
Did you major or minor other social science	VB610605	VB610605

Table C.1: *Teacher Survey Questions and Question Codes (2010) (continued)*

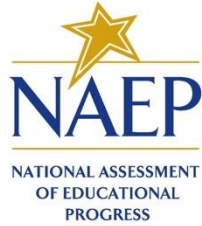
Survey Question	Fourth Grade	Eighth Grade
Did you major or minor education	VB473840; VE113560; VE113562	VB482939; VE113560; VE113562
Did you major or minor in language arts	VB378395; VB378396; VB378398	N/A

Note: Adapted from Teacher Questionnaire, U.S. Dept of Education. 2010a & 2010b. See also Appendix D (Fourth Grade) and E (Eighth Grade).

Education, Special education, and English-language learning are combined into a single category of Education. Reading, language arts, or literacy education, English, and other language arts-related subject are combined into one category of language arts.

APPENDIX D: TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE FOR 2010 FOURTH-GRADE NAEP

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**Civics, Geography, U.S. History & Writing
Teacher Background Questionnaire**

**2010
Grade 4**

TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE

GRADE 4

During the 2009–2010 school year, a sample of students across the country, including some of your fourth-grade students, will participate in the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP). The current assessment focuses on achievement in civics, geography, U.S. history, and writing. To investigate the relationship between students' achievement and various school, teacher, and home factors, NAEP is also collecting information from schools and teachers.

This questionnaire collects information about teachers' backgrounds and instructional practices as they relate to students selected for the assessment. Since you teach civics, geography, U.S. history, or writing to one or more students selected for the assessment, you are being asked to answer questions about these students' classes.

Obviously, only you can provide this important information. So, although we realize that you are very busy, we urge you to complete this questionnaire as accurately as possible. The information you provide is being collected for research purposes only and will be kept strictly confidential.

NAEP is authorized under Public Law 107–110. While your participation is voluntary, your responses to these questions are needed to make this survey accurate and complete.

Instructions

This questionnaire contains three parts.

Part I – Background, Education, and Training

Part II – Classroom Organization and Instruction–Civics, Geography, and U.S. History

Part III – Classroom Organization and Instruction– Writing

You should complete parts I through III. Please record your answers online, following the instructions on the front cover. If you do not have Internet access, please answer questions directly on this questionnaire by filling in the appropriate ovals.

If you do answer questions directly on this questionnaire, please return the questionnaire to your school's NAEP coordinator when you are finished.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.





Teacher Questionnaire – Grade 4

Part I: Background, Education, and Training

For some questions on this survey, you are asked to fill in numbers. For these questions, please print the appropriate number in each of the boxes provided. Please print legibly with a No. 2 pencil. Keep all printing within the boxes, and erase any stray marks.

Using one number per box, fill in every box. For example, 95 students would be written as:

0 9 5

1. Are you Hispanic or Latino? Fill in **one or more ovals**.

VB331330

- No, I am not Hispanic or Latino.
- Yes, I am Mexican, Mexican American, or Chicano.
- Yes, I am Puerto Rican or Puerto Rican American.
- Yes, I am Cuban or Cuban American.
- Yes, I am from some other Hispanic or Latino background.

2. Which of the following best describes you? Fill in **one or more ovals**.

VB331331

- White
- Black or African American
- Asian
- American Indian or Alaska Native
- Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander

3. Counting this year, how many years have you worked as an elementary or secondary teacher? Include any full-time teaching assignments, part-time teaching assignments, and long-term substitute assignments, but not student teaching. If less than 4 months total experience, enter "00."

VB333653

Years

4. Did you enter teaching through an alternative certification program?

VC309863

(An alternative program is a program that was designed to expedite the transition of non-teachers to a teaching career, for example, a state, district, or university alternative certification program.)

- A Yes
- B No

5. What type of teaching certificate do you hold in the state where you currently teach?

VC309874

- A Regular or standard state certificate or advanced professional certificate → *Skip to Question 7.*
- B Certificate issued after satisfying all requirements except the completion of a probationary period → *Go to Question 6.*
- C Certificate that requires some additional coursework, student teaching, or passage of a test before regular certification can be obtained → *Go to Question 6.*
- D Certificate issued to persons who must complete a certification program in order to continue teaching → *Go to Question 6.*
- E I do not hold any of the above certificates in the state where I currently teach. → *Go to Question 6.*



HE001012

9. What is the highest academic degree you hold?

- Ⓐ High-school diploma
- Ⓑ Associate's degree/vocational certification
- Ⓒ Bachelor's degree
- Ⓓ Master's degree
- Ⓔ Education specialist's or professional diploma based on at least one year's work past master's degree
- Ⓕ Doctorate
- Ⓖ Professional degree (e.g., M.D., LL.B., J.D., D.D.S.)



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VB333658

10. Did you have a major, minor, or special emphasis in any of the following subjects as part of your **undergraduate** coursework? Fill in **one** oval on each line.

	Yes, a major	Yes, a minor or special emphasis	No	
a. Reading, language arts, or literacy education	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	VB378391
b. English	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	VB378392
c. Other language arts-related subject	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	VB378394
d. History or history education	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	VB333659
e. Geography or geography education	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	VB333660
f. Political science	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	VB607676
g. General social science or social studies education	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	VB334021
h. Other social science (for example, economics, sociology, psychology, anthropology)	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	VB610604
i. Education (including elementary or early childhood)	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	VB482660
j. Special education (including students with disabilities)	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	VE113515
k. English-language learning	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	VE113516

11. Did you have a major, minor, or special emphasis in any of the following subjects as part of your **graduate** coursework? Fill in **one** oval on each line.

VB345619

	Yes, a major	Yes, a minor or special emphasis	No	
a. Reading, language arts, or literacy education	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	VB378395
b. English	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	VB378396
c. Other language arts-related subject	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	VB378398
d. History or history education	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	VB345620
e. Geography or geography education	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	VB374402
f. Political science	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	VB607677
g. General social science or social studies education	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	VB374403
h. Other social science (for example, economics, sociology, psychology, anthropology)	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	VB610605
i. Education (including elementary or early childhood)	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	VB473840
j. Special education (including students with disabilities)	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	VE113560
k. English-language learning	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	VE113562





13. During the last **two years**, have you received training from any source in any of the following areas? Fill in **one** oval on each line.

VC191232

- | | No, I am
already
proficient. | No, I
have
not. | Yes | |
|--|------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|----------|
| a. Basic computer training | <input type="radio"/> A | <input type="radio"/> B | <input type="radio"/> C | VC191233 |
| b. Software applications | <input type="radio"/> A | <input type="radio"/> B | <input type="radio"/> C | VC191234 |
| c. Use of the Internet | <input type="radio"/> A | <input type="radio"/> B | <input type="radio"/> C | VC191235 |
| d. Use of other technology—for example,
satellite access, wireless Web,
interactive video, closed-circuit television,
videoconferencing | <input type="radio"/> A | <input type="radio"/> B | <input type="radio"/> C | VC191237 |
| e. Integration of computers and other
technology into classroom instruction | <input type="radio"/> A | <input type="radio"/> B | <input type="radio"/> C | VC191238 |

14. Do you have special leadership responsibilities for the following subjects at your school—for example, responsibilities as a mentor teacher, lead teacher, resource specialist, departmental chair, or master teacher?

VB556174

- | | Yes | No | |
|---|-------------------------|-------------------------|----------|
| a. History, civics, geography or social studies | <input type="radio"/> A | <input type="radio"/> B | VE040561 |
| b. Writing/language arts | <input type="radio"/> A | <input type="radio"/> B | VE040567 |

15. During the last **two years**, have you participated in activities associated with school improvement efforts directed at issues such as adequate yearly progress and state accountability standards?

VC304724

- A Yes
- B No



VB595265

4. About how much time in total do you spend with your class on social studies instruction in a typical week?

- A Less than 30 minutes
- B 30 to 60 minutes
- C 61 to 120 minutes
- D 121 to 180 minutes
- E More than 180 minutes

VE040760

5. What is the primary basis on which you create instructional groups for social studies in this class?

- A I don't create groups for social studies in this class.
- B Achievement
- C Interest
- D Diversity
- E Other

VB608033

6. During what percentage of social studies instruction time in this class is your primary focus on each of the following subjects? Fill in **one** oval on each line.

	None	1-10%	11-40%	41-60%	61-90%	More than 90%	
a. U.S. history	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	<input type="radio"/> E	<input type="radio"/> F	VB608034
b. Geography	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	<input type="radio"/> E	<input type="radio"/> F	VE217925
c. Civics/government	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	<input type="radio"/> E	<input type="radio"/> F	VB608035



7. To what extent do you use state or local standards for history, civics, geography, or social studies courses to plan your instruction?

VE036140

- Ⓐ Not at all
- Ⓑ Small extent
- Ⓒ Moderate extent
- Ⓓ Large extent
- Ⓔ We have no state or local standards that apply to teaching history, civics, geography, or social studies.

8. How often do you use the following resources to teach social studies in this class? Fill in **one** oval on each line.

VB608036

	Never or hardly ever	Once or twice a month	Once or twice a week	Almost every day	
a. A social studies textbook	<input type="radio"/> Ⓐ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓑ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓒ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓓ	VB608037
b. Books, newspapers, magazines, or other periodicals	<input type="radio"/> Ⓐ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓑ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓒ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓓ	VB608038
c. Primary documents	<input type="radio"/> Ⓐ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓑ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓒ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓓ	VB608039
d. Quantitative data (such as that on maps, charts, or graphs)	<input type="radio"/> Ⓐ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓑ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓒ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓓ	VB608040
e. Computer software	<input type="radio"/> Ⓐ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓑ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓒ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓓ	VB608041
f. Films, videos, or filmstrips	<input type="radio"/> Ⓐ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓑ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓒ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓓ	VB608062
g. Materials from other subject areas	<input type="radio"/> Ⓐ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓑ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓒ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓓ	VB608063
h. Online textbooks	<input type="radio"/> Ⓐ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓑ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓒ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓓ	VE217165

9. Do you give instruction on geography to your students?

VE217247

- Ⓐ Yes → *Go to Question 10.*
- Ⓑ No → *Skip to Question 11.*

10. How often do you teach the following skills and topics as part of geography instruction with this class? Fill in **one** oval on each line.

VE109641

	Never or hardly ever	Once or twice a month	Once or twice a week	Almost every day	
a. Using maps and globes	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	Ⓓ	VE109644
b. Natural resources (e.g., oil, forests, and water)	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	Ⓓ	VE109662
c. Other countries and cultures	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	Ⓓ	VE109666
d. Environmental issues (e.g., pollution and recycling)	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	Ⓓ	VE109669
e. Space and place (i.e., basic concepts of physical and human geography)	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	Ⓓ	VE109673
f. Spatial dynamics and connections (i.e., variation among regions and how people interact across space via communication, transportation, trade)	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	Ⓓ	VE109676



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11. How often do you do the following as part of social studies instruction with this class?
Fill in **one** oval on each line.

VB608064

	Never or hardly ever	Once or twice a month	Once or twice a week	Almost every day	
a. Ask students to complete a worksheet	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VB608065
b. Give a lecture to the class about social studies	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VB608066
c. Have students participate in debates or panel discussions	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VB608067
d. Have students participate in mock trials, role-playing, or dramatization	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VB608068
e. Have students write letters to state an opinion or solve a community problem	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VB608069
f. Have visitors from your community meet with the class to discuss important events and ideas	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VB608070
g. Have students participate in community volunteer projects or services	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VB608072
h. Have students access information through the Internet for use in the classroom	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VB608073
i. Discuss current events	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VB608074
j. Use student government	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VB608075
k. Give students social studies homework	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VB608076

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12. How often do you use each of the following to assess student progress in social studies?
 Fill in **one** oval on each line.

VE229585

	Never or hardly ever	Once or twice a month	Once or twice a week	Almost every day	
a. Tests with multiple-choice, true/false, or matching type questions	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	Ⓓ	VE229588
b. Tests with fill-in-the-blank questions	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	Ⓓ	VE229590
c. Paragraph-length written responses about what students have read	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	Ⓓ	VE229592
d. Extended essays/papers on assigned topics	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	Ⓓ	VE229594
e. Individual projects	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	Ⓓ	VE229596
f. Individual presentations	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	Ⓓ	VE229597
g. Group projects	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	Ⓓ	VE229598
h. Group presentations	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	Ⓓ	VE229599





13. When your students work on social studies, to what extent do they use computers to do the following? Fill in **one** oval on each line.

VB336276

	Not at all	Small extent	Moderate extent	Large extent	
a. Locate and retrieve social studies information through the Internet	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VB336277
b. Look up social studies information in electronic reference works (for example, atlases, almanacs, encyclopedias)	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VE112647
c. Use exploration or simulation software to "experience" history or geography	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VB336279
d. Write social studies reports using word processing	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VB337061
e. Create social studies presentations or projects using specialized software (such as PowerPoint, HyperStudio)	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VB337062
f. Organize social studies information using spreadsheets or databases	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VB337063

14. To what extent are computers available for students to use for social studies in school (e.g., a classroom or a computer lab)?

VE102335

- A Not at all
- B Some extent
- C Moderate extent
- D Large extent

15. About how many weeks during the school year do you spend covering the following periods in U.S. history? Fill in **one** oval on each line.

VB595266

Not covered in curriculum One to two weeks Three to five weeks Six or more weeks

- | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|----------|
| a. The period before 1815: beginnings through the Revolution (e.g., colonization, settlement, revolution) | Ⓐ | Ⓑ | Ⓒ | Ⓓ | VB595267 |
| b. The period between 1815 and 1865: the new nation through the Civil War (e.g., expansion, reform, crisis of the Union) | Ⓐ | Ⓑ | Ⓒ | Ⓓ | VB595268 |
| c. The period between 1865 and 1945: the development of modern America (e.g., Reconstruction, industrial growth, United States' role in world affairs, the Great Depression, the First and Second World Wars, immigration) | Ⓐ | Ⓑ | Ⓒ | Ⓓ | VB595269 |
| d. The period between 1945 and the present: contemporary America (e.g., civil rights movement, women's rights movement, Korean and Vietnam wars, environmental movement) | Ⓐ | Ⓑ | Ⓒ | Ⓓ | VB595270 |



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16. To what extent have you emphasized each of the following topics in your social studies class? Fill in **one** oval on each line.

VC776876

	Not at all	Small extent	Moderate extent	Large extent	
a. Change in U.S. democracy	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VC776877
b. People from various cultures	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VC776878
c. Technological changes	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VC776879
d. Economic changes	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VC776880
e. Role of the U.S. in the world	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VC776881
f. Politics and government	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VC776882
g. Foundations of U.S. democracy	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VC776883
h. The U.S. Constitution	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VC776884
i. World affairs	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VC776885
j. Roles of citizens in U.S. democracy	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VC776886
k. Space and place (i.e., basic concepts of physical and human geography)	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VC776887
l. Environment and society (i.e., how people adapt to, depend on, and are affected by the natural environment)	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VC776888

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Part III: Classroom Organization and Instruction – Writing

The following questions ask about the organization of your classroom for writing instruction. If you teach more than one fourth-grade class, please choose a single class to use as the basis for answering the questions about classroom organization.

If you do not teach writing, you have finished this questionnaire. Thank you for your time.

1. To what extent do you use each of the following technological resources for writing instruction? Fill in **one** oval on each line.

	Not at all	Small extent	Moderate extent	Large extent	
a. Desktop computer	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	Ⓓ	VE217586
b. Laptop computer	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	Ⓓ	VE217587
c. Tablet PC (notebook-like computer that allows users to write or draw through the use of a stylus or touch-screen)	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	Ⓓ	VE217588
d. Hand-held computer (e.g., personal digital assistant)	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	Ⓓ	VE217589
e. Digital projector (device that connects to a computer to display presentations or demonstrate lessons, such as an LCD)	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	Ⓓ	VE217590
f. CD-ROM, DVD-ROM	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	Ⓓ	VE217591
g. Online software	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	Ⓓ	VE217592
h. Digital music device (pocket-sized music player used to listen to or create audio files, such as an MP3 player)	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	Ⓓ	VE217593
i. Cable/satellite/closed-circuit television	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	Ⓓ	VE217594
j. Online content (e.g., Podcasts or streaming videos)	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	Ⓓ	VE217595



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2. Which statement best describes computer availability for your writing instruction?

VE087389

- Ⓐ There is no computer for student use.
- Ⓑ There is one computer shared by all students.
- Ⓒ More than three students share one computer.
- Ⓓ Two or three students share one computer.
- Ⓔ Each student has a computer.

3. Do you have access to the Internet when you teach writing to your students?

VE087398

- Ⓐ Yes, always
- Ⓑ Yes, sometimes
- Ⓒ No

4. How often do you ask your students to do the following when you ask them to write about something? Fill in **one** oval on each line.

VE088134

	Never or hardly ever	Sometimes	Very often	Always or almost always	
a. Explain (for example, provide information about a topic or steps in a process)	<input type="radio"/> Ⓐ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓑ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓒ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓓ	VE088137
b. Persuade (for example, convince someone to do something)	<input type="radio"/> Ⓐ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓑ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓒ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓓ	VE088140
c. Convey experience (for example, write about personal or imagined experiences)	<input type="radio"/> Ⓐ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓑ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓒ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓓ	VE088141

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5. How often do you ask your students to write to each of the following audiences? Fill in **one** oval on each line.

VE088048

	Never or hardly ever	A few times a year	Once or twice a month	At least once a week	
a. Family members	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	Ⓓ	VE088059
b. School officials	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	Ⓓ	VE088062
c. Other students	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	Ⓓ	VE088085
d. Community organizations	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	Ⓓ	VE088087
e. Government officials	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	Ⓓ	VE088088
f. Businesses	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	Ⓓ	VE088091
g. Other (please specify):	Ⓐ	Ⓑ	Ⓒ	Ⓓ	VE088093



8. Overall, what percentage of your instructional time teaching writing is spent on each of the following? Fill in **one** oval on each line.

	0%	1-5%	6-10%	11-25%	26-50%	51-75%	76-90%	Over 90%	
a. Development of ideas	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	<input type="radio"/> E	<input type="radio"/> F	<input type="radio"/> G	<input type="radio"/> H	VE088173
b. Organization of ideas	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	<input type="radio"/> E	<input type="radio"/> F	<input type="radio"/> G	<input type="radio"/> H	VE088174
c. Effectiveness of expression (e.g., sentence variety, word choice, tone)	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	<input type="radio"/> E	<input type="radio"/> F	<input type="radio"/> G	<input type="radio"/> H	VE088175
d. Mechanics and conventions (e.g., spelling, grammar, punctuation)	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	<input type="radio"/> E	<input type="radio"/> F	<input type="radio"/> G	<input type="radio"/> H	VE088177
e. Other (please specify):	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	<input type="radio"/> E	<input type="radio"/> F	<input type="radio"/> G	<input type="radio"/> H	VE112108

9. During the past two years, how often did you participate in any of the following professional development activities related to the teaching of writing? Fill in **one** oval on each line.

	Never or hardly ever	A few times a year	Once or twice a month	At least once a week	
a. College course taken after your first certification	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VE088201
b. Conference or professional association meeting	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VE088203
c. Observational visit to another school or classroom	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VE088207
d. Mentoring and/or peer observation and coaching	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VE088210
e. Writing activities that are a part of national writing initiatives	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VE088211





VE088381

13. How often do you use computers as part of your delivery of classroom instruction to your students (excluding planning)?

- A Never or hardly ever
- B Sometimes
- C Very often
- D Always or almost always

VE088385

14. Based on keyboarding instruction at your school, which of the following best describes the keyboarding skills expected of students at the grade level you teach?

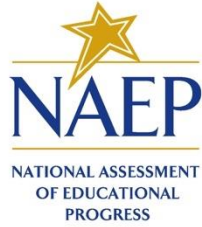
- A No typing skill is expected because we do not give formal keyboarding instruction.
- B Two-finger typing
- C Basic touch-typing
- D Rapid and accurate touch-typing

VE088182

15. When grading/evaluating your students' writing, approximately what percentage of the grade/evaluation is based on each of the following? Fill in **one** oval on each line.

	0%	1-5%	6-10%	11-25%	26-50%	51-75%	76-90%	Over 90%	
a. Development of ideas	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	<input type="radio"/> E	<input type="radio"/> F	<input type="radio"/> G	<input type="radio"/> H	VE088184
b. Organization of ideas	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	<input type="radio"/> E	<input type="radio"/> F	<input type="radio"/> G	<input type="radio"/> H	VE088186
c. Effectiveness of expression (e.g., sentence variety, word choice, tone)	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	<input type="radio"/> E	<input type="radio"/> F	<input type="radio"/> G	<input type="radio"/> H	VE088188
d. Mechanics and conventions (e.g., spelling, grammar, punctuation)	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	<input type="radio"/> E	<input type="radio"/> F	<input type="radio"/> G	<input type="radio"/> H	VE088189
e. Other (please specify):	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	<input type="radio"/> E	<input type="radio"/> F	<input type="radio"/> G	<input type="radio"/> H	VE110929

APPENDIX E: TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE FOR 2010 EIGHTH-GRADE NAEP



**Civics, Geography, & U.S. History
Teacher Background Questionnaire**

**2010
Grade 8**

TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE
GRADE 8 – CIVICS, GEOGRAPHY, AND U.S. HISTORY

During the 2009–2010 school year, a sample of students across the country, including some of your eighth-grade students, will participate in the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP). The current assessment focuses on achievement in civics, geography, U.S. history and writing. To investigate the relationship between students' achievement and various school, teacher, and home factors, NAEP is also collecting information from schools and teachers.

This questionnaire collects information about teachers' backgrounds and instructional practices as they relate to students selected for the assessment. Since you teach civics, geography, or U.S. history to one or more students selected for the assessment, you are being asked to answer questions about these students' classes.

Obviously, only you can provide this important information. So, although we realize that you are very busy, we urge you to complete this questionnaire as accurately as possible. The information you provide is being collected for research purposes only and will be kept strictly confidential.

NAEP is authorized under Public Law 107–110. While your participation is voluntary, your responses to these questions are needed to make this survey accurate and complete.

Instructions

This questionnaire contains two parts.

Part I – Background, Education, and Training

Part II – Classroom Organization and Instruction–Civics, Geography, and U.S. History

You should complete all parts. Please record your answers online, following the instructions on the front cover. If you do not have Internet access, please answer questions directly on this questionnaire by filling in the appropriate ovals.

If you do answer questions directly on this questionnaire, please return the questionnaire to your school's NAEP coordinator when you are finished.

THANK YOU VERY MUCH.





Civics, Geography, and U.S. History

Teacher Questionnaire – Grade 8

Part I: Background, Education, and Training

For some questions on this survey, you are asked to fill in numbers. For these questions, please print the appropriate number in each of the boxes provided. Please print legibly with a No. 2 pencil. Keep all printing within the boxes, and erase any stray marks.

Using one number per box, fill in every box. For example, 95 students would be written as:

0	9	5
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For the purposes of this questionnaire, “civics” means the study of basic concepts about the theory and practice of constitutional democracy in the United States. Also included is the development of intellectual and participatory civic skills, as well as the disposition to assume the rights and responsibilities of individuals in society.

1. Are you Hispanic or Latino? Fill in **one or more ovals**.

VB331330

- A No, I am not Hispanic or Latino.
- B Yes, I am Mexican, Mexican American, or Chicano.
- C Yes, I am Puerto Rican or Puerto Rican American.
- D Yes, I am Cuban or Cuban American.
- E Yes, I am from some other Hispanic or Latino background.

2. Which of the following best describes you? Fill in **one or more ovals**.

VB331331

- A White
- B Black or African American
- C Asian
- D American Indian or Alaska Native
- E Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander

Questions 3–4. For the next two questions, include any full-time teaching assignments, part-time teaching assignments, and long-term substitute assignments, but not student teaching.

3. Counting this year, how many years have you worked as an elementary or secondary teacher? If less than 4 months total experience, enter “00.”

VB337243

Years

4. Counting this year, how many years have you taught civics, geography, history, or social studies in grades 6 through 12? If less than 4 months total experience, enter “00.”

VE041101

Years

5. Did you enter teaching through an alternative certification program?

VC309863

(An alternative program is a program that was designed to expedite the transition of non-teachers to a teaching career, for example, a state, district, or university alternative certification program.)

- A Yes
- B No





9. Are you certified by the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards in at least one content area?

VC309891

(The National Board for Professional Teaching Standards is a nongovernmental organization that administers National Board certification, a voluntary national assessment program that certifies teachers who meet high professional standards. In order to gain certification, the candidate must at least complete a portfolio of classroom practice and pass one or more tests of content knowledge.)

- Ⓐ Yes, I am fully certified by the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards.
- Ⓑ I am working towards my National Board certification.
- Ⓒ No

10. What is the highest academic degree you hold?

HE001012

- Ⓐ High-school diploma
- Ⓑ Associate's degree/vocational certification
- Ⓒ Bachelor's degree
- Ⓓ Master's degree
- Ⓔ Education specialist's or professional diploma based on at least one year's work past master's degree
- Ⓕ Doctorate
- Ⓖ Professional degree (e.g., M.D., LL.B., J.D., D.D.S.)

12. Did you have a major, minor, or special emphasis in any of the following subjects as part of your **graduate** coursework? Fill in **one** oval on each line.

VB345619

- | | Yes,
a major | Yes, a minor
or special
emphasis | No | |
|---|-----------------|--|-----|----------|
| a. History or history education | (A) | (B) | (C) | VB345620 |
| b. Geography or geography education | (A) | (B) | (C) | VB374402 |
| c. Political science | (A) | (B) | (C) | VB607677 |
| d. General social science or social studies education | (A) | (B) | (C) | VB374403 |
| e. Other social science (for example, economics, sociology, psychology, anthropology) | (A) | (B) | (C) | VB610605 |
| f. Education (including secondary education) | (A) | (B) | (C) | VB482939 |
| g. Special education (including students with disabilities) | (A) | (B) | (C) | VE113560 |
| h. English-language learning | (A) | (B) | (C) | VE113562 |



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13. During the last **two years**, did you participate in or lead any of the following professional development activities **related to the teaching of civics, geography, history, or social studies**? Fill in **one** oval on each line.

VE041048

- | | Yes | No | |
|--|-------------------------|-------------------------|----------|
| a. College course taken after your first certification | <input type="radio"/> A | <input type="radio"/> B | VE041049 |
| b. Workshop or training session | <input type="radio"/> A | <input type="radio"/> B | VE041051 |
| c. Conference or professional association meeting | <input type="radio"/> A | <input type="radio"/> B | VE041053 |
| d. Observational visit to another school | <input type="radio"/> A | <input type="radio"/> B | VE041056 |
| e. Mentoring and/or peer observation and coaching as part of a formal arrangement | <input type="radio"/> A | <input type="radio"/> B | VE041059 |
| f. Committee or task force focusing on curriculum, instruction, or student assessment | <input type="radio"/> A | <input type="radio"/> B | VE041060 |
| g. Regularly scheduled discussion or study group | <input type="radio"/> A | <input type="radio"/> B | VE041063 |
| h. Teacher collaborative or network, such as one organized by an outside agency or over the Internet | <input type="radio"/> A | <input type="radio"/> B | VE041065 |
| i. Individual or collaborative research | <input type="radio"/> A | <input type="radio"/> B | VE041068 |
| j. Independent reading on a regular basis—for example, educational journals, books, or the Internet | <input type="radio"/> A | <input type="radio"/> B | VE041069 |
| k. Co-teaching/team teaching | <input type="radio"/> A | <input type="radio"/> B | VE041076 |
| l. Consultation with subject specialist | <input type="radio"/> A | <input type="radio"/> B | VE041078 |

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14. During the last **two years**, have you received training from any source in any of the following areas? Fill in **one** oval on each line.

VC191232

	No, I am already proficient.	No, I have not.	Yes	
a. Basic computer training	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	VC191233
b. Software applications	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	VC191234
c. Use of the Internet	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	VC191235
d. Use of other technology—for example, satellite access, wireless Web, interactive video, closed-circuit television, videoconferencing	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	VC191237
e. Integration of computers and other technology into classroom instruction	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	VC191238

15. Do you have special leadership responsibilities for **civics, geography, history, or social studies** at your school—for example, responsibilities as a departmental chair, lead teacher, master teacher, mentor teacher, or resource specialist?

VE041087

- A Yes
- B No

16. During the last **two years**, have you participated in activities associated with school improvement efforts directed at issues such as adequate yearly progress and state accountability standards?

VC304724

- A Yes
- B No



4. How many students are in this class?

VB473856

- A 15 or fewer
- B 16–18
- C 19–20
- D 21–25
- E 26 or more

5. What is the primary basis on which you create instructional groups for social studies in this class?

VE040760

- A I don't create groups for social studies in this class.
- B Achievement
- C Interest
- D Diversity
- E Other

6. During what percentage of social studies instruction time in this class is your primary focus on each of the following subjects? Fill in **one** oval on each line.

VB608033

	None	1–10%	11–40%	41–60%	61–90%	More than 90%	
a. U.S. history	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	<input type="radio"/> E	<input type="radio"/> F	VB608034
b. Geography	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	<input type="radio"/> E	<input type="radio"/> F	VE217925
c. Civics/government	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	<input type="radio"/> E	<input type="radio"/> F	VB608035



7. To what extent do you use state or local standards for history, civics, geography, or social studies courses to plan your instruction?

VE036140

- Ⓐ Not at all
- Ⓑ Small extent
- Ⓒ Moderate extent
- Ⓓ Large extent
- Ⓔ We have no state or local standards that apply to teaching history, civics, geography, or social studies.

8. How often do you use the following resources to teach social studies in this class? Fill in **one** oval on each line.

VB608036

	Never or hardly ever	Once or twice a month	Once or twice a week	Almost every day	
a. A social studies textbook	<input type="radio"/> Ⓐ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓑ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓒ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓓ	VB608037
b. Books, newspapers, magazines, or other periodicals	<input type="radio"/> Ⓐ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓑ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓒ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓓ	VB608038
c. Primary documents	<input type="radio"/> Ⓐ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓑ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓒ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓓ	VB608039
d. Quantitative data (such as that on maps, charts, or graphs)	<input type="radio"/> Ⓐ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓑ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓒ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓓ	VB608040
e. Computer software	<input type="radio"/> Ⓐ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓑ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓒ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓓ	VB608041
f. Films, videos, or filmstrips	<input type="radio"/> Ⓐ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓑ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓒ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓓ	VB608062
g. Materials from other subject areas	<input type="radio"/> Ⓐ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓑ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓒ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓓ	VB608063
h. Online textbooks	<input type="radio"/> Ⓐ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓑ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓒ	<input type="radio"/> Ⓓ	VE217165

9. How often do you do the following as part of social studies instruction with this class?
Fill in **one** oval on each line.

VB608064

	Never or hardly ever	Once or twice a month	Once or twice a week	Almost every day	
a. Ask students to complete a worksheet	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VB608065
b. Give a lecture to the class about social studies	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VB608066
c. Have students participate in debates or panel discussions	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VB608067
d. Have students participate in mock trials, role-playing, or dramatization	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VB608068
e. Have students write letters to state an opinion or solve a community problem	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VB608069
f. Have visitors from your community meet with the class to discuss important events and ideas	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VB608070
g. Have students participate in community volunteer projects or services	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VB608072
h. Have students access information through the Internet for use in the classroom	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VB608073
i. Discuss current events	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VB608074
j. Use student government	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VB608075
k. Give students social studies homework	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VB608076



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10. How often do you use each of the following to assess student progress in social studies?
Fill in **one** oval on each line.

VE229585

	Never or hardly ever	Once or twice a month	Once or twice a week	Almost every day	
a. Tests with multiple-choice, true/false, or matching type questions	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VE229588
b. Tests with fill-in-the-blank questions	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VE229590
c. Paragraph-length written responses about what students have read	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VE229592
d. Extended essays/papers on assigned topics	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VE229594
e. Individual projects	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VE229596
f. Individual presentations	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VE229597
g. Group projects	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VE229598
h. Group presentations	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VE229599

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11. About how many weeks during the school year do you spend covering the following periods in U.S. history? Fill in **one** oval on each line.

VB595266

Not covered in curriculum One to two weeks Three to five weeks Six or more weeks

- | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|----------|
| a. The period before 1815: beginnings through the Revolution (e.g., colonization, settlement, revolution) | Ⓐ | Ⓑ | Ⓒ | Ⓓ | VB595267 |
| b. The period between 1815 and 1865: the new nation through the Civil War (e.g., expansion, reform, crisis of the Union) | Ⓐ | Ⓑ | Ⓒ | Ⓓ | VB595268 |
| c. The period between 1865 and 1945: the development of modern America (e.g., Reconstruction, industrial growth, United States' role in world affairs, the Great Depression, the First and Second World Wars, immigration) | Ⓐ | Ⓑ | Ⓒ | Ⓓ | VB595269 |
| d. The period between 1945 and the present: contemporary America (e.g., civil rights movement, women's rights movement, Korean and Vietnam wars, environmental movement) | Ⓐ | Ⓑ | Ⓒ | Ⓓ | VB595270 |





12. To what extent have you emphasized each of the following topics in your U.S. history class? Fill in **one** oval on each line.

VC787816

	Not applicable	Not at all	Small extent	Moderate extent	Large extent	
a. Change and continuity in U.S. democracy	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	<input type="radio"/> E	VC787819
b. Gathering and interactions of people from various cultures	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	<input type="radio"/> E	VC787821
c. Technological changes	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	<input type="radio"/> E	VC787823
d. Economic changes	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	<input type="radio"/> E	VC787824
e. Changing role of the U.S. in the world	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	<input type="radio"/> E	VC787825

13. To what extent have you emphasized each of the following topics in your civics or government class? Fill in **one** oval on each line.

VC787826

	Not applicable	Not at all	Small extent	Moderate extent	Large extent	
a. Politics and government	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	<input type="radio"/> E	VC787828
b. Foundations of the U.S. political system	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	<input type="radio"/> E	VC787829
c. The U.S. Constitution	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	<input type="radio"/> E	VC787831
d. World affairs	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	<input type="radio"/> E	VC787832
e. Roles of citizens in U.S. democracy	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	<input type="radio"/> E	VC787833

14. Do you give instruction on geography to your students?

VE217247

- A Yes → Go to Question 15.
- B No → Skip to Question 16.

15. How often do you teach the following skills and topics as part of geography instruction with this class? Fill in **one** oval on each line.

VE109641

	Never or hardly ever	Once or twice a month	Once or twice a week	Almost every day	
a. Using maps and globes	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VE109644
b. Natural resources (e.g., oil, forests, and water)	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VE109662
c. Other countries and cultures	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VE109666
d. Environmental issues (e.g., pollution and recycling)	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VE109669
e. Space and place (i.e., basic concepts of physical and human geography)	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VE109673
f. Spatial dynamics and connections (i.e., variation among regions and how people interact across space via communication, transportation, trade)	<input type="radio"/> A	<input type="radio"/> B	<input type="radio"/> C	<input type="radio"/> D	VE109676



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16. When students in this class work on social studies, to what extent do they use computers to do the following? Fill in **one** oval on each line.

VB379259

- | | Not at all | Small extent | Moderate extent | Large extent | |
|---|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|----------|
| a. Locate and retrieve social studies information through the Internet | <input type="radio"/> A | <input type="radio"/> B | <input type="radio"/> C | <input type="radio"/> D | VB379261 |
| b. Look up social studies information in electronic reference works (for example, atlases, almanacs, encyclopedias) | <input type="radio"/> A | <input type="radio"/> B | <input type="radio"/> C | <input type="radio"/> D | VE112555 |
| c. Use exploration or simulation software to "experience" history or geography | <input type="radio"/> A | <input type="radio"/> B | <input type="radio"/> C | <input type="radio"/> D | VB379282 |
| d. Write social studies reports using word processing | <input type="radio"/> A | <input type="radio"/> B | <input type="radio"/> C | <input type="radio"/> D | VB379283 |
| e. Create social studies presentations or projects using specialized software (such as PowerPoint, HyperStudio) | <input type="radio"/> A | <input type="radio"/> B | <input type="radio"/> C | <input type="radio"/> D | VB379284 |
| f. Organize social studies information using spreadsheets or databases | <input type="radio"/> A | <input type="radio"/> B | <input type="radio"/> C | <input type="radio"/> D | VB379285 |

17. To what extent do you use a computer when instructing students in each of the following subjects? Fill in **one** oval on each line.

VE102447

- | | Not applicable | Not at all | Small extent | Moderate extent | Large extent | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|----------|
| a. U.S. history | <input type="radio"/> A | <input type="radio"/> B | <input type="radio"/> C | <input type="radio"/> D | <input type="radio"/> E | VE102452 |
| b. Civics or government | <input type="radio"/> A | <input type="radio"/> B | <input type="radio"/> C | <input type="radio"/> D | <input type="radio"/> E | VE102453 |
| c. Geography | <input type="radio"/> A | <input type="radio"/> B | <input type="radio"/> C | <input type="radio"/> D | <input type="radio"/> E | VE102454 |

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18. To what extent are computers available for students to use in each of the following classes in school (e.g., a classroom or a computer lab)? Fill in **one** oval on each line.

VE102439

- | | Not
applicable | Not at
all | Small
extent | Moderate
extent | Large
extent | |
|-------------------------|-------------------|---------------|-----------------|--------------------|-----------------|----------|
| a. U.S. history | Ⓐ | Ⓑ | Ⓒ | Ⓓ | Ⓔ | VE102442 |
| b. Civics or government | Ⓐ | Ⓑ | Ⓒ | Ⓓ | Ⓔ | VE102444 |
| c. Geography | Ⓐ | Ⓑ | Ⓒ | Ⓓ | Ⓔ | VE102446 |

