

CREATING THE CITIZEN: HOW SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHERS UNDERSTAND THE
CHARACTERISTICS OF GOOD CITIZENSHIP

By

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To Susie and Elaine

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Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School
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By

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This constructivist study investigates how veteran high school social studies teachers within a government or American history course understand and balance the idea of ‘the good citizen within the context of their own classrooms, textbooks, and worldview. It considers the characteristics that they see as most integral in the nature of the good citizen, and also explores whether typical textbooks used in these classes in the pursuit of civic development complement or conflict with their own construction and understanding of the good citizen.

This research uses a case study model that allowed for the individual voice of each teacher participant to be heard while allowing for cross-case analysis and the making of meaning through a collaborative process between the researcher and the participant. Participants in this study took part in three interviews and completed a textbook content analysis guide that provided them an opportunity to reflect on how their textbooks present good citizenship. I also observed the teachers in their classroom to see in what ways they modeled or presented their conceptions of good citizenship. In

the interviews and the textbook content analysis activity, participants addressed the meanings that they constructed concerning what it means to be a good a citizen.

This study indicates that despite widely different political worldviews, personal backgrounds, and stated perspectives on what it means to be a good citizen, certain specific conceptions of good citizenship are shared among social studies teachers. In addition, this study suggests that teacher conceptions of good citizens are not necessarily significantly different from those presented in typical social studies textbooks, despite stated teacher concerns that these texts may pose an obstacle to effective instruction.

Understanding how teachers may view the characteristics of good citizens, and what views are shared among teachers of differing backgrounds and worldviews, may help future social studies educators reflect deeper on how they view the role of the good citizen within the American political system and to explore whether unknown prejudices may prevent quality civic instruction. At the same time, it provides an opportunity to consider whether textbooks, so important in a great deal of social studies education at all levels, truly meet the needs of honest and critical civic instruction.

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Nationally, the teaching of the Social Studies is an ongoing concern. As it is not tested in many states on the increasing number of standardized tests that have become so important in measuring school success, teacher growth, and student achievement, it often gets little attention in many classrooms. Consider, for example, that as elementary schools fall under pressure to achieve in the areas of Math, Science, and Reading, Social Studies often falls out of the curriculum. As an instructor in Elementary Social Studies methods, I have seen this firsthand. Students in that course, which requires them to develop and teach a Social Studies unit, have often complained of resistance from their mentor teachers or school administrations, with the suggestion that there is little time for the Social Studies and citizenship education in the curriculum, a belief reflected in current research (Atwood, 1991; Bailey, Shaw, & Hollifield, 2006; McMurrer 2008; Leming, Ellington, & Schug, 2006; Passe, 2006; Schlesinger, 2006; Sunal & Sunal, 2007). Why should this matter?

Social Studies is, at its heart, about citizenship (National Council of the Social Studies [NCSS], 1994). It is about creating the next generation of citizens that will shape and maintain the democratic republic that is the United States. When we ignore or minimize Social Studies instruction, we ignore or minimize citizenship education, and some might argue that this would endanger our very political system (Branson, 2003; Dewey, 1916; Galston, 2004; Graham, 2008; Quigley, 2004). Florida state leaders have begun to recognize this and push for a renewed emphasis on civic education at the middle school level (Berrian, 2008; Bousquet, 2007; Doyle and Shenkman, 2006; Graham, 2008; Leary, 2009). Until that change begins to take hold, however, much of

our citizenship education will not occur until students enter high school. This, then, means that it is up to the instructors at this level to help students construct their conceptions of citizenship. And in many cases, the textbook plays a central role in the civics/government classroom, as it does in many areas of the social studies curriculum (Armbruster & Ostertag, 1993; Brophy & Alleman, 2007; Duplass, 2007; Loewen, 2005; Marsden, 2001 Wade, 1993).

As significant tools for teachers and students in the social studies classroom, textbooks have the possibility of becoming powerful forces in the shaping of what it means to be a good citizen. The adoption process of textbooks is generally uniform throughout subject areas, but may differ by state. As of 2010, there were 22 states that are uniform adoption states. In these states, of which Florida is one, the central departments of education select a number of textbooks in specific content areas, all of which are aligned to specific state standards, and either require counties or school districts to use the centrally selected texts or allow them to select from those texts which one they will use in instruction. The remaining states are open adoption states, where districts, schools, or even teachers may select the textbook that they wish to use without pressure or interference from the state. Despite the fact that more than half of the states are open adoption, only twenty-five percent of classroom teachers actually choose their own textbooks for use in the classroom and as states use a cycle for adoption, books in a particular content area may be used for close to a decade before the content area text is up for renewal or replacement (“Fundamentals of State Textbook Adoptions”, 2010; Whitman, 2004; Zinth, 2005). Florida, where this study takes place, is a uniform adoption state. It provides local school districts with a pre-selected list of publishers and

texts, and these districts may then select appropriate texts from the provided list (Florida Statutes, 2012). Ultimately, textbook publishing is a \$4 billion dollar a year industry, with the states of Texas, California, and Florida its greatest consumers. In order to ensure that their texts will face a greater likelihood of adoption, the publishers craft them to meet the expectations of those states. Fitzgerald (1979), Loewen (2005), Ravitch (2003), and Zimmerman (2005) are among the many that have explored the reasons for and consequences of this process, which will be discussed in later in this dissertation.

Within this study, the images of the good citizen as found in the textbooks used by participants will be explored in some detail. These images, after all, contribute to the conceptions of good citizenship explored in the classroom. Knowing how textbooks choose to portray the good citizen and expectations of good citizenship is necessary to facilitate an understanding of how teachers themselves conceive of and teach about good citizens. The center of this research, then, will be on how secondary social studies teachers conceive of that same good citizen within the context of American civic education and the American political system in conjunction with the textbook. Much research has been done on the role of the social studies teacher in shaping student outcomes and in engaging students in their learning; common themes that have emerged in this research include conceptions of democratic classrooms and student decision-making, curricular relevance, task complexity, and pedagogical diversity. How the social studies teacher approaches these themes shapes the classroom environment and the learning of the student (Blanken, 1999; Brookhart and Durkin, 2003; Marks, 2000; Newmann, Wehlage, & Lamborn, 1992; Stodolsky, 1998;). There is also ample research on how teachers use the textbook with regard to their content knowledge,

using the text as the foundational component of their own understanding of the social studies and contributing to the transition of the textbook from a supplemental instructional tool to a *de facto* national curriculum (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Brookhart & Durkin, 2003; Duplass, 2007; Rosenzweig, 2000; Wineburg, 2001; Woodward, Elliot, & Nagel, 1988). Avery and Simmons (2000/2001) have considered how those textbooks present particular images of the citizen, exploring how differing textbooks present good citizenship in similar terms; within the context that they examine, the images of good citizenship are remarkably similar and rights-centered. Hahn (2008) has explored how the civic curriculum is shaped by a variety of factors, and other current research focuses on such issues as patriotism, racism, ideology, and service learning, among many others (see, for example, Annette, 2008; Starkey, 2008). While much of the research has focused on the curriculum, the tools, and the consequences of the ways in which social studies educators teach citizenship, little recent research has addressed how the teacher constructs, interprets, and shares an understanding of citizenship, particularly in regard to potential conflicts between the understanding that the teacher has personally constructed and how the concept is presented through the near-universal textbook curriculum. Hahn (2008) raised the question for further discussion following her own examination of social studies educators' beliefs and practices. Recent work by Farkas and Duffett (2010) have explored teacher perceptions of what they should be teaching and obstacles to that teaching, but fail to address the origins of teacher thinking about citizenship. Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977) put forward the view that social studies educators tend to fall into one of three social studies traditions in the teaching of content and classroom instruction: social studies as reflective inquiry, social studies as social

science, and social studies as citizenship transmission. However, these authors do not deeply explore the motivating factors for what and how social studies teachers choose to teach, or consider the relationship between that choice and the conception of the good citizen as held by the teacher. Thornton (1994) addresses elements of the transmission approach approached in the Barr, Barth, and Shermis study (1977), comparing this approach to what we think of as best practices taught within social studies teacher education programs, while in an earlier work, Leming (1992) addressed the contradictions between the political and social persuasions of social studies teachers and social studies teacher educators. This study builds, to some degree, on the work of Thornton and Leming in their studies, examining the nature and practice of those teacher beliefs and persuasions.

This dissertation attempts to address this missing element of citizenship education, as discussed to some degree by Hahn (2008) and described earlier in this section: how do secondary social studies teachers themselves understand and balance the idea of the 'good citizen' within the context of their own classrooms, texts, and worldview? What are the characteristics that they see as most integral in the nature of the good citizen? How do the textbooks that are used by these teachers conflict with or complement their own construction and understanding of the good citizen? By understanding the answer to this overarching question, teacher educators may be able to help future social studies practitioners reflect more deeply on how they view the role of the 'good citizen' within the American political system, and to explore whether unknown prejudices may prevent quality instruction. So, too, might current social studies educators find this work useful in reflecting on what they are teaching in the

classroom and whether the textbooks they use truly meet the needs of honest and critical civic instruction. As America struggles into a second decade of a new century, this 'honest and critical' civic instruction is increasingly necessary. Galston (2001) argues that increasingly, American citizens are disconnected from both civic obligations and civic knowledge; as a result, civic participation is increasingly declining, especially if we consider civic participation as including more than simply voting. This holds the potential for long term negative consequences related to equality, justice, and social and civic improvement as civic education struggles to maintain a place in the curriculum (Campbell, 2005; Galston, 2001; Lehman Schlozman, Verba & Brady, 1999). In educating the next generation of citizens who are expected to take part in the American political system, quality civic education will create citizens that engage with the problems of American democracy, practice the habits of civic participation, such as volunteerism, collaboration, voting, and activism (Campbell, 2005; Lehman Schlozman, Verba & Brady, 1999), and develop the skills and knowledge necessary for democratic practice at more than simply a surface level (Campbell, 2005; Conover & Searing, 2000; Dewey, 1916; Leming, 1996). Curriculum developers, particularly those involved in textbook writing and development, may also find this study useful in shaping how they present underlying conception of the 'good citizen' within the text. This assumes, of course, that a reconsideration of how the textbooks explicitly and implicitly discuss citizenship and good citizens is something that adoption states actually desire.

Objectives of the Study

To address the lack of research in this area, this study shall examine how instructors of high school Government and American History classes conceive of and teach about citizenship and the good citizen. In other words, what characteristics do

these teachers teach about and see as integral to being a good citizen? Are there commonalities in these conceptions, and in what ways do they interpret the conception of the good citizen in the textbook they are required to use? If there is a conflict between their own conceptions and those of the textbook, how do they balance these conceptions? More specifically, the research questions will address the following:

1. How do secondary Social Studies teachers with differing political self-identifications understand the concept of citizenship within the context of the American political system, and how is this (or is this not) reflected in their classroom instruction?
2. How do secondary Social Studies teachers interpret the textbook's portrayal of the concept of citizenship within the context of the American political system, and how might this interpretation balance with their conception as well as classroom instruction?

Ultimately, this study will suggest ways for teachers to address the conceptions, misconceptions, and underlying assumptions of both their own ideas about citizenship and those presented in the textbook.

Methods of Inquiry

Theoretical Framework and Perspective

The present study derives its theoretical framework from the constructivist paradigm of qualitative research, which is ideally suited for this inquiry because it allows for rich description of the nature of citizenship, texts, and teachers and presents the opportunity for “depth, openness, and detail” (Patton, 2002, p. 14). Qualitative research addresses “persons’ lives, lived experiences, behaviors, emotions, and feelings” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 2), as well as the construction of meaning as suggested by Glesne (1998). The three-prong approach to qualitative research as described by Patton (2002) – consisting of interviews, observations, and document interpretation – will create a stable and accessible structure for this research while allowing for a multi-

point data-gathering process. In qualitative research, the researcher engages with the data, interprets it, and shares it through what Stake refers to as ‘thick description,’ ‘experiential learning,’ and ‘multiple realities,’ rather than the far less nuanced and more objective analysis of quantitative research (Stake, 1995, p. 43). Using a qualitative approach, then, allows for a thorough consideration of the construction of meaning within the context of citizenship education and instruction.

As Crotty (1998) argues, constructivist theory assumes that all knowledge and reality are constructed through human interaction; thus, we might assume that knowledge is jointly constructed between teacher and student and that the teacher functions as an integrator and motivator in that process. Constructivism, in contrast to traditional positivism, recognizes the changing and ephemeral nature of ‘truth,’ centering the search for answers on the meaning construction and experiences of the individual rather than on one uniform and universal conception of reality (Crotty, 1998; Driscoll, 1994). Thus, one of the themes of the present study is the consideration of the world and mind of the individual teacher (Crotty, 1998); in other words, how does the teacher view his or her own understanding of citizenship, and how might s/he demonstrate this in the classroom? The constructivist nature of this study also allows for consideration of the key role that the textbook plays in the teacher’s understanding and instruction.

Building upon Crotty’s (1998) perspective that human interaction plays a significant role in the construction of knowledge and reality, it is important to clarify the role of the investigator within this model, and to consider how the meaning and significance of the data is shaped by that particular role. Guba and Lincoln (1994) describe the investigator as both a “participant and a facilitator” as well as an advocate

and an activist in the process of understanding and reconstructing participant understandings and conceptions (p. 113). Within this effort at understanding and reconstruction is an element of consensus, though interpretations of knowledge will necessarily differ depending on the lived experiences of the individual performing the inquiry. While consensus is the goal, this consensus may change depending on how constructed knowledge interacts (p. 113). The investigator, in the constructivist model, contributes to an expanding body of knowledge which may serve to drive consensus or alter understandings, and for the constructivist researcher, “values have pride of place; they are seen as ineluctable in shaping (and in constructivism, creating) inquiry outcomes” (p. 114). The values and the voice of the subject(s) must be given equal weight with those of the investigator when interpreting and presenting the data. At the same time, the investigator has a responsibility to make clear goals and intent in order to ensure that participants in the research are clear and the data collected is less prone towards hidden bias and corruption. In other words, the investigator must make evident to participants his or her own values and goals in order to ensure that both actors in the process are on an equal level (p. 115). For Gruba and Lincoln, the investigator simply cannot be separate from those who are sharing their constructions and conceptions of knowledge. The voice of the investigator reflects that of the “passionate participant” (Lincoln, 1991, as cited in Gruber and Lincoln, 1994), an active partner in reconstructing both the knowledge of the subject and his or her own knowledge (p. 115). In order to construct meaning from the data that is derived from the research, the inquirer must necessarily embrace an “approach that encourages the immersion of the researcher into the research setting of the respondents” (Krauss, 2005, p. 765). As a result,

meaning making in this model is in many ways an ongoing and collaborative process between the researcher and the respondent. Within this process, the researcher derives typifications that help to categorize the meanings embedded within the data; though these same meanings may not initially be evident to the subjects of the study. As an active participant, the constructivist researcher develops those meanings from the data that is collected, selecting the categories and typifications based on particular interpretations (Krauss, 2005).

This study employs a triangulated method described by Patton (2002, 2003). The method involves a series of interviews, observations, and document research modeled on a collective case study approach. Creswell (2007) has described the case study as encompassing a bounded system within time and place and includes the case itself. This allows for the collection of multiple sources of data over the time frame of the study and provides for context and richness in the development of a narrative, a significant strength of this research method (Stake, 1995; Creswell, 2007; Yin, 2003). Stake suggests that good case study research is patient, reflective, empathetic, and oriented toward interpretation in order to facilitate understanding of the multiple realities of study participants (Stake, 1995, p. 12). It encourages the participants to tell their stories and share their interpretations of the world around them so that others may begin to understand them (Stake, 1995). This, of course, addresses the two research questions that are the focus of this dissertation:

1. How do secondary Social Studies teachers with differing political self-identifications understand the concept of citizenship within the context of the American political system, and how is this (or is this not) reflected in their classroom instruction?
2. How do secondary Social Studies teachers interpret the textbook's portrayal of the concept of citizenship within the context of the American political system, and

how might this interpretation balance with their own conceptions as well as classroom instruction?

Three different data sets are used to consider the questions and reconstruct the knowledge and understandings of the respondents for each case. Direct interviews with teachers form one set of data, and contribute to the growth of the other two sets, which include observation of the teachers in their own classrooms and a written analysis by participants of their required textbooks, with continued discussion of the texts contained in follow-up interviews. The primary goal of this study, then, ties into a consideration of the characteristics of the good citizen within the context of American social and political culture. Essentially, this collective case study approach allows for a consideration of multiple perspectives (Stake, 2007) and a greater collection of narratives for analysis. By incorporating separate sets of observations, interviews, and documents, the data set is expanded and typification of appropriate categories relating to thinking about good citizenship is improved.

Selection of Participants

Selection of the three participants occurred through email requests for cooperation within a network of Social Studies teachers that the researcher had cultivated through both university and high school instruction. Stake (1995) and Patton (2002, 2003) emphasize that typical case study research involves an intense consideration of small samples and is not necessarily transferable or representative. However, these small samples, in the view of Patton, should be rich and truly illuminating concerning the topic of study. The gathered data within the samples are appropriate to the question(s), encompassing multiple points and expressing the views and constructions of the knowledge and understandings of the participants as well as

the interpretation of the investigator. The samples provide insight, not necessarily generalizations applicable across a broader population (Patton, 2003, p. 2-3). Creswell (2007) suggests sampling that “shows different perspectives on the problem, process, or event” (p. 75), though what he terms ‘ordinary’ cases are also acceptable. A caveat in using this approach for this study was that it was not necessarily clear whether ‘different perspectives’ would be apparent until the initial interview; further analysis of the data suggested that these different perspectives existed. The intent of the study, then, is to use what amounts to purposeful judgment sampling (Bernard, 2000; Patton, 2002). In judgment sampling, the researcher’s task is to find participants that suit the purpose of the study. The basic criteria for selection of these teachers were as follows:

- The participants had taught full time at a public school for at least 3 years;
- The participants taught a high school Social Studies course that could be expected to include lessons in American citizenship. These may include American History, Civics, or American Government classes;
- The participants used at least one textbook within their instruction.

A number of factors went into considering what criteria would be employed for the selection of the participants in this dissertation. The first criterion asked that participants have taught in a public school for at least three years. Horace Mann (1846) was a proponent of the idea that government had an obligation to ensure equal access to education for all students, if only to ensure that all future citizens had the knowledge, skills, and common thinking necessary to help the American democracy prosper. Public school teachers, then, have a significant potential to impact the characteristics that students embrace as elements of good citizenship, and the vast majority of citizens have attended from public, not private, schools. A minimum of three years was chosen to ensure that participants in the research had experience to draw on in their thinking

about citizenship and how they taught it. At the same time, I wanted teachers who would feel protected and safe to speak freely without concern over losing their positions because of a possible misstatement; in the county where this study took place, tenure and its protections were awarded after three years.

The second criterion that was chosen to assist in the selection of participants was the subject area. The participants had to teach Social Studies at the high school level, in courses that would in some way relate directly to American citizenship and the development of knowledge and skills necessary to take part in the American political system. As a result, I chose to limit the selection to teachers that taught American History, Civics, or American Government. My own familiarity as a teacher with the required content of those courses also contributed to this criterion. Being aware of the standards for these courses, I could ensure that I was 'speaking the same language' as the participants in the research, ensuring that I could function as a passionate and active participant in the research (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

The third and final criterion that would determine participants in this research required that a textbook be used to at least some degree in the course. One of the questions that is being explored in this dissertation is how teachers balance the textbook's presentation of good citizens with their own construction and understanding of the concept. As such, access to a textbook that is used in the class is necessary. The text need not be used on a daily basis; it need only be one of the tools that are used in classroom instruction and content delivery.

Data Collection

Yin (2003, as cited in Creswell, 2007) suggests the need for six possible sources of data for case studies: documents, archival records, interviews, direct observation,

participant-observation, and physical artifacts. The data collection process for the area of study focused on three of the six key elements proposed by Yin: interviews, direct observations, and document or archival analysis. The use of within-method methodological triangulation, which necessitates different methods for gathering data, encourages diversity in the data sources and provides the necessary elements for credibility, confirmability, transferability, and dependability (Mathison, 1988; Patton, 2002; Stake, 1995). While Yin encourages six different sources of data, effective methodological triangulation can be achieved using the three selected sources as described below.

Interviews

Interviews are a standard feature of qualitative research. Maykut and Morehouse (1994) suggested that the interview may serve as a tool to explore the research question cooperatively – i.e., as a joint project between researcher and participant. Ladwig and King (1992), for example, used interviews and archival data to inform their discussion of how departmental structure and curricular emphasis impacted effective social studies teaching and the development of critical thinking skills. Moore-Johnson and Birkland (2003) interviewed 50 new teachers to determine what factors influenced their decisions to either leave or remain in the profession. Klockow (2008) employed both observations and interviews to consider concepts of citizenship and democratic participation in a 5th grade classroom. For this study, interviews occurred at different times for different goals, and probing questions were developed along the lines of the constructivist model explored in Holstein and Gubrium (2003):

1. The initial interview was formal and semi-structured, comprising discussion of the consent document and the participants' relevant biographical and professional background information. The participants' insights into how their backgrounds

helped them to construct their understanding of citizenship and their initial thoughts on how to share this understanding in the classroom provided the basis for a more extensive follow-up interview. At the conclusion of the first interview, the participants were asked to read and reflect on the study by Avery and Simmons (2000/2001), which described a content analysis of the most popular civics and history textbooks used at the middle and high school levels. This reflection served as the starting point for the next interview.

2. A second interview, semi-structured and shaped by the results of the first interview, went deeper into the participants' understandings of citizenship, moving beyond their background and personal history toward reflection on their understanding of citizenship in their lives and in their classrooms at present. At the same time, the interview explored how the participants believe the textbook may support or contradict their own understandings.
3. Each pre-observation interview was intended to preview participants' lesson plans and explore their ideas about what they will teach with regard to citizenship. However, only one of the participants in the study had actual lesson plans, and as such, I chose not to include actual lesson plans as part of the archival work. Rather, discussion of the elements of what they were planning to teach (the whys, the hows, and the basic pedagogical elements) was incorporated into the interview.
4. Each post-observation interview discussed what the researcher observed during the lesson and how the participants interpreted what was observed with regard to their stated understanding of citizenship and how it was reflected in what they taught.
5. Informal interviews were conducted as necessary for clarification, follow-up, and further discussion.

Questions were influenced by the direction of the interviews as new issues arose.

Observations

Observations both informed the interviews and provided another source of data to contribute to analysis within and across the cases. How does what is seen in the observation compare to what is said in the interview or explored in the analysis of the textbook, and how might it shape the next round of interviews? In what way is there overlap between the categories created in the analysis of observations and in the analysis of the interviews and textbooks? The observations for this study occurred during lessons related to the concept of citizenship at varying times over the course of

the school year, with each participant being observed at least twice. Multiple observations spread throughout the school year provided a greater number of 'snapshots' for a more realistic overall portrayal. During these observations, detailed observer field notes were taken, coordinated with the interviews, and incorporated into a final report. The purpose of the observations was, ultimately, to observe the teachers in their 'natural environment' and allow for a richer narrative analysis within the study, as what is observed is compared with what is said in interviews and discussed in the textbook study. Observations, however, are a secondary data source; the majority of data was derived from interviews and archival or document data, particularly the chosen textbooks.

Archival/Document Data

Each teacher was asked for archival or document data, which was used prior to the interviews to shape some of the questions. The desired data encompassed student work, teacher writings and reflections, lesson plans, grading policies, syllabi, and, most importantly, textbooks and curriculum guides. This wide variety of archival data was intended to address the need for a significant sample of written material to inform questioning, observations, and interpretation (Merriam, 2001; Patton, 2002; Stake, 1995). Unfortunately, I encountered some obstacles in gathering the complete set of archival or document data I desired. Two of the participants had limited student work to share, and as mentioned earlier in this overview, only one had actual lesson plans to share. As a result, the interviewees spent some time discussing teacher recollection of student work that addressed concepts of citizenship they wished students to learn, as well as planned lessons that would be observed. Fortunately, all teachers had access to and used the most important archival element of this research.

The most important component of this archival research – the textbook – is of course related directly to the research questions. The goal of the second question in this dissertation is to consider how teachers balance the conception of the good citizen as presented in the textbook with their own construction and understanding of the characteristics of the good citizen. If there is a conflict, how is it resolved? The record of recent Social Studies textbooks in civic education is generally rather predictable and mixed, despite the importance that these tools typically play in Social Studies and civic instruction. Hahn (2008) reported that when researchers examined the most popular textbooks in 7th and 9th grade civics and U.S. history courses, they found that the texts “covered almost identical topics, in the same sequence and conveyed similar messages” (p. 268). The curriculum of the texts, according to Hahn, generally approached issues of citizenship in predictable ways; one book was indistinguishable from another. They painted a uniformly positive image of the duties and responsibilities of the citizen and portrayed citizenship as a story of struggle and progress. Avery and Simmons (2000/2001), who took part in the IEA study described in the aforementioned piece by Hahn, suggested that “there is a ‘national story’ conveyed across the textbooks” (p. 128) that shapes what students learn about citizenship. Using the Avery and Simmons (2000/2001) discussion of textbooks as a starting point, the participants were asked to reflect on this research, their own textbook, and their own understanding of citizenship. This phase of the study, then, occurred jointly between the researcher and the participants. As part of the second interview, we considered the textbook together and drew some conclusions about its portrayal of citizenship. Questions that were explored when considering the textbooks included: How does the text influence or

conflict with the understanding that the teachers have and want to impart to their students? Is there actually a real conflict with what the teacher views as a good citizen, or does the text actually align with teacher conceptions? What do the teachers see as the strengths and weaknesses of the textbook with regard to citizenship issues, and how might they use (or not use) it in their classroom instruction?

Data Analysis

Stake (1995) describes qualitative research as necessarily rich in detail and highly descriptive. At the same time, Stake, Patton (2002) and Merriam (2001) stress the need for constant comparison and analysis that allow for continued interpretation and an evolving view of the incoming data. This data for this study was maintained in a secure digital file, with physical materials destroyed after scanning, and all data was generally maintained as suggested by Patton (2002). This includes transcription of interviews and transcribing of field notes, compilation of the case studies, and development of the narrative discussion.

Creswell (2007) suggests a variety of ways to approach analysis to allow the researcher to develop themes, interpret data, and draw conclusions (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, as cited in Creswell, 2007). I used a coding process to determine and describe themes that appear first within individual cases and then employ a thematic analysis across the collective cases. In pursuit of themes within and across the interviews, I transcribed and coded interviews and observations using a template provided by Creswell (2007). This template requires the researcher to identify the themes within each case and then further analyze the themes within each case. At the same time, Creswell (2007) encourages the researcher to establish the case context and description for each individual case and complete a cross-theme case analysis, looking

for similarities and differences. These contribute to assertions and generalizations that can create an in-depth portrait of the collective cases.

Description of Chapters

Chapter 1 comprises the description of the study that is explored in this paper. Chapter 2, through an extensive review of the literature, addresses the key areas of the conceptual framework for this study as outlined above. Chapter 3 details the study methodology, limitations, a brief overview of the participants, and the setting(s) of the study. Chapter 4 discusses each participant individually, incorporating interview data, observations, and archival and textbook data within and across the cases, discussing the data in the context of the questions. Chapter 5 will discuss implications and conclusions of the study for teachers and teacher educators, and will address possibilities for further research.

CHAPTER 2 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The conceptual framework for this study falls into three categories: the problems and issues of citizenship education in the United States, the role of the textbook in the social studies classroom, and the impact of teachers' understandings on their instruction. This literature provides us with a basis on which to consider how the social studies teacher may view his or her role in helping students construct their own understandings of citizenship. The mix of articles and books discussed in this section generally approach the topics of citizenship education, social studies textbooks, and teacher knowledge and understandings using qualitative research methodology. Much of the research is also social constructivist in nature, suggesting an interrelationship among teacher, society, text, and student. Chapter 2 is broken into three main sections that fall under the conceptual framework as explored in this study.

The Essential Question: What is Good Citizenship?

Understanding citizenship and how best to create the good citizen is something which has been a concern of educators and civic leaders since the birth of the nation. Concerns today over what it means to be a good citizen, and worries over whether our children are truly learning what it means to be 'an American' are not new. Various advocates of the connection between public education and civic values voiced perspectives concerning elements of good citizenship and Americanism. These individuals contributed a great deal to how we think about traditional conceptions of good citizenship, and as advocates of civic education, their views concerning the characteristics of good citizenship and the centrality of public education have had some influence on common views concerning citizenship and schooling.

With the rather significant caveat that the franchise was just one among many rights limited to an elite few, many Founders saw education as integral in the crafting of what we see as the 'good citizen'. Thomas Jefferson, for example, viewed the characteristics of a good citizen as focused on duty, literacy, harmonious agreement, responsibility, and understanding of the rights possessed by the individual as part of the broader community (Honeywell, 1931 & Williams, 1971, as cited in Heater, 2004 p. 57-58). Jefferson's need to ensure an educated and aware citizenry is reflected in his pursuit of legislation in his home state of Virginia to create publically funded schools even in the midst of the American Revolution. Though this effort failed, and he never pursued the establishment of public education outside of his home state, he was not alone in seeing the need to develop good citizenship through education. His contemporary Benjamin Rush agreed that literacy and harmony should be key characteristics of the good citizen, though he saw citizens more as machines rather than individuals. Unlike Jefferson, who considered education the concern of states and local communities, Rush sought a federalized approach; the effort to create citizens in a new nation required commonalities and uniformities that could not be achieved at the state level. For Rush, the characteristics of a good citizen included discipline, an appreciation for the importance of the state in the life of the citizen, obedience to authority, and strong patriotism (Pangle & Pangle, 1993 and Tyack, 1966, as cited in Heater, 2004, p. 58-60). At the same time, Rush saw an educated and good citizenry as necessarily containing a role for women, something which even Jefferson spent little time considering. For Rush, women, as the first teachers, must necessarily be shaped

into and prepared as good citizens if the nation was to develop a strong moral character and an enlightened and engaged citizenry (Rush, 1806).

Advocacy for public education as the key to good citizenship and American democratic practice was not limited to the era of national birth and new citizenship. By the middle of the 19th century, Horace Mann argued for the establishment of common public schools as a necessary element in the process of Americanization for new immigrants and an understanding of the principles of American democracy for all Americans. Mann saw public schools as instilling in future citizens a positive work ethic, an understanding of the common good, a generally Protestant Christian morality, and a patriotism centered around shared understandings of American history, politics, and culture (Kaestle, 1983). This is reflective of Rush's desire decades earlier to ensure that common conceptions of good citizenship were shared throughout the body politic. Later, educational philosopher and reformer John Dewey suggested that the characteristics of the good citizen involve literacy, an ability to think critically, a strong work ethic, active membership in the community and our democracy, reasonable obedience to authority without slavish devotion, and an understanding of the responsibility of the citizen for himself and his community (Dewey, 1909).

The Good Citizen and its Changing Nature

A great deal of research exists concerning problems and issues in citizenship education - for example, questions about what it means to be a citizen, the characteristics we seek in the good citizen, and how best to construct that good citizen. Heater (2004) provided a helpful outline of what the teaching of citizenship has historically encompassed; he suggested that current challenges in citizenship education involve a clash between the citizen as a member of a nation-state, and the citizen as a

member of the world community. This particular challenge could be seen as a conflict between globalization and nationalism. In crafting the good citizen, Heater suggested, the society and the civic educator must find a balance that allows for participation as both a global citizen and an active member of the nation-state as it currently stands. This balance was a focus of the work of Barton and Levstik (2004). These authors argued that despite the current backseat that civics, history, and social studies education have taken in favor of 'tested' subjects, there is concern over "how history [a vital component of a quality civic education] supports or subverts national and ethnic identity, [and] how it increases hatred or promotes reconciliation" (p.1). This may necessarily pose new challenges to civic education as teachers attempt to determine just what type of citizen they should be forming, and just what that citizen should know.

Does the crafting of a citizen of the global community require the development of different characteristics than we wish to instill in the citizen of the singular nation-state? Are these necessarily conflicting citizenships? These are questions that teachers must answer if they are to understand their own goals for the good citizen. Westheimer and Kahne (2004), for example, suggested that teachers' goals concerning the crafting of good citizens are derived from their own assumptions about what a good citizen does. The teacher that seeks to create personally responsible citizens focuses on character education and the importance of honesty and obedience to the law. The teacher seeking to create the participatory citizen emphasizes the importance of leadership within established institutions and addressing social and civic problems through those institutions. Alternatively, a teacher with the goal of creating justice-oriented citizens encourages students to consider challenging the established order and collaborating on

new ways to address old problems that the traditional institutions and systems have failed to resolve. These differing goals can be shaped by a number of factors, not all of which are within the control of the teacher. For example, a teacher's personal preference and background may encourage a justice-oriented approach, but the standardized curriculum and school mandates may focus more on personal responsibility and character education. These goals are similar to the pedagogical approaches suggested by Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977) and later discussed by Thornton (1994), with teachers' goals reflected within the chosen pedagogical approaches of social science study, cultural transmission, and critical reflection. Those approaches will be explained further later in Chapter 2. Ultimately, teachers' goals for the types of citizens they wish to create may be circumscribed by the limits of the curriculum that they are required to teach. A goal of this dissertation is to consider how the individual teacher may pursue a conception of the characteristics of good citizens within a proscribed curriculum and textbook.

Despite these challenges, Meier (2009) examined the trends and proposed that we have increasingly moved toward a definition of citizenship as active participation in the community, particularly the community of the nation-state, evolving from a necessarily limiting vision of citizenship as only for those of the elite. Though most might recognize that membership in the polity as American citizens is something that has not always been open to everyone, Smith (1988) suggested that we as a nation have tended to be in denial concerning these limits; quoting President Woodrow Wilson, he pointed out a mistaken conception of our own understanding of ourselves as a nation: the idea that citizenship is based on ideology rather than identity. While we as a nation

have historically claimed a welcoming approach to any and all who wish to become a participant in the American experiment, that participation has been limited. These limits were often imposed based on arbitrary distinctions of race, class, age, and gender. Overcoming these limits, and expanding participatory opportunities, has been the ongoing process that Meier (2009) has suggested. This active participation ranges from increased educational opportunities and suffrage to running for political office and organizing for social and political justice. Much of this expansion of the rights of citizenship has been through civic engagement and active participation, which could include something as individual as writing a letter to a newspaper or congressman, or something as collaborative as marches, protests, and mass civil disobedience. The examples are many, and occur throughout our history. Small tenant farmers and city-dwellers agitating for the removal of restrictions on voting based on land ownership. African Americans, Native Americans, and other traditionally 'minority' groups spending centuries pursuing equal rights and liberties for all citizens, without regard for race. Women arguing that as the first civic educators in the life of a child, as well as the equals of men, they deserve a voice and a role in civic life. Eighteen year olds pointing out that if they must fight in wars, they should have the opportunity to vote against them. As we will discuss later in this section, civic understanding of who and what is a good citizen requires that we move beyond the historical limits imposed by an originally oligarchical elite.

Overcoming the historical limits on democratic participation and the development of the good citizen took a marked turn after the middle of the twentieth century. While the extent of its influence has been somewhat misunderstood (Wruga, 2010), the

progressive Life Adjustment Education of the middle twentieth century could be seen as an effort to expand opportunity for future citizens. Indeed, Schuman (2004) suggested that the life adjustment curriculum of the mid twentieth century reflected a break from the older idea of education as reserved for that small elite. Rather than limiting civic and social education to the narrow elite, education was expanded to prepare students for life, for vocations, and for obedient citizenship. If we consider that by the middle of the twentieth century, we expanded citizenship to include various minorities and women, as well as poor and non-landowning Americans, it is important that education effectively prepare these citizens for participation as citizens in a nation where the language, curriculum and texts of civic education still generally privilege the white middle class male (Banks, 1993, 2001; Gay, 1990; Smith, 1988). Hampel (1986) pointed out that the practice of self-control was a vital element of Life Adjustment Education; self-control ensured community harmony and happiness, which were key elements in the development of the good citizen. Graebner (1990) saw the schools of this era encouraging social unity while hiding social divisions under a mask of conformity. If education, and thus citizenship, is indeed expanding to a broader cross-section of society as these authors suggested, it is perhaps no surprise that the definition of good citizens requires they exercise restraint and conformity to ensure stability. The curriculum and related classroom instruction was developed to reflect this, as we shall discuss when we examine the role of the textbook in the development of the good citizen and the responsibilities associated with that citizenship.

I have suggested here that Life Adjustment Education could be seen through a civic lens; it was an effort, in some ways, to better prepare future citizens for

participation in American economic, social and political life as it was. There were, however, limits to what this sort of education could do, and the promise that it offered as a means to ready students for civic engagement and economic success. In his review of the historical analysis and discussion surrounding this progressive movement, Wraga (2010) pointed the reader toward the tremendous criticism of progressive education in general and Life Adjustment Education in particular as especially loud and influential. He also suggested that the historical thinking concerning Life Adjustment Education, and its ultimate impact, was rather muddled. While many historians and critics tended to identify the program as anti-intellectual (Angus & Mirel, 1999, as cited in Wraga, 2010; Betsor, 1953, as cited in Wraga, 2010; Ravitch, 2000, as cited in Wraga, 2010), his review of the relevant data argued for the idea that the program was far less impactful or influential than the vituperativeness of its critics would suggest. At the same time, it was far more intent on civic knowledge and effective and engaging learning than the traditional critique allows for. For example, Wraga cited U.S. Office of Education's 1951 report proscribing that Life Adjustment Education contain the teaching of knowledge and skills necessary for addressing the issues facing American society (202).

Ultimately, the goal of this educational reform was to lessen the hardcore academic formalism that left many students behind, striving to engage students in learning that could be useful in their life as citizens. It was a progressive educational reform movement that contained the seeds of civic education reform, and was at least an effort at broadening the body of citizens who could feel engaged with their schools and their society. Carr (2008) addressed the variety of ways we interpret the rights, duties, and responsibilities of citizenship, tracing the changing nature of each in relation

to the demands of society. As society evolves, and as needs change, the responsibilities of citizenship grow and change with them. Consider, for example, the expansion of civil rights since the founding of the nation. As was discussed earlier in this section, as the nation's conception of citizenship has expanded from being the sole province of white, male, property owners to the perceived universal suffrage and civic participation we have today, the need to expand what we see as the 'good citizen' has necessarily grown. Horace Mann, the father of the common school and traditional public education as it has been known, was himself reflective of that expansion of citizenship; his vision of schooling involved the assimilation of a growing cadre of immigrants the world over into 'good citizens'. While it was a vision of white and Protestant republicanism overwhelming the traditional immigrant cultures, it recognized the need to absorb those immigrants into the broader mass of the nation and to make of them 'good citizens' (Kaestle, 1983; Smith, 1988).

A generation later, Samuel Chapman Armstrong also saw education as a tool to craft the 'good citizen', though his own emphasis was on developing teachers for schools aimed at recently freed slaves and the broader African-American community. These teachers were trained in the qualities of what Armstrong saw as necessary to ensure that African-Americans could grow into good citizens: obedience, dedication to labor, and moral development that might one day allow for broader participation in society. Armstrong saw good (African-American) citizens as ones which met the demands of the dominant white culture and understood the role that they were expected to play in society: supporting economic development and maintaining social stability, even at the expense of political participation (Anderson, 1988). As this suggests,

citizenship and its associated expectations could be different for different groups (Kerber, 1997). Can we expect most, if not all, Americans to share a common understanding of good citizenship, especially if we consider that American schools have largely been locally controlled? Indeed, Chester E. Finn, Jr. suggested that the concept of local control of education is “so deeply ingrained in our consciousness ... that few Americans even think about it anymore. ... [T]he phrase rolls off the tongue without ever engaging the mind” (Miller, 2008, p. 5). As a consequence of this ‘deeply ingrained’ conception, can we truly develop a definition of ‘the good citizen’ when the lived experience of citizenship among so many groups of Americans differs depending on location in time and place? While perhaps difficult, it is not impossible, and there have been certain commonalities in approach that appear in the research.

Marciano (1997) argued that citizenship education in the United States has often emphasized blind patriotism, asking citizens to approach their love of nation unquestioningly and without questioning past, present, or future actions of their government and nation. At the same time, there is an expectation for obedience, partisanship, and pure nationalism or jingoism. This framework for citizenship education that has historically been the emphasis contrasts with a more active and critical citizenship that encourages the pursuit of social reform, a willingness to question received wisdom concerning the actions of the government and the nation, and an ability to think critically about past, present, and future national goals and civic engagement. This is perhaps not surprising if we agree that there continues to be a struggle in determining just what we want citizenship to be and just how we wish our citizens to behave. Smith (1988) has seen with our own understanding of citizenship a

conflict between and attempt to integrate the liberalism of the Enlightenment and John Locke, the small-state republicanism of Jefferson (as opposed to the later conception of republicanism espoused by Mann, discussed earlier in this section), the desire for a national culture and uniform education of Rush, and what he terms 'ethnocultural Americanism', reflecting a nineteenth century belief in the uniqueness of the American 'race', especially the descendants of original English and northern European stock. None of the three have been exclusively dominant at one time, and education for citizenship has often attempted to reflect all three approaches at once. Ethnocultural Americanism, for example, does not exclude a desire for the protection of natural rights as understood within the liberal tradition, or the desire to necessarily limit citizenship to a worthy group that was an underlying element of early republicanism.

Within these perspectives, the evolution of American citizenship and civic education beyond a narrowly focused emphasis on the elite that Meier (2009) saw in civic education is perhaps illusory, though that may be a cynic's view. This evolution has expanded both civic educational opportunity and conceptions of who can be seen as in need of this education. For Meier, this requires providing students the chances for democratic civic practice within their school community. Ricci (2004) argued that at least recently, what it means to be a citizen in the United States has been consistent with Mann's vision of republican virtue (emphasizing commonalities among citizens, positive morality, support for learning, and active participation within a specified democratic framework), lately clashing with the problems of consumerism and changing modes of political discourse. If we wish to create the kind of citizens envisioned by Mann, then as Ricci implied, we must address the increasing addiction to the pursuit of wealth, the

angry approach to civic problems, and the underlying weakness of any sense of the importance of civic collaboration in the 21st century. These issues lessen the ability of the citizenry to address issues of poverty, environment, global relations, and other problems facing the modern American democracy. Rather than encouraging compromise, they have the potential to breed conflict, making solutions difficult to achieve. What sort of 'good citizen' do we wish to create? These issues reflect the changing nature of how to address the responsibilities of the citizen in the modern American system. For many civic educators and theoreticians in civic education, the emphasis within civic education must be on balancing the demands of individualism with the expectations of the community. In other words, how do we best develop in citizens an understanding of the common good? This pursuit of the common good is discussed in the next section.

Character Education and the Common Good

Chi, Jastrzab, and Melchior (2006) made the point that much of the research in civic education has tended to focus on middle and especially high school students. These students are seen as more developmentally ready for the factual components of civic education, are better able to understand the factors at play in civic society, and show significant gains in grasping civic skills and knowledge. At the same time, there is extensive disagreement between researchers on how best to approach civic education at the elementary level. This does not mean, however, that it is not possible to have vertical integration in the civic curriculum, and it begins with character education and the common good. Many researchers have viewed good citizenship as growing out of character education, in many cases seeing quality citizenship education as being impossible without quality character education, particularly in a democracy. Berkowitz,

Althof, and Jones (2008), for example, stressed that the relationship between character education and civic education is both a key to good citizenship and a challenge to integrate properly. The models we choose to present within character education should reflect our expectations for what we wish our students to be as citizens, but integration of the models must take into account the multicultural, multiethnic, and class-based nature of modern American society. Effective models reflect the classroom and the society, and the character traits demonstrated by these models reflect the characteristics we wish to develop for active citizenship in participatory democracy. The struggle to effectively integrate these models can cause problems, and there is a danger in simply associating the somewhat amorphous nature of character education with civic education. While supporting the necessary place of character education, Howard, Berkowitz, & Schaeffer (2004) have warned that conflating citizenship education and character education may simply lead to teaching what Marciano (1997) bemoaned: blind patriotism, the recitation of the Pledge of Allegiance, and 'proper' subservience to authority. The models used for character education in this approach would be war heroes, politicians, and religious figures that reflect the dominant culture. This particular approach to civic education and the development of the good citizen reflects, to some degree, a perspective on citizenship that generally centers on the importance of knowledge and the question of who is qualified to be a citizen; less emphasis is placed on community as a core feature and greater attention is placed on the expectations held for the individual as a private citizen (Kerr, 2003). Civic responsibility would necessitate an awareness of rights, the importance of voting, religious observance, and the pursuit of careers within a capitalist framework.

While some approaches to citizenship and character education emphasize the private individual, a broader approach builds on the conception of the good citizen as an active member of a democratic community, with the obligations that such participation implies (Kerr, 2003). These obligations require the good citizen to become and remain engaged within their communities, participating in features of the democratic process in appropriate stages. For example, young students become involved in creating classroom rules and voting on discipline procedures, while older students take part in model elections and refine the habits of democratic practice. These obligations would also require that good citizens volunteer within their communities, participate collaboratively in problem solving, and develop a level of civic literacy that allows them to address the problems of modern democratic society (Kerr, 2003). In this approach, the elements of good character that are deemed essential to good citizenship have increasingly centered on the concept of the common good. This idea, like good citizenship itself, can be defined in any number of ways. However, for the purposes of this study, I shall define this key element as an understanding of the citizen's responsibility to the larger society. This definition moves the understanding of the character traits of the good citizen beyond the simple emphasis on rights. Gutmann (1990) argued that modern conceptions of citizenship and the good citizen centered on communitarian ideals and some understanding of the common good, however nebulous, are in many ways reflective of older conceptions of civic virtue that demand the sublimation of individual needs to the requirements of the state. Indeed, Benjamin Rush (1806), as far back as the late 18th and early 19th centuries, argued in favor of placing the needs of the nation-state and the importance of the community above the

individual and individual rights. This demonstrates that some understanding of the importance of consensus and collaboration in civic development was important as early as the founding of the nation.

The common good, of course, must be seen as more than mere theory. Effective instruction in toward the common good requires active learning if it is to be understood and internalized effectively. Parker (1996) emphasized understanding the role that the good citizen must play in the pursuit of the common good, arguing for allowing students to practice democratic deliberation, critical thinking, cooperative problem solving, and active citizenship within local, national, and global issues. This is a broad conception of civic education that suggests an approach to citizen development that moves beyond the previously discussed transmission approach and allows for student engagement with aspects of the common good that can be translated to broader civic participation. This engagement is a necessary component of modern democratic civic education.

Students, as future citizens, must be given the opportunity to take part in models of democratic practice and begin to gain an understanding of the values and beliefs that are necessary to ensure the functioning of modern American democracy. This includes taking part in rule making, voting, volunteering, collaboration, and community development within a school or classroom, functioning as models that can be extrapolated to the broader American nation (Berkowitz, Althof, & Jones, 2008; Kerr, 2003; Parker, 1996). In the same vein, Heater (2004) and Banks (2009) argued for broadening citizenship and character education and ideals of good citizenry to incorporate global expectations. Indeed, this could include moving beyond the American Bill of Rights and conceptions of American constitutional government and toward an

embrace of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, though one imagines that such an outright embrace of 'international citizenship' may find resistance among some segments of Americans (Moravcsik, 2000; Welsh, 2004). This expansion of citizenship education to incorporate a more global approach begins the move away from a nation-state approach and reflects some of the demands of 21st century life. In some ways, this already has been recognized by those involved in curriculum development. National organizations and state education departments increasingly emphasize preparation for citizenship in a global world. An examination of the National Council for the Social Studies' 10 themes for social studies education and the Florida Department of Education curriculum documents for social studies, for example, shows the importance that is now placed on global citizenship. Teachers, according to these standards, need to teach students about global interactions, the role of international organizations in pursuing common goals, and the global consequences of environmental change as a result of human-environment interaction (FLDOE, 2008; NCSS, 1994). Even within a broader global framework, however, proper appreciation for the common good demands the development of particular characteristics within the future citizen, tying us again to character and civic education.

Quality character education within the common good incorporates moral education that encourages particular dispositions, such as courage, social justice, self-control, honesty, and integrity, as well as a real appreciation for citizen responsibility within a cooperative society. What is meant by these terms in relation to the responsibilities and characteristics of citizenship and good citizens? Courage is a willingness to move outside of a comfort area and take risks that challenge political or

social status. Social justice is providing a voice for those who have traditionally been silenced. With that voice, the good citizen seeks to ensure equity of opportunity and the protection of rights for those silenced within the broader community. Self-control requires the citizen to appreciate the benefits of delayed gratification as well as knowing how to interact respectfully with those they may disagree with. This interaction also relates to the disposition of integrity; the good citizen interacts honestly and fairly with others and makes decisions with as little partisanship as possible. Finally, the good citizen understands how these elements shape and influence civic responsibility and relate closely to the importance of collaborating for the common good (Haynes & Pickeral, 2008; Hinde, 2008; Patrick, 2003). These dispositions prepare citizens for active and knowledgeable participation within the democratic system. Moving beyond simple perceptions of 'patriotism' as the most important characteristic to instill allows for a much deeper exploration of what it means to be a good citizen, beyond the traditional focus on patriotism and nationalism. Indeed, some explorations of how we consider citizenship have gone further than moral character education and exploration of the common good as a simple classroom activity; these explorations have proposed that no definition of citizenship can be complete without helping students understand the necessity for activism and service to society.

Earlier in Chapter 2, I talked about the need for civic education to contain the opportunity for practice. For authors such as Parker (1996), this implementation of practice within the classroom or school community adds a new dimension to conceptions of good citizenship. There is a distinction between the traditional conception of engagement, with citizens involved in decision-making and volunteerism

within a democratic community, and activism, which builds upon the dispositions described earlier to encourage the pursuit of social change. Parker argued that any true civic learning cannot take place without active engagement with the content of that learning. Active citizenship, after all, requires *action*, and service learning is a means to this end. Primarily, it serves as a method to develop empathetic understandings and a working rather than conceptual knowledge of the common good, developed through practice in citizenship activities. This takes participating citizens beyond simple engagement with traditional democratic practices and an academic understanding of the problems and obstacles facing modern American society and toward practical action in dealing with them (Barber, 1991; Battistoni, 2000; Berman, 2004; Doyle & Shenkman, 2006; Hepburn, 2000; NCSS, 1994; Ross, 2008; Zipin and Reid, 2008). This could include, for example, solving local problems regarding pollution, starting a letter writing campaign concerning an issue of social justice, engaging with adult citizens on political issues and presenting the voice of future citizens as one which shows understanding and demands acknowledgement when possible. Examining these perspectives, we find that engagement with the wider citizenry and involvement with the needs of a democratic society necessitates that the good citizen be a proponent of social justice. If this is the case, then the quality civic educator must have an understanding of just what social justice involves.

Social justice as a concept significant in teaching, learning, and curriculum is a controversial one (Cochran-Smith, 2009; Gutmann, 1995; Heybach, 2009). From a social reformist perspective, the idea of social justice is integrally tied to democratic citizenship. To develop a citizen who understands the concept is seen by many scholars

as the first step in relating to the common good and moving beyond a narrow, private, and individualized perception of citizenship (Banks, 2004; Barber, 1991). However, agreement over how to define social justice in relation to the increasing diversity of the American experiment has not been a fully realized project, and the impact of social diversity on civic education is open to debate (Gutmann, 1995). At the same time, how one actually defines 'teaching for social justice' is itself debatable and open to interpretation. Zollers, Albert, and Cochran-Smith (2000) suggested that educators present a wide diversity of belief concerning just what that is, and a consensual definition is difficult to reach. It is in many ways an individual decision centered on a consideration of particular questions. Does teaching for social justice address issues of fairness and equity? Is injustice institutionally or individually oriented? How much responsibility (or ability) does the individual teacher have to advocate for social justice, and to what extent should that advocacy occur? In considering these questions, the individual teacher attempts to define social justice for him or herself, and must decide on an approach that fits within that definition.

As mentioned earlier, the concept of social justice actually, and perhaps disappointingly, remains somewhat controversial, and has been since the birth of social studies. Harold O. Rugg's efforts to incorporate the teaching of social justice into his social studies curriculum in the 1930's, for example, met with great resistance from organizations like the American Legion, who saw such elements as potentially threatening to their own visions of good citizenship and more akin to the teaching of socialism (Evans, 2004, 2007; Tyack, 2003; Zimmerman, 2005). As recently as 2006, social and political conservatives succeeded in removing 'teaching for social justice'

from the dispositional elements considered by NCATE for the certification of university teacher preparation programs (Heybach, 2009). Again, we must consider how this relates to the idea of 'the good citizen'. Must this good citizen truly be a force for change and an advocate for so-called 'social justice'? Must every teacher define social justice in the same way, and thus must every citizen define social justice in the same way? Do textbooks consider the concept of social justice at all? These are questions that have no clear answer, and participants in this study will address this in their own way.

In discussing the development and changing nature of what we expect in the good citizen, we can see within the literature certain overarching strands. There has been a consistency in what we expect of our citizens, or at least what we say that we expect: social stability, the pursuit of economic prosperity, an increasing concern over the common good, active participation in the American experiment, and civic knowledge. The question, of course, is how our expectations of citizens match with what and how we teach our citizens. In many cases, social studies and civic educators must rely on the textbook for the heart of their teaching (Fitzgerald, 1979; Thornton, 1992, 1994; Zimmerman, 2005). At the elementary level especially, the textbook is becoming the driving force in civic education, and similar issues occur at the middle and high school level. As we explore in the next section of this literature review, that is not necessarily for the best.

The Role of the Textbook

Textbooks are a significant factor, for good or ill, in many social studies courses and often play a large role in traditional classroom instruction. As a result of this influence, no consideration of the role of social studies teachers in shaping the next generation of citizens can ignore the role of textbooks. As mentioned briefly at the end

of the previous section, textbooks have increasingly driven instruction within civic education. At the elementary level, social studies and civic education is text driven, when it is taught at all, and it often shapes the curriculum of middle and high school courses in many states as well, especially if the textbooks reflect state standards (Conan, Bernier, & Manzo, 2010; Ravitch, 2003; Thornton, 1992, 1994; Zimmerman, 2005). Certainly, discontent over these texts is nothing new. FitzGerald (1979), for example, examined how reform shaped textbooks and the teaching of citizenship throughout the 20th century, arguing that it had unforeseen consequences, including silenced voices, dry and unengaging material, and shallow content coverage. This critique of texts and the role they play in the development of the citizen is one which has been repeated again and again. Consistently, students have struggled with social studies and civic content, finding little of use in the texts or the instruction (Dunn, 2000; Elliot, Nagel, and Woodward, 1985; Stodolsky, 1988; Stodolsky, Salk, and Glaessner, 1991). This certainly bodes ill for the development of good citizens; if the students cannot find the instruction worthwhile, then it is most unlikely that they will develop into the citizens we as civic educators wish them to be. Teachers, in many cases, complain about the quality of texts and have had to find ways to adapt, modify, or otherwise incorporate a relatively boring text in a manner that meets state and local requirements, develops a knowledge base, and engages the learner (Bean, Zigmond, and Hartman, 1994). The quality of the texts is in some ways a consequence of the previously discussed changes in who we wish to incorporate into our understanding of who is a citizen. This has led to a politicization of social studies and civic textbooks.

This politicization of textbooks, which could be considered an effort to prioritize the content and values concerning citizenship and history that we wish students to learn, has been occurring since we have had common public schools. The common schools of the 19th century, for example, often used textbooks that portrayed various ethnic groups in the United States as somewhat less than ideal. The Irish, for example, were many times portrayed in history and civics as drunken Catholic louts in need of civilizing (Kaestle, 1983). Other more recent immigrant groups from Southern and Eastern Europe were often portrayed as simply “illiterate, clannish, undemocratic, unintelligent”, incapable of assimilating smoothly into broader American culture and becoming good citizens (Tyack, 2003, p. 54). Native Americans were presented as savages who only were redeemable if they adopted white Protestant Christian values and ethics (McMaster, 1901). As social studies arose in the early 20th century (Kliebard, 2004; Saxe, 1991), the politicization of textbooks continued. Post World War One efforts to craft texts that reflected the desires of particular groups to ensure their perspectives were dominant. Organizations such as the Knights of Columbus, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Steuben Society, and the American Legion sought to force textbooks into presenting their visions of good citizenship and Americanism (Tyack, 2003; Zimmerman, 2005). Harold O. Rugg’s work in establishing a uniform and progressive curriculum in the field met with resistance across the spectrum, but particularly from conservative critics who questioned the image of the good citizen being taught, as well as the history being taught to those future citizens. Rugg’s presentation of social justice, the pursuit of economic equality, and an appreciation for diversity as integral components of what it meant to be a good

American citizen outraged a number of figures on the Right, from the Chamber of Commerce and Hearst newspapers to the American Legion (Evans, 2007; Tyack, 2003; Zimmerman, 2005). As a result of this sort of intense pressure, social studies textbooks that followed after Rugg's criticized efforts tended to shy away from anything that could be seen as controversial or challenged traditional perceptions of good American citizenship, as I will discuss further below.

Controversy over political and economic themes within the social studies and civic education has continued well into the modern era. Lerner, Nagai, and Rothman (1995) considered the ways that textbooks have influenced and shaped the teaching of citizenship in the schools, suggesting that citizenship education has been watered down and stunted by the politicization of textbooks. This is not a surprise. Consider, for example, that almost from the birth of the field of the social studies as a distinct curriculum encompassing the variety of courses that include history, economics, and government, criticism has centered on perspectives and what exactly students are learning about citizenship and being American. Concerns over whether civic educators were creating socialists, challenging orthodoxy, and creating citizens that did not reflect the expectations of American society led to consistent challenges to the curriculum and the development of textbooks that avoided potential controversy (Evans, 2004, 2007; Mraz, 2004; Saxe, 1991). Ravitch (2003) points to problems with the politicization of language in social studies and other texts. By watering down the language that is used in the text, and seeking to avoid offense aimed at the left or the right side of the political spectrum, the textbooks present students with a very bare and simple perspective on what it means to be a citizen in America. This has been an oft-criticized issue by many

social studies and civics educators and theoreticians. Loewen (2005) and Masalski (2000), for example, have both called attention to this type of citizenship education that often paints a false and idealistic vision of the United States that glosses over the struggles and failures of the American ideal and paints a rosy picture of uninterrupted progress.

In addressing these issues, Gagnon (1989) proposed ways that social studies textbooks could be improved for citizenship education; these changes would include such simple elements as greater depth and detail, as well as addressing controversial issues and mistaken assumptions related to religion, civil rights, and the roots of the American political system, topics which the textbooks often simplify, ignore, or get utterly wrong, such as the role of Christopher Columbus in the settlement of the Americas and devastation of Native communities or the role of slavery in the Civil War and the heart of states' rights efforts (Loewen, 2005). This greater depth and detail would move textbooks beyond the 'cover everything' focus that they have now, incorporating a broader spectrum of perspectives and approaches concerning the content. By providing greater depth and detail concerning historical events and figures and civic issues, Gagnon expected that students will gain a greater understanding of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship and teachers will be able to discuss content with greater confidence concerning accuracy. At the same time, the greater depth and detail makes it easier to discuss potentially controversial issues with less fear of upsetting the wrong people.

Most recently, we have seen the problem of textbooks within civic education play out in Texas, where a politically motivated state school board committee developed

social studies and civics learning standards intended to guide textbook development for the foreseeable future. As Texas is one of the largest textbook purchasers in the country, this will shape national civic and social studies textbooks as well (Conan, Bernier, & Manzo, 2010). These standards painted a picture of the 'good citizen' that was generally Christian, racially or culturally of white Northern or Western European stock, politically and religiously conservative, free-market and anti-socialist/anti-welfare state capitalist, and patriotic to the point of jingoism, with an 'America: love it or leave it' attitude. The standards, for example, remove the role of Jefferson in the Enlightenment, whitewash the contributions of minorities to the nation, emphasize the establishment of the United States as a Christian nation, and downplay issues of race, gender, and class (Stern & Stern, 2011). If we as educators rely on textbooks relying on these standards to teach our students about good citizenship, then that conception of the good citizen is going to ignore a significant percentage of the student and future citizen population. Students may struggle to see how expectations for citizenship apply to them, when they cannot find themselves in the biased image of the good citizen presented in the text. As students and as citizens, they may lack a sense of empowerment, rarely consider issues of justice and equality, and struggle to think critically about civic issues and problems (Loewen, 2005; Ndura, 2004; Ravitch, 2003; Romanowski, 1996).

Knowing, then, how the textbooks choose to portray the good citizen and the expectations of good citizenship is integral to understanding how teachers endeavor to help students become good citizens. Is there a conflict between the text and the teacher? How is that conflict, if any, resolved? As part of a phased study of civic education at the turn of this century, Avery and Simmons (2000/2001) explored how

textbooks present the ideas of national character and good citizenship, determining that there was little difference between texts and asserting that textbooks tend to serve as a de facto national civics curriculum. These authors provide us with a starting point for exploring in greater detail how these textbooks portray the so-called 'good citizen', and the participants in this study will use this starting point to explore their own construction of that good citizen in the classroom.

Teacher Knowledge and Understandings of the Good Citizen

The social studies educator has at least some impact on what students learn about citizenship, though the outcome of instruction is, to at least some degree, shaped by external forces beyond the control of the teacher; these could include outside readings, family, peers, and personal dispositions that lie outside the realm of the classroom (Grant, 2003). These outside influences may be in conflict with what the teacher teaches in the classroom, and could present an obstacle to effective instruction if the teacher conceives of citizenship differently than what those outside influences suggest. Necessarily, how the teacher chooses to overcome this possible obstacle relies on where the teacher does have some influence: the classroom. In this case, his or her own knowledge and understandings of citizenship come into play. The knowledge of the social studies educator, and how she/he understands the concept of the citizen and the purpose of civic education, is an area that has been explored before; much of the research has focused on teacher content knowledge and how it relates to successful instruction. For example, Hill, Rowan, and Ball (2005) described the impact that teacher content knowledge has on the success of students. Not surprisingly, the quality of instruction within the social studies reflects the teachers' own comfort with and knowledge of the content, a factor that could matter in effective citizenship education as

well. The less comfortable the teacher is with the content, the more that reliance will be placed on the textbook in curriculum planning and development.

As discussed earlier in Chapter 2, the reliance on the textbook is not necessarily compatible with the development of the characteristics of good citizens if that text presents a different conception of 'the good citizen' as compared to that of the civic educator. Alternatively, however, teachers may be able to use the textbook to supplement and build upon their own understandings and conceptions. Ultimately, the research within social studies education itself indicates the importance of content knowledge and the need to ensure that the teacher has a strong content base that goes beyond the textbook. Ross and Yeager (1999) explored the relatively shallow nature of civic understanding and the role of citizens on the part of pre-service elementary educators. While the study focused on elementary educators, the arguments are certainly transferable; no matter the grade level, the amount of civic understanding on the part of the teacher impacts the level of learning and the perspective of the students. Indeed, civic understanding is not necessarily impacted by content knowledge. Undergraduate majors within a social science field may reflect a similar shallow understanding of civics (van Hover, Ross & Yeager, 2001). A shallow understanding limits what teachers are capable of presenting to students and this limited understanding of good citizenship makes it difficult to develop the characteristics of good citizens that have been discussed elsewhere in Chapter 2. Misco and Patterson (2007) reinforced this suggestion by describing pre-service educators struggle to discuss controversial issues with students because they lack a real understanding in or confidence concerning their knowledge of those issues. Brint, Contreras, and Matthews

(2001) found a similarly shallow understanding of good citizenship on the part of elementary educators; for these teachers, the good citizen was the obedient citizen. Within this understanding of good citizenship, the good citizen is less of a critical thinker and more accepting of mainstream civic expectations and government actions; he or she is unlikely to see the need for or pursue social action to initiate change or challenge the status quo. This is not all that surprising, especially if we consider that historically in the K-12 classroom, this was the expected perspective among the predominately traditionalist educators that may have molded the outlooks of these more recent teachers. The job of the civic educator, within this context, is to create the next generation of citizens through a strong transmission of the dominant culture and an appreciation for perceived national values, such as hard work, patriotism, religiosity, and respect for legitimate authority (Barr, Barth, and Shermis, 1977; Kerr, 2003; Marciano, 1997; Smith, 1988). Concerns over limited teacher knowledge within citizenship education and the social studies have been emphasized for decades, with scholars generally agreeing that overall content knowledge at all levels leaves something to be desired and suggesting that the problems with teacher content knowledge have contributed to the problems with social studies and citizenship education today (Fritzer & Kumar, 2002; Jacoby, 1969; Leming, Ellington, & Schug, 2006; Passe, 2006; Thornton, 2001). These problems contribute to the lack of engagement students have with the social studies and civic education. Looking at the issue from a longer term perspective, educators may resist deeper instruction in and understanding of citizenship and the social studies because as students, they struggled with the concepts themselves or with the way they were taught at the high school or college level. The

cycle repeats itself as they enter the classroom and begin the process of creating the next generation of citizens.

While content knowledge is a significant component of a quality citizenship education, the understanding of the teacher about what it means to be ‘a good citizen’ and what encompasses quality citizenship education are just as significant. Barr et al. (1977) put forward the view that social studies educators tend to fall into one of three traditions in the teaching of content and classroom instruction. The social science tradition addresses the differing subject areas of social studies (geography, history, economics, etc.), sometimes in isolation, but most often through integration. It is content specific and encourages decision making that uses the processes and content of the social sciences to solve problems. The second tradition, reflective inquiry is less content specific or tied to specific social science processes. Rather, it encourages problem-solving through reflection and engagement; students select the best approach to civic and social problems they may wish to deal with, and no one right approach is necessarily correct. The important element is to actually try to deal with the problem. The most common approach found within their research, and supported by Thornton (1994) in a later study, is that of cultural transmission. This emphasizes the passing down of cultural knowledge from generation to generation. This is highly teacher centered and authority driven. Generally, this would be a ‘traditional’ understanding of American culture, history, and society, the so-called ‘story of unending progress’ so criticized by Loewen (2005) and Zinn (1995). Their critique of this ‘story of unending progress’ points out that the citizen crafted through these textbooks is likely to reflect the textbooks themselves. Little attention is paid to the problems that American society

has had with, for example, the acceptance and integration of minorities, the consequences of free-market capitalism for American citizens, the expansion of government power at the expense of civil liberties, and the actions of the US government in the area of foreign policy and trade, among many other neglected aspects of American civic tradition and history. This approach avoids controversy whenever possible, white-washing and sanitizing our national history (Evans, 2007; Loewen, 2005; Tyack, 2003; Zimmerman, 2005; Zinn, 1995)

While these critiques focus on social studies as a whole, they can be seen as a concern in civic education as well. Consider, for example, the previously discussed and much disparaged Texas standards. The citizen developed through those standards reflects the religiously and politically conservative and traditional understanding of good citizenship as patriotic, white-centered, middle class, and obedient. While this is somewhat of a generalization, at the extreme this citizen sees 'ethnic' history and culture as less important than the history and culture of white Protestant America, middle-class status as easily achievable if only one works hard enough and embraces the free-market, anti-welfare worldview, sees social agitation for reform as a threat to order, and views uncritical acceptance of the story of American progress as an important element in encouraging patriotism. After all, within this view, one cannot focus on the darker elements of national history and citizenship and still be patriotic (Evans, 2007; Loewen, 2005; Tyack, 2003; Zimmerman, 2005; Zinn, 1995). Teachers may challenge those standards and that approach, but how effective would they be? Thornton (1994) in fact saw a conflict between what teachers say they are teaching concerning citizenship, and what and how they actually teach it. Teachers have not

forgotten the lessons of their learning in colleges of education, but the application of those lessons may at times leave something to be desired. Where teachers say they are focusing on critical interpretation, they may more often emphasize cultural transmission. Misco and Patterson (2007) explained that new teachers especially may justify this by discomfort with the content, school culture, the aforementioned lack of knowledge, or job concerns. At the same time, Cornett (1990) described high school teachers in the social studies as believing they needed to emphasize critical practice. At times, these teachers are capable of implementing the desired goals of teaching for social justice and preparing students to be active citizens; the conflict arises when outside curricular pressures, such as those imposed through standards and the requirements of textbooks, force these teachers to abandon the ideal.

This dichotomy between civic education for active and engaged critical participation and civic education as a means of Barr, Barth, and Shermis' (1977) cultural transmission remains an ongoing source of tension within American society, especially if, as Ross (2001) suggested, civic education demands specific attitudes to society and particular skills necessary for participation as a citizen, such as active engagement and the pursuit of social change. The job of the civic educator, then, is to mold the future citizen in the image that will allow for active participation. As the discussion throughout Chapter 2 has suggested, however, the trouble is determining just what we want that image to be. We must understand what we expect of the good citizen if we wish to undertake an approach that will craft that good citizen. What behaviors are the most important to instill in the good citizen? What knowledge of civics, of history, and of the broader social studies do we wish our citizens to possess? Parker (1996) attempted to

resolve the conflict between the approaches towards civic education by proposing that in order to develop historical understanding and critical thinking, the teacher must be willing to both transmit a traditional understanding of so-called common knowledge *and* practice the development of those skills necessary to challenge that received wisdom. This is the direction that research suggests is necessary for the development of the good citizen, one that is engaged with social justice, active and participatory in the American democratic system, capable of balancing individual rights with the common good, and possessing a knowledge base that goes beyond the shallow perspective of the 'textbook citizen' as described earlier in Chapter 2. The understanding by the civic educator of the characteristics that he or she values in 'the good citizen' is key to moving in this direction.

Recent research in this area indicates a wide range of civic understanding across the social studies field, with teachers possessing a number of different perspectives. Generally, studies suggest that teacher perspectives on citizenship education vary based on personal background, education, self-identification, and political persuasions; these factors shape how teachers perceive their role as a civic educator and what they emphasize in citizenship education – e.g., assimilation versus cultural pluralism, whether they see a conflict between the pursuit of both legal and social justice for all citizens versus the maintenance of law and order (as in civic agitations that went beyond peaceful marches during the Civil Rights and anti-Vietnam War movements, for example) , coverage of current and controversial events from multiple perspectives, and honest discussion of the political process, among many others described in the research. The choices made by the educator determine the type of civic instruction the

student receives, and this instruction may not be necessarily consistent with or particularly suited to a 21st century multicultural democracy that must consider the needs of a broad spectrum of citizens of differing backgrounds, with differing needs and goals, addressing problems of American democracy that were not imagined at the writing of the Constitution or within the imaginations of the Founders Rush and Jefferson or the reformer Mann (Anderson, Avery, Pederson, Smith & Sullivan, 1997; Banks, 2001; Dunkin, Welch, Merritt, Phillips, & Craven, 1998; Evans, 2004; Hahn, 1998; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004; Niemi & Junn, 2005).

Conclusions

In Chapter 2, I explored the factors driving civic education and potential obstacles to quality civic education. Throughout this study, I will be exploring what it means to be a good citizen, as participant teachers understand it. That growing and changing nature of how we define citizenship and the good citizen was addressed in the first section. While there are some common themes throughout our national history, as access to the rights of citizenship has expanded, our understanding of the good citizen has altered to reflect new expectations or reinforce old ones.

As we consider the changing nature of citizenship in the United States, we cannot ignore the importance of the common good, as discussed in the second section of Chapter 2. As described in this section, it reflects the notion that good citizens must balance their own individual rights with the needs of the civic community, while also understanding their own role as active democratic participants within the American political and social system. Civic educators, in preparing students for participation in democracy as a member of the nation-state and as a broader global citizen, must integrate an understanding of the common good into instruction. This incorporates

elements of moral and character education which aims at instilling in future citizens the characteristics associated with good citizenship. The use of some level of service learning to encourage engagement with civic responsibility is one of the key factors in constructing the good citizen.

One of the significant issues social studies and civic educators face in that constructing of the good citizen within the classroom is the influence of the textbook. In section two, I also discussed the importance of the textbook in shaping civic instruction and the problem that this poses in ensuring quality civic instruction. The inability of students to engage with the text, teacher struggles with the content, and the bland, traditional image of the citizen as presented in most textbooks presents an obstacle that must be overcome.

The final section of Chapter 2 touched on the importance of teacher knowledge and understanding in painting the picture of the good citizen. Teachers struggle, at times, to effectively incorporate critical civic education into the curriculum, despite the best of intentions. Their own understanding and knowledge of what it means to be a good citizen can be shaped by a variety of factors and influences, and is balanced by the strictures of what the traditional curriculum may demand. Thus, this study will build on the work of early research and explore how the teacher herself interprets her own role in citizenship education and, more importantly, how she understands, interprets, and applies the concept of good citizenship and the characteristics of 'the good citizen' in balance with that presented by the textbook. Through an examination of what these teachers see as necessary elements of good citizenship, the questions posed in this dissertation seek to find commonalities between perspectives on what makes a good

citizen and how we define good citizenship. Much of the research described in Chapter 2 focuses on the pedagogy and elements of social studies and civic education, considering its purpose and how it is taught. This research provides a consideration of how that purpose reflects individual teacher notions of what they are actually teaching students to be. What kind of citizens are they seeking to create, in spite of (or in conjunction with) their proscribed curriculum? How do the characteristics they seek to instill in these future citizens compare to the goals of civic education as described by researchers such as Westheimer and Kahne (2004)? The questions also attempt to fill a hole concerning the textbook and the teacher. Is there truly a conflict between the citizen as presented in the textbook and the citizen as perceived and presented by the teacher? If not, why not, and if so, how can they be reconciled?

CHAPTER 3 RESEARCH METHODS

This study, as described in Chapter 1, explores how social studies educators understand their own perspectives on civic education and the responsibilities and rights of citizens. At its heart, social studies education is about citizenship (NCSS, 1994). Indeed, social studies education is at its heart about developing citizens who can become contributing and active members of democratic society (Wichowsky & Levine, 2002). The next generation of citizens is molded and shaped by educators who enter the classroom and pursue this task from a variety of backgrounds and formative experiences that contribute to their own ways of making meaning about civics and citizenship education, and determine how they may approach civic instruction in their classrooms (Blanken, 1999; Brookhart and Durkin, 2003; Marks, 2000; Newmann, Wehlage, & Lamborn, 1992; Stodolsky, 1988).

The objective of this study is to explore the perspectives of secondary social studies teachers whose focus is civic education. These educators, with content areas most relevant to civic education, work directly with students on the verge of formal citizenship as they approach the age of eighteen, when they assume all of the perceived rights and responsibilities of that citizenship and are most in need of knowing what is expected of them. The research centers on two key questions:

1. How do secondary social studies teachers with differing political self-identifications define the concept of citizenship in the United States within the context of the American political system, and how is this (or is this not) reflected in their classroom instruction?
2. How do secondary social studies teachers interpret the textbook's portrayal of the concept of citizenship within the context of the American political system, and how might this interpretation balance with their own conceptions as well as classroom instruction?

Theoretical Orientation

Qualitative research addresses “persons’ lives, lived experiences, behaviors, emotions, and feelings” (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 2). It also considers how meaning is constructed by human beings, as suggested by Glesne (1998). This is the research perspective that will form the foundation of this project. The social studies educator plays an important role in presenting elements of civic education to the students. As this study is intended to explore the perspectives of these educators, the researcher used a method that explored the ways in which knowledge concerning civics and citizenship education was constructed. Within this perspective, we have a variety of paradigm possibilities; for this study, constructivism was the approach of choice, for the reasons explored below.

Constructivism provides the researcher with the opportunity to understand how others make meaning from the world around them, and the variety of factors that go into that meaning construction (Creswell, 2007). The world and mind of the teacher is the main focus of this research, and demands an approach that does not make any assumptions about what is and is not ‘truth’; the truth in a qualitative constructivist study is what the participants say it is, as opposed to a positivist approach which demands the establishment of an abstract truth and essential certainty separate from the lived experiences of the participants (Crotty, 1998; Driscoll, 1994). In a study of this manner, then, the “objective knowledge and truth is the result of perspective” (Schwandt, 1994, p. 125). How educators make meaning about civics and citizenship education, based on their own experiences and their own backgrounds, is their truth. It is the job of the researcher in this study to draw out this truth and explore with the participants how it was created.

Within a study of this sort, Creswell (2009) provided an excellent framework for the development of questions within a qualitative study. For Creswell (2009), interview protocol questions should grow naturally out of a central focus question, and should be framed in the manner of 'what' or 'how' rather than 'why'; 'why' suggests that the researcher is "trying to explain why something occurs, and this suggests...a cause-and-effect type of thinking" that is more reflective of the relatively closed approach of quantitative research (p. 130). Understanding that a qualitative study should engage the participants to explore their own meaning making rather than encouraging the researcher to explain the meanings to the participants, Creswell (2009) also suggested that the questions be open-ended and the verbiage non-directional, thus ensuring that the research does not unduly influence the direction of the research nor demonstrate a lack of flexibility within the questions (p. 131). The questions should ideally bring out the authentic voice of the participants in order to allow them to share what they view as their own meanings and understanding.

Research Setting

The research setting for this study was a small rural county in central Florida.¹ This county was selected for a number of reasons. As a member of the teaching community within this county, access to the schools and teachers that is necessary for this research is streamlined. At the same time, personal relationships with the teachers that could possibly volunteer for this study ensured that they would have a sense of

¹ In order to ensure that participants are less identifiable, data provided by the Florida Department of Elections, the United States Census Bureau, and the Florida Department of Public Education relating to the location of this study has been merged with that of neighboring similar locations. Actual demographic data and related references are available upon request.

safety when addressing what could be potentially difficult issues. Familiarity with the teachers, the curriculum, and the community also makes it easier to build a direct connection with the participants; we are already speaking ‘the same language’ and have a relationship that can be built upon in the course of the research. While these relationships are positive, they do pose potential limitations, which are discussed later in Chapter 3. The county itself is a small, rural county in the heart of central Florida, with a generally conservative base and a diverse mix of students and faculty (Florida Department of Public Education School Accountability Report, 2009; Florida Division of Elections, 2009). Much of the social studies faculty within the county is drawn from the county itself; many of the educators are graduates of the same schools in which they are teaching (Personal Communication, 2007).

The county is rich in civic history. It is, for example, named after a figure significant in building the first cross-state railroad and creating the state constitution, though like many of his Southern compatriots, he spent time serving in the Confederate Congress as a delegate between 1861 and 1865. The county is also where significant racial discord occurred in the 1920’s, resulting in significant violence instigated by angry white citizens upset over supposed violence committed by an African-American man toward a white woman. Driving through the county, one notices a heavy appearance of both American and Confederate flags. Geographically, the county spreads from the central part of the state in the east to the western Gulf Coast, with a portion of the county set aside as a nature preserve. It is bordered by rivers to the north and the south as well.

Demographically, the population estimate as of the 2000 Census was 37,550 people, 15,967 households, and 8,789 families residing in the county. The population density reflects the overwhelmingly rural nature of the county, with 33 people per square mile. The racial makeup of the county is primarily white. As of the 2000 Census, the data states that the population of this rural county was 83.88% White, 12.97% African American, and almost 4% Hispanic or Latino. Less than 1% of the population is Native American, Asian, or Pacific Islander, though 1.32% claimed heritage from two or more races. These numbers indicate a less racially diverse population as compared to Florida as a whole and the greater United States. As of the 2000 Census, Florida as a whole is 78% white, 14.6% Black or African American, and 16.8% Hispanic or Latino. Approximately 2% of the population of Florida identifies as Native American or Asian/Pacific Islander and 2.4% claim a mixed racial heritage. At the same time, the United States, according to the 2000 Census, is 75.1% white, 12.3% Black or African-American, and 12.5% Hispanic or Latino, with the Native American and Asian/Pacific Islander population at about 4.6% and mixed race at around 2.4% (United States Census Bureau, 2000).

According to the data gathered by the United States Census Bureau, of the 15,967 households in the county, approximately 27% of those households contain children under the age of 18, 55% contain married couples living together, almost 14% are headed by unmarried women, and just over 31% are non-families. Nearly 25% of the households in the county are made up of individuals, and almost 12% are single individuals aged 65 or older. Families in this rural county are not large, generally averaging 3 members, with the average household measuring 2.44 residents, and the

median age of individuals in the county is 43. The median income of the average household in the county is \$27,000, while the median income of the average family \$31,000. The per capita income as of the 2000 census is \$15,000, and approximately 34% of the county is below the poverty line, including just over a quarter of those under the age of 18 and almost 13% of those aged 65 and over. These numbers indicate a poorer county as compared to broader economic figures for the state of Florida and the greater United States. The state of Florida boasts a median household income of \$38,819 and family income of \$45,625. Nationally, the median household and family incomes in the United States, as of the 2000 Census, is \$41,994 and \$50,046, respectively. Per capita, this county is significantly poorer as well, with Florida's per-capita income at \$21,557 and the broader United States' per-capita income at \$21,587. Looking at this data, it is no surprise, then, that the poverty rate for the county was worse than that of Florida (21.5%) or the United States (21.6%) (United States Census Bureau, 2000).

In the area of civic participation, data compiled by the local Supervisor of Elections indicates a total of 27,714 registered voters in the county, with approximately 17,000 exercising the franchise in the 2008 election. In that same election, the county went overwhelmingly for Republican presidential candidate John McCain over Democratic nominee Barack Obama by 63.57% to 34.91%, with the remaining percentage divided among a number of minor parties (Statement of Votes Cast, 2008). While the Republican presidential candidate won the county by a significant margin, data provided by the Florida Division of Elections places the number of registered Democrats in the county as of 2009 at 15,074 as compared to 8,700 Republicans

(Florida Division of Elections, 2009). Conversations with longtime and active county residents provide insight into this discrepancy. Democrats in the county are Democrats because their parents and grandparents were; this reflects tradition rather than philosophical affiliation. Loyalty to the national party is secondary to what is necessary to take part in politics on a local scale within this rural county. Democrats have historically dominated school boards and local government in the county, and in order to exercise political power, one must make connections through the Party. The Republican Party in this rural county struggled to gain a foothold for decades as a consequence of the Civil War and Reconstruction, though that is changing. Many of these Democrats identify as political and religious conservatives, and thus tend to vote Republican while identifying as Democrats (Personal Communication, 2008).

Participating Schools

This project drew on two schools from within the county, Todd High School (THS) and Bittleburg High School (BHS)². Todd High School is the flagship high school of the county, and the largest high school in the district. The school itself was established as a public high school in the 1950's, though it did not become fully racially integrated until the 1970's. The campus itself is made up of a number of buildings, including an agriculture shop, a multipurpose building that contains science and culinary arts labs as well as the band room, an ROTC building that is a refurbished storage facility, and a separate classroom building that was constructed during the era of the Works Progress Administration as an elementary school. The school has both an honors track and a

² All schools and participants referenced in this paper are pseudonymous, and descriptive demographic data has been merged with a similar school in a nearby county to ensure greater anonymity. Actual demographic data and references are available upon request.

regular education track, as well as a small number of dual enrollment courses provided through an agreement with a local community college. THS has recently made the decision to add Advanced Placement courses, beginning with US History in the 2007-2008 school year and adding a number of others in the 2009-2010 school year in response to incentives provided by the state of Florida, which offers students college credit and teachers and districts a financial bonus for each passing score (Gupta, 2012). As of the 2008-2009 school year, the faculty of THS is predominately white and female, with 44 instructional staff covering a range of subjects. Twenty-six of the teachers have a bachelor's degree, 16 have a master's degree, and 2 have a specialist degree. The student body differs some from the state of Florida as a whole. As of 2008-2009, the student population was made up of 712 enrolled students, with 63.9% of them identifying as Caucasian, 23% as African-American, 9.6% as Hispanic, 2.5% as biracial, and the remaining percentage as Native American or Asian. In the state of Florida overall, only about 45.3% of students identified as Caucasian, while 25% identified as Hispanic; this explains the discrepancy between the school and the state. In the school accountability report for the time that this study was started, Todd High School was poorly rated for the 2008-2009 school year, with only 22% of all tested 10th graders scoring at a level 3 or above in reading on the Florida Comprehensive Assessment Test (FCAT). Despite this, THS graduated 75% of its students in the 2007-2008 school year (Florida Department of Public Education School Accountability Report, 2009). The most recent available school grade, for the 2011-2012 school year, was high, with an adjusted four year graduation rate of 87% and 43% of all tested 10th graders scoring at

a level 3 or above in reading on the FCAT, a marked change from previous years (Florida Department of Public Education School Accountability Report, 2012).

Bittleburg High School is in fact a joint middle and high school that reopened for the 2008-2009 school year in a brand new building designed to accommodate a growing student body and to replace an older structure that was approaching a half-century in age. There are 44 instructional members on the staff of this institution, with professional qualifications that include 29 bachelor's degrees, 7 master's degrees, and 3 specialist degrees. The student body is a mix of middle and high school students, with the most recent data available putting the total number of students at 712. Of those 712 students, 77.8% identified as Caucasian, 10.2% as African-American, 9.5% as Hispanic, and 2.5% as biracial. According to the most recent School Accountability Report, the number of students identifying as Asian or Native American were statistically insignificant. As of the 2008-2009 school year, when this study began, the percentage of students who scored equal to or better than a 3 on the reading portion of the FCAT (among all high school level test takers) was only 21%, a decline of 19% from the previous school year. Despite the low number of students successfully completing the FCAT in reading, the school was given a middle grade by the state of Florida, thanks in part to gains made among the middle school population of the school in reading and writing and a graduation rate that climbed from 44% in 2006-2007 to 62% in 2007-2008 (Florida Department of Public Education School Accountability Report, 2009). The most recent data for the 2011-2012 school year shows 53% of students scoring at or above a 3 on the FCAT reading portion, with an adjusted four

year graduation rate of 73% and a school grade that placed it in the middle of the pack (Florida Department of Education School Accountability Report, 2012).

Selection of Participants

Sampling Procedures and Criteria

This study, aimed at researching elements of civic education thinking, required a consideration of what Bernard (2002) would refer to as a ‘special population’ (p. 190), which in this case would be civic educators; his suggestion for an appropriate qualitative research sampling method in this case is purposive or judgment sampling. This sort of sampling requires the researcher to “decide the purpose that you want informants (or communities) to serve, and you go out and find some” (p. 189). This form of purposeful sampling is supported by Patton (2002), who suggests that participants be selected to ensure a source of data that is information rich, focused on the questions that are being addressed within the study, and “exhibit certain predetermined criterion characteristics” (p. 238), while Creswell (2007) supports sampling that “shows different perspectives on the problem, process, or event” (p. 75). The participants for this study, then, were selected based on the following criteria:

1. Taught full time at a public school for at least 3 years. This was to ensure that the participants had some level of experience in instruction and had developed some perspectives on their own roles in citizenship education, as well as had the opportunity to explore their particular textbook, which at the time of this data collection had been in use for at least four years.
2. The participants taught a civics-related course, such as American History or Government. These courses were more likely to address elements of American civic life than courses in, for example, Global Geography or World History. While Government teachers most logically would address the technical specifics of civics, it is necessary to expand the participant base to include American History teachers to ensure a larger sample from which to choose.
3. The participants used at least one textbook within their instruction.

Working with the appropriate personnel within the local district office, the researcher gained access to possible participants from both schools targeted in this study. Recruiting participants through emailed letter and personal contact, three were ultimately selected for this research. While five of the seven teachers who were approached to take part in the study responded with interest, three of those five met the specific criteria described above and had a schedule that would allow them time for interviews and observations. While I will be going into greater detail concerning the participants later in this study, the next section of Chapter 3 provides a brief introduction to those that have chosen to take part in the research.

Brief Overview of Participants

My first participant in this study, Michael, is a teacher in his second career. Prior to becoming a teacher, he was a soldier and police officer for 25 years in the central part of the state. His teacher training and preparation was completed through both a community college program and a large university in north central Florida. He has a bachelor's degree in history and a strong preparation for teaching within the social studies. At the time of this study, he had been teaching for approximately a decade as a substitute teacher and then as a professional and is currently teaching American History at Bittleburg High School. Born in 1951 and raised in the Florida Panhandle, he self-identifies as a conservative Republican.

May, the second participant, was born in 1977 and raised in Bell, Florida. She entered teaching directly out of a large university in north central Florida, with a Bachelor's Degree in Sociology and a Masters Degree in Education. She graduated from a prestigious teacher education program in the southeastern United States, and is currently teaching American History at Todd High School. At the time of this writing, she

is in her 8th year of teaching. Politically and personally, May self-identifies as a moderate liberal.

Elaine, the final participant in this study, was born in 1960 and raised primarily in Archer, Florida. She entered teaching after 15 years as wife and mother, mostly to follow her teenage children. She earned her BA in Missions from a small Christian school in south central Florida, and has been teaching her whole career at Todd High School, which at the time of this writing is in her 10th year. Elaine self-identifies as a Christian conservative.

Data Collection

Yin (2003, as cited in Creswell, 2007) argued for a wide variety of data sources in order to increase the reliability of a research project. Stake (1995) and Patton (2002), in turn, suggest the need for at least three main types of data collection in qualitative research: information rich and open ended interviews with participants, observations of participants within the environment most relevant to the researcher and the participant, and consideration of archival materials that may be gathered in a variety of ways. Merriam (2001) points out that in many studies, one type of data collection method will assume precedence, with the remaining types serving as a means to support and develop the data that was gathered through the primary method. This study used a series of interviews as a primary means of data collection, with observations occurring throughout one semester, in conjunction with textbook-centered archival research as part of the process. Interviews conducted over time influence and are influenced by both the observational and the textbook-centered archival data. Using a series of one on one interviews, rather than written surveys or a focus group, encourages a stronger relationship between the participant and the researcher, a necessary element for

information rich data collection. Individual interviews also allow the researcher to respond in the moment as the participant divulges information and opens the path for more probing questions. This data collection method also encourages participants to be more open about the discussion and questions, a possible obstacle when others may be listening, as in a focus group (Holstein & Gubrium, 2003; Maykut & Morehouse, 1994; Spradley, 1979). All gathered data, including interviews, observation notes, and archival data, are maintained in a secured data-gathering log.

Interviews

Interviews are particularly well suited for qualitative data collection. Maykut and Morehouse (1994) and Holstein and Gubrium (2003) suggest that the interview may serve as a tool to explore the research question cooperatively – i.e., as a joint project between researcher and participant, a conversation with a purpose. Indeed, these researchers reflect Spradley (1979), who argues that the researcher and participant relationship is a joint one, allowing the researcher to “know what you [the participant] know in the way that you know it ... to explain things as you would explain them” (p. 34). As Spradley (1979) argues, interviews within qualitative research allow for participants to explain their own minds and their meaning making in a way that is comfortable and in their own words. The interview process itself requires careful development of a protocol that is well-thought out, easy to use, and focused on the core research question rather than extraneous points or irrelevant data (Patton, 2002).

The interviews for this study were conducted with three participants beginning in January of 2010 over the course of the following year. This timeframe included three sets of interviews (initial interview, pre-observation interview, post-observation interview), which generally ran 60 minutes (depending on participants) and applied a

semi-structured protocol as described below. They took place in the participants' classrooms for both comfort and ease, and were recorded for transcription. There was also a series of member checks running approximately 30 minutes. Participants were given access to the transcripts to ensure accuracy and to alleviate concerns over the data-gathering process.

Guba and Lincoln (1994) describe the researcher within a constructivist qualitative model as one who functions as both a participant in the research and as a facilitator in helping subjects explore their thoughts, feelings, and understandings in order to gather rich quality data. This data is collaboratively gathered, with meaning made from the interaction between the participant and the researcher. This is most effectively done through the building of a strong and interactive relationship between the investigator and the subject, facilitated in part through extensive immersion into the subject's environment, where lived experience contributes to their own understandings (Krauss, 2005). Fulfilling this expectation is simplified when one is already partially immersed in that environment. As a teacher within the county, it was easier to build relationships with the three participants, as there was already a foundation to begin from. This position also posed a potential obstacle, however. Within this context, it was necessary that I avoid inferring meaning based on my knowledge of the participants rather than from the constructs that they themselves have provided. While in this model the researcher and participant collaborated in the process of meaning making, it was ultimately the participant's voice that must take priority. My own voice, while that of the "passionate participant" (Lincoln, 1991, as cited in Gruber and Lincoln, 1994), served as

a means to facilitate the reconstruction of knowledge. A goal of the member checks was to ensure this sort of corruption of the data occurs as little as possible.

The Interview Process

For the interview process that followed the selection of participants, we began with an initial interview that developed a relationship with the participants and provided for insight into how the participants' backgrounds helped them to construct their understanding of conceptions of citizenship, as well as how they chose to approach classroom instruction of citizenship. At the end of this initial interview, the participants were asked to use a framework developed by this researcher and adapted from the work of Avery and Simmons (2000/2001) to analyze the themes and messages concerning civic education and citizenship in the textbook they employed in their classroom instruction. This framework may be found in Appendix C. The questions for this semi-formal, semi-structured interview were designed to build a framework for further discussion, using a model provided by Patton (2002) that allows the researcher to outline the questions in advance and determine the wording and order that will allow for appropriate probing questions and flexibility based on the participants. Some interview questions were common to all participants, while others were specific to the participant and adjusted throughout the course of the research. The initial interview was also intended to enable the teacher and the researcher to begin "building a relationship, getting to know each other, and putting the subject at ease" (Bogdan and Bilkin, 1996, p. 94). The questions, then, allow the participants to describe their own backgrounds and experiences in such a way that they feel comfortable and open toward future cooperation:

1. Describe your own personal and educational background.

2. How would you describe the demographics of your school and your classroom? Is there anything that you think is important to know about either when we discuss civic education?
3. Can you please explain how you would define democracy and the qualities of a 'good citizen'? How did you develop these definitions?
4. Why is it important to teach civics and the tools of citizenship?
5. (a) Can you describe a 'teachable moment' that served as an excellent opportunity to explore citizenship with your students? (b) Is there an upcoming lesson that you believe would be ideal for observation?
6. Based on how you view democracy and the qualities of a 'good citizen', what role should your schools in general and your course in particular play in fostering good citizenship in students?
7. How should citizens participate in a democracy? What balance do you stress between individual rights and the common good?
8. To what extent do you incorporate your textbook into your classroom civics instruction? What other tools do you rely on to instruct students in civics?
9. Do you have anything else that you would care to add to our discussion?

Following the initial interview, participants were asked to review their own textbook using a framework based on the work of Avery and Simmons (2000/2001). The purpose of this framework was to allow the participants to explore their text and reflect on how the textbook may shape perspective and in what ways it may conflict or agree with their own conceptions of the qualities of a good citizen, the responsibilities of citizenship, and the purpose of civic education. This was explored in conversation between the researcher and the participants in a follow-up interview prior to the observation. At the same time, the participants were asked to provide artifacts for a lesson of their choice to be observed that demonstrates their own approach to civic education and citizenship. However, as mentioned in Chapter 1, not all participants were able to provide written artifacts for consideration, and this forced a slight revision of the interviews to ensure understanding of what the participants were planning to do in their instruction.

The second interview occurred following an analysis of the first interview transcript and provided artifacts and allowed further exploration of issues and concepts that were raised in the initial interview. Questions for this interview sought to build on what was learned in the initial interview, filling in areas that were unclear and expanding upon concepts and themes that appeared through analysis of the transcript. It also allowed for participant reflection and discussion of the provided framework for textbook analysis, and prepared both the participant and the researcher for the upcoming observation. Standard questions that were asked included the following:

1. In our previous conversation, you provided your own understanding of the qualities of 'the good citizen' and the responsibilities of citizenship, as well as what civic education should be. How would you say that your own understanding has changed over time, and what factors do you see as having the greatest influence on your understanding?
2. In your reflection concerning your own textbook and as developed within the provided framework, what are some of the issues that stand out or strike you concerning how your text approaches the qualities of the good citizen, the responsibilities of citizenship, and the purpose of civic education?
3. How does what you found in your textbook compare and contrast with your own understanding of these concepts? How can you resolve potential conflicts between your text and your own perceptions and understandings?
4. Do you believe that students tend to come away from your classes having adopted the textbook conceptions of citizenship? How can you tell?
5. What is the intent and purpose of the lesson that I will be observing?
6. What are some things that I should look for during your lesson?

The questions listed above served as a foundation for discussion; the interview, as a semi-structured and semi-formal process, contained probing questions that were derived from the participant responses. The final step in the interview process was a post-observation interview. This interview was based on an analysis of field notes created during scheduled classroom observations and the lesson plan provided or

discussed by the participant, if available. At the same time, the participant was asked to discuss the observed lesson, explaining how it reflected his or her own process of meaning making within civic education. The researcher followed the interview process and data analysis with a brief member check that allowed the participant to review the analysis and transcripts to ensure accuracy and address lingering concerns, enhancing the credibility of the research and data analysis (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Two questions were asked of the participants at this final meeting:

1. After reviewing the initial analysis of the data that we have gathered, do you have any lingering questions or concerns with the portrayal of your views concerning citizenship and civic education?
2. Do you have any further comments about the analysis or the transcriptions that you feel should be taken into consideration prior to the final analysis?

Observations

Observations offer the qualitative researcher a rich collection tool for data gathering. As Adler and Adler (1994) argue: “Qualitative observers are not bound, thus, by predetermined categories of measurement or response, but are free to search for concepts or categories that appear meaningful to subjects” (p. 378). The researcher using observation as a data-collection tool is seeking to understand the world of the participant, to provide a context for understanding participant perspective, and providing a foundation for further researcher-participant discussion (Crotty, 1998; Merriam, 2001; Patton, 2002). The observations in this study were intended to place the researcher into the membership role of a direct observer, interacting “only casually and nondirectively with subjects while engaged in their observational pursuits. This is clearly an overt role, as the observers identity remains strongly research oriented and does not cross into the friendship domain” (Adler & Adler, 1994, p. 380). This non-participant approach avoided

unduly contaminating the data and ensured that the participant maintains the natural environment and their own natural role.

For this project, there were two observations per participant, scheduled according to participant choice. The observations occurred over a 50 to 60 minute course period and were documented using extensive field notes. These notes follow the suggestions of Denzin (1989) and included interactions between the participant and the students, classroom layout and design, conversations that occurred outside the participant's awareness, and observations of lesson plan implementation and discussions of citizenship.

Archival Materials

Patton's (2002) proposal for multi-point data gathering includes consideration of archival materials to provide a stronger and more trustworthy body of data for analysis. A common critique of the use of archival material in research emphasizes the idea that it simply functions as a method to maintain the status quo, preserving the voices of the powerful at the expense of those most often denied access to the tools necessary to maintain memory (Foucault, 1972). However, this research project, using a qualitative constructivist approach, sought to provide a voice and an opportunity for the participants to be heard, particularly as the participant actively engages with the archival material. Bradsher (1991) has described archival materials as a "body of functionally and/or organizationally related material that has grown out of some activity" (p. 3). In this study, the archival material considered for this project was the textbook and a researcher-provided textbook analysis worksheet, due in part to difficulty in obtaining certain desired written work. Student work that was accessible for an extended period of time, such as projects, writing activities, and presentations, were not available for use, as

participant teachers were under an obligation to return the work quickly to students. Syllabi and unit/lesson plans, which were originally intended to serve as an element of this study, were dropped in order to ensure that the same data sources were gathered from all participants. Two of the participants in this study used only lesson plan books lacking details beyond page numbers, and a syllabus was not available from every participant. As such, the majority of the data for this step in the research process was provided by consideration of the textbook. Using a researcher-developed framework (see Appendix C), the participant discussed with the researcher how the textbook reflected particular conceptions of the qualities of the good citizen, the responsibilities of citizenship, and the general approach to citizenship education, as well as how this archival material reflected or challenged their own conceptions of citizenship.

Data Analysis

Stake (1995) described qualitative research as necessarily rich in detail and highly descriptive. Hatch (2002) argued that “Data analysis is a systematic search for meaning” and involves “asking questions of data” (p. 148). At the same time, Stake, Patton (2002) and Merriam (2001) stressed the need for constant comparison and analysis that allow for continued interpretation and an evolving view of the incoming data. This whole analytical process should begin from the start of the research, and allow for the discovery of meaning within the collected data in order to answer the original research questions (Hatch, 2002; Merriam, 2001; Stake, 1995). This includes the necessary process of coding. Miles and Huberman (1994a) described coding as assigning meaning to the words of the participants, to the observations contained within the field notes, and to data gathered from archival materials. The codes themselves may take a variety of forms: descriptive codes which require little interpretation and

simply reflect a class of phenomena assigned to a segment of text; interpretive codes, which allow for deeper exploration of meaning and variable partitioning; and pattern codes, which are inferential in nature and develop naturally later in the research (Miles and Huberman, 1994a). For this particular project, coding followed a template provided by Creswell (2007), described in Chapter 1, and used Maykut and Morehouse's (1994) recommendation of large index cards and sheets of paper to better organize codes and determine patterns.

Huberman and Miles (1994) defined quality data analysis as containing three linked subprocesses: data reduction, data analysis, and conclusion drawing/verification (p. 428-429), as below. Using these linked subprocesses as a guide, the data analysis began with reducing the gathered data into useful pieces and then turning the data into data summaries, codes, themes, clusters, and stories (Huberman and Miles, 1994). This was an ongoing process that began from the start of the research and data collection (Hatch, 2002). Connected to reduction was the display of data, which allowed for "thinking about its meanings" and included a variety of approaches, such as structured summaries, synopses, vignettes, diagrams, and text matrices (Huberman and Miles, 1994). The final element in the analysis process was described by Huberman and Miles as "'data transformation,' as information is condensed, clustered, sorted, and linked over time" (p. 429).

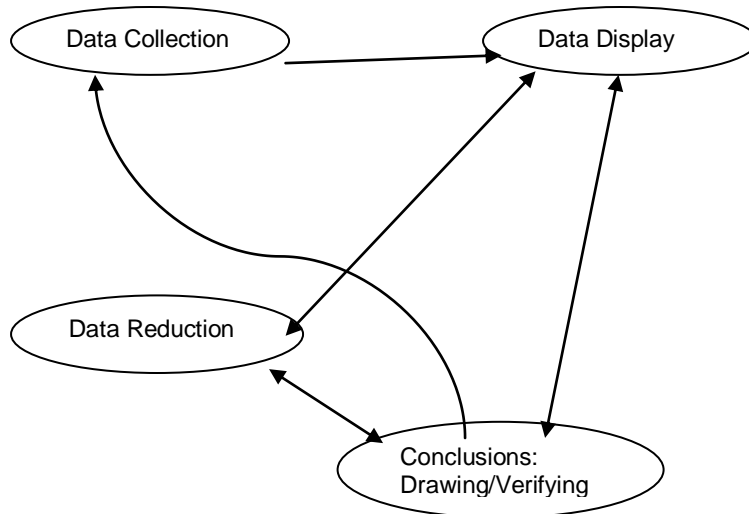


Figure 3-1. Components of data analysis: Interactive model. Adapted from Huberman, A.M. & Miles, M.B.(1994). Data management and analysis. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of qualitative research*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, p. 429.

Determining how best to approach this process as described by Huberman and Miles (1994), the researcher must first recognize that as case studies, analysis occurs both within and across cases. Using a variable oriented strategy and an inductive coding method, a search is made for recurring themes that cut across cases, seeking meaning within and across the cases. Miles and Huberman (1994a) provided a thirteen step tactical framework for drawing and verifying conclusions drawn from these themes. For my own analysis, I used portions of their framework, in conjunction with the template provided by Caswell (2007) and recognized that the process of coding, grouping, and categorization is truly an iterative one. Each relevant step within the modified framework is provided below:

1. Noting Patterns and Themes: This involves determining patterns, which Miles and Huberman describe as “patterns of variables involving similarities and differences among categories, and ‘patterns of processes’ involving connections in time and space within a context” (p. 246). Following each round of data collection, I examined the gathered data to determine emergent patterns and themes and to guide further data collection when possible. I also began the process of grouping emergent codes in order to facilitate a stronger recognition of connections between patterns and themes within each case, using visual organizers such as large and colored index

cards to better visual and move around each emerging element (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994) and crafting individual case study data tables to begin working toward categorization. These were constantly developed and expanded as new data from later interviews and archival materials was added.

2. **Seeing Plausibility:** Plausibility is based on what the researcher sees as 'plausible' conclusions drawn from the data upon initial review. This initial conclusion, as explained by Miles and Huberman, serves as a pointer of sorts, which then requires a further set of tactics to draw justifiable and supported conclusions. After identifying the patterns and themes, I considered whether they made sense and were plausible and applicable for the question being explored.
3. **Clustering:** Clustering further develops categories derived from the coding process and provides an additional tactic to explore the plausible conclusions derived previously, creating conceptual groups. Looking at the emergent codes and groups that began to appear in the initial stage of the framework, I clustered the categories by related concepts, such as 'patriotism' or 'literacy'. This allowed me to further recognize similarities and differences between cases, an element of the template suggested by Caswell (2007) for coding a case study. Upon initial clustering, I identified conceptual groups drawn from the initial identification. Data was loosely clustered into each category and continuously moved back and forth as the categories were further developed and refined. In addition, groups were added or removed later in the analysis as the cross-case theme analysis suggested by Caswell (2007) was ongoing. Eventually, these conceptual clusters would inform the development of relevant categories.
4. **Making Metaphors:** Miles and Huberman describe this tactic as a pattern-making and decentering device, allowing the researcher to figuratively group the data, pulling together various separate bits of information into the larger context and forcing the researcher to look beyond the words toward deeper meanings hidden within the metaphor. This tactic also begins to tie findings to theory, what Miles and Huberman describe as "halfway from the empirical facts to the conceptual significance of those facts" (p. 252). At this point, I used an alpha-numeric system to further clearly distinguish patterns that were emergent in the data. At the same time, I examined the clustered groups and began to identify working metaphors that further connected the categories within and across each case and began to be evident as a result of the clearly distinguished patterns.
5. **Making Contrasts/Comparisons:** This is self-explanatory. The researcher makes comparisons within and across cases, searching for practical and conceptual significance. At the same time, it allows for further clustering and distinguishing observations within the data. Building on the elements of the framework that came before, and reflecting the template of Caswell (2007), I sought out similarities and differences within and across cases in order to further organize and build upon first-level data coding processes. I asked myself how the conceptual groups that I had identified compared, and began to consider whether there was overlap or duplication

in the groups identified across the cases. At the same time, I further considered how the data could contribute to answering each research question.

6. **Subsuming Particulars into the General:** This particular tactic reflects the constant comparative method of Glaser (1978, as cited in Miles and Huberman, 1994a). In this tactic, the researcher takes specific clusters or processes that can be better folded into general categories that build upon first-level data coding processes. At this point, I examined my conceptual groups (and the data within each) and identified 17 categories that narrowed down the conceptual groups and further reorganized the identified patterns and codes. This step connects back to the first one, which has the researcher considering patterns and themes. As I incorporated material from later interviews, observations, and written work, I worked that data into the developing framework. This contributed to the process of creating the initial drafts of the participant case narratives, which I expanded upon later in the framework.
7. **Factoring:** Using this tactic and building upon the previous tactic, the researcher is able to develop a general characteristic from specific themes, moving from a large number of variables to a smaller set. Miles and Huberman describes this as a second order process that “subsumes bigger chunks of data” and answering the question “What is there a lot of in one place that there is little of in another-and are they comparable things?” (p. 257). Following the development of categories, I considered how these might be further refined and ultimately identified 7 categories that would contain components of the 17 conceptual category groups and created the outline for answering each research question. These would help lead to my ultimate conclusions.
8. **Building a Logical Chain of Evidence:** Exploring the data to create a logical chain of evidence is done in order to better develop a coherent understanding of the data. This is done through the process of analytic induction, and “You construct this evidential trail gradually, getting an initial sense of the main factors, plotting the logical relationships tentatively, testing them against the yield from the next wave of data collection, and modifying and refining them into a new explanatory map, which then gets tested against new cases and instances” (Miles & Huberman, 1994a, p. 261). This element of the framework was an ongoing process, and as new data arrived, conceptual groups were added or removed, and the ultimately final categories were developed, I sought to ensure that there were coherent and evident connections within and across cases. These connections contributed to the initial conclusions that are further illustrated through the in-depth portrait of the cases as described below.
9. **Providing an In-Depth Portrait of Cases:** Providing an in-depth portrait of cases, which clearly describes the participants and data provides the context for each case, allows for the reader to gain a rich perception of both the research questions and how they are addressed by each of the participants. Within this element, modeled on the suggestion of Caswell (2007), I created narratives that provided for a rich examination of each case. This was done by reconsidering the original data and

repeating each of the previous steps to ensure consistency and recheck the identified categories, and then describing how the ideas fit together within and across each of the 7 developed categories. As such, these narratives illustrated the patterns and connections within and across cases that contributed to the final conclusions that addressed each research question.

Following the process of coding and data analysis as described in parts one through eight above, initial conclusions were provided to the participants for verification and clarification.

Verification of Interpretation

Within qualitative research, the reliability and validity of the gathered data and how the researcher had used it is an important issue that must be resolved to ensure quality (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Merriam, 2001; Miles & Huberman, 1994;). In the words of Lincoln and Guba (1985), "Since there can be no validity without reliability (and thus no credibility without dependability), a demonstration of the former is sufficient to establish the latter" (p. 316). To address this demonstration, this project used the four criteria established by Lincoln and Guba (1985) that are intended to ensure trustworthiness: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability.

Credibility

Lincoln and Guba (1985) describe credibility as based on whether or not the conceptual findings drawn by the researcher from the data that is collected is accurately reflective of the participants and their environments. This is done in this project in a variety of ways. Immersing oneself for a prolonged period of time in the environment and culture in which the research is taking place is a necessary step, and one which was made easier for me through the relationships built prior to and during the research process. This immersion provided for improving the scope for the research, while the persistence of observation during that immersion provided depth. At the same time, the

data that was collected from each participant was done using a multi-point approach that was recommended for quality qualitative research, with an eye toward ensuring access to diverse data sources (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Patton, 2002; Stake, 1995). This provided for a richer, more detailed description than was possible from a smaller number of data sources and a stronger, more credible analysis. At the same time, Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggested the use of a peer debriefer to ensure faithfulness to the research topic and to gain feedback as the research progresses. I chose to incorporate this element into my work by working with both members of my committee and Dr. Robert Dahlgren of SUNY-Fredonia, who had experience with this sort of research and has been an important source of advice, criticism, and support throughout my doctoral program and volunteered to act as a peer debriefer. Feedback from these peers shaped and directed the final draft of the project, as well as the ongoing research process. Finally, member checking has been described by Stake (1995) and Lincoln and Guba (1985) as one of the most important contributions to ensuring credibility, describing member checking as ensuring that “reconstructions that have been arrived at via the inquiry are credible to the constructors of the original multiple realities” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 296). Participants were given the opportunity to review transcripts and analyzed data throughout the research process, and constant member checks allowed me to make sure that there was no confusion concerning my interpretations of what the participants have suggested about the construction of conceptions of citizenship.

Transferability

Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Patton (2002) point out that in qualitative research, external validity and generalizability are nearly impossible to obtain, as context places

limits on what can be applied outside of the research, so the researcher in this realm “can provide only the thick description necessary to enable someone interested in making a transfer to reach a conclusion about whether transfer can be contemplated as a possibility” (p. 316), and it is therefore the responsibility of the researcher to “provide the data base that makes transferability judgments possible on the part of potential appliers” (p. 316). To provide the opportunity for other researchers to consider transferability, this study provided a rich description of the context and participants, as well as providing access to relevant data analysis and research documents within the appendix, and any research documents not provided in this manner will be available upon request.

Dependability and Confirmability

Lincoln and Guba (1985) stressed that while the tools used to establish credibility should be enough to ensure quality, it is necessary in practice to provide an alternative technique to ensure dependability and confirmability. One suggestion they offered is the use of an inquiry audit. This audit is intended to examine the process of the research, which ensures dependability. At the same time, the auditor examines what Lincoln and Guba refer to as “the *product*-the data, the findings, interpretations, and recommendations-and attests that it is supported by data and is internally coherent so that the *bottom line* can be accepted” (p. 318). This ensures confirmability, as well as reinforcing credibility through the use of an audit trail that is easily examined and open to review (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

For this project, the auditor was provided access to the research journal and the entirety of the research trail. The auditor reviewed each individual stage of the study as documented in the research journal, from data collection and organization to analysis

and synthesis within and across cases, ensured the element of dependability. This was used to ensure confirmability as described by Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Creswell and Miller (2000).

Subjectivity Statement

The researcher in a qualitative study is often intimately engaged with the participant, the research, and the research environment in such a way that objectivity becomes difficult (Dewalt & Dewalt, 2002; Hatch, 2002; Wolcott, 1992). The subjectivity statement in any research project should then provide transparency and openness to the reader. This also allows for the researcher to address his own biases and provide for a more valid study (Denzin, 1989; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Hatch, 2002). This section will provide the reader with a brief overview of the relevant background and interests of the researcher.

I spent nine years teaching a variety of social studies courses a small rural school system, my first position after graduating from the Secondary Social Studies ProTeach program under the supervision of Dr. Elizabeth Yeager Washington at the University of Florida in 2002. This program, reflecting Dr. Washington's interest in civic education, placed a great deal of importance on education for active and engaged citizenship, and I carried this with me to my own classroom. I share with the National Council for the Social Studies (1994) the idea that citizenship education should emphasize the responsibilities as well as the rights of the citizen and the importance of balance between the common good and the individual.

In my experiences as a social studies educator, I attempted to use the textbook as little as possible, preferring to incorporate a variety of primary sources and alternative secondary sources for a variety of subjects. Criticism of the textbook-driven

curriculum was common in my own graduate studies prior to classroom placement, and exposure to the weaknesses of the textbook since then have only served to reinforce my belief that the textbook in the social studies is inherently flawed. My own concerns over the use of the textbook in the classroom are not shared by many other teachers in the county, and in this project, it will be necessary to avoid unduly influencing the participants' views or suggesting a negative perception of their own efforts at meaning making and construction of valid conceptions of citizenship. To lessen the chance of undue influence in relation to the use and analysis of the civics textbook, I will be providing the participants with a prepared tool that allows them to draw conclusions and reflect on their own textbooks and their use in the classroom. Questions related to the textbook as described in the protocol are intended to be objective and open rather subjective, leading, or critical.

In my own approach to citizenship education, I have attempted to provide my students with an opportunity to construct their own meaning of what it means to be a good citizen, as well as how they may best fulfill the responsibilities of citizenship. In this effort, I have had to constantly reflect on how my own perspective on the issue has changed over time, and what has influenced me in my own meaning making process. The question of just how I define citizenship is an open one, constantly influenced by readings that I have done in the course of both lesson development and graduate reading. My own perspective on the qualities of the good citizen and the meaning of citizenship is not reflective of my upbringing, which attempted to instill in me a perception of the good citizen that was extremely conservative in nature, oriented toward an overt Christian worldview, obedience to authority, and disregard of 'the other'

and the role that they played in the civic process. I confess that I have struggled to understand at what point my own worldview diverged from that of my family, and just what factors played the largest role.

As my own research occurred within the county where I have been employed for many years, it was of utmost importance that I performed constant member checks with the participants to ensure the fairness and accuracy of the data. Considering the size of the county and the nature of the communities, it was difficult to adequately disguise the participants, so I avoided as much as possible painting the participants' ideas concerning citizenship in a negative light. Two of the participants in this research, May and Elaine, were coworkers with me at Todd High School, and I worked with them for almost nine years. Our relationships are, while not close, generally positive and collegial, though we differ on many issues politically. Michael, the teacher at Bittleburg High School, was only a casual acquaintance. The spouse of a science teacher at Todd High School, I had talked with him only a few times, and this research was the first time that these conversations went beyond simple greetings or conversations about schools in the county. I had also taken part in large group discussions with these three participants about implementing effective civic education within the district, though our discussion was limited to courses and texts across the grade levels. I ensured that my own personal relationships with and knowledge of the participants did not color my analysis of their conceptions. Their voice and their constructions were given priority.

As described earlier in Chapter 3, my familiarity with these teachers, the environment in which they work, and the curriculum that they were most likely to be teaching allowed me to build a strong connection with participants and ensured that a

safe space for discussion and inquiry was easier to achieve. We also spoke a common language in relation to the textbooks, the curriculum, and the students, as I had taught students from the same area and used the same texts and curriculum in teaching American History and American Government. My experience as a teacher and department chair in the district also gave me the opportunity for easier access to schools; I already had a relationship with the administration of the two schools and the school board, smoothing the process of entry and prolonged immersion. The teachers in this district had also been involved in implementing an effective civics program within the schools, responding to the requirement of the state of Florida to improve civic education in every district, mandated in the Justice Sandra Day O'Connor Civics Education Act (CS/HB 105, Civics Education, 2010). As such, thinking about civic education and good citizenship had been ongoing, and the teachers in this district appreciated an opportunity to think deeper about what they see as characteristics of good citizenship.

Limitations

This study has some significant issues that must be considered as limits on what can be done. First, as an active teacher within the district, I took care to ensure that the research was respectful towards the district and the participants, particularly as anonymity among the participants was difficult to achieve. At the same time, this county was a rural, politically conservative district, and the participants, in most cases having been raised within this community, may not have developed their understanding of citizenship and the qualities of good citizens in a way that is representative of civics educators as a whole. Demographic data, while anonymized for reasons of participant comfort and security, was noted, carefully described, and accurate within the context of

the state of Florida and surrounding communities. Clear and rich descriptions of the participants were also provided to address this limitation.

A third limitation on this study had to do with the participants themselves. Having a pre-established relationship with the participants (much more extensively with May and Elaine than with Michael, however), they were aware of my own self-identified political persuasion, which differed from their own to some degree. As such, discussions about politics had often been limited, and discussions about civic education had rarely gone beyond a discussion concerning district implementation, what current events to use, our choice of textbooks, and the best primary sources to encourage student engagement in the course. We had never discussed what we perceive as 'good citizenship' and the characteristics that we perceive as integral to being 'good citizens'. Fortunately for this research, they felt comfortable in addressing issues of citizenship with a peer who they perceived as having a different outlook. This comfort was provided by ensuring that the questions were clear, open, and non-judgmental. They also were provided space to feel comfortable exploring how they have constructed their knowledge of citizenship.

Conclusions

This study was undertaken to fill a gap in the literature concerning civics education. Simply put, just how do social studies educators, charged with developing the next generation of citizens, construct their own meaning concerning elements of citizenship? What do they value in citizens and perceive as necessary characteristics of good citizenship? The participants who volunteer to take part in this study are serving to broaden the research available to the social studies and civics teacher educator, and allowing themselves to be used for the benefit of the social studies community and civic

education. The methodological approach within this study, emphasizing a qualitative focus, is ideally suited to deeply explore the perspectives of the participants and create a picture of just how social studies and civics educators understand the meaning of citizenship. The wide variety of data that will be collected ensures quality triangulation and contributes to the development of that picture.

CHAPTER 4 FINDINGS

The questions that have been the focus of this research are necessary to understanding the purpose and goals of civic education in the United States. How social studies educators understand the meaning of good citizenship and the characteristics necessary to be a good a citizen can shape how they consider that purpose and pursue those goals. As described throughout this paper, the ideal goal of the social studies educator is to create a generation of citizens that are capable of thriving in 21st century America. These are citizens that will be decision makers and participants in addressing the problems facing the nation of tomorrow. As such, the characteristics of citizenship that are prioritized in their growth as citizens are important to explore. Pace (2007) argued that social studies teachers are gatekeepers to civic participation, determining the manner and methods of engagement and civic development. Yilmaz (2009) suggested that quality and prepared social studies teachers know themselves as well as they know their students. These teachers must have a vision in their minds of what they wish to craft in the classroom, reflective of their own values and attitudes towards good citizenship. In Chapter 4, we will explore how the participants in this project function as those gatekeepers. Who do they wish to let travel beyond that gate? How well do they know what they are seeking in themselves as citizens and educators and in their students as participants in our democratic project?

Chapter 4 presents the results of this research and addresses the two questions posed at the start of this work. The structure of Chapter 4 follows the order in which the questions are posed:

1. How do secondary social studies teachers with differing political self-identifications define the concept of citizenship in the United States within the

context of the American political system, and how is this (or is this not) reflected in their classroom instruction?

2. How do secondary social studies teachers interpret the textbook's portrayal of the concept of citizenship within the context of the American political system, and how might this interpretation balance with their own conceptions as well as classroom instruction?

To address these questions, and as described in Chapter 3, I used a series of 3 interviews per teacher (one formative/initial interview, a follow-up interview for clarification, and a member check to ensure accuracy and clear misunderstandings) and 6 observations (2 for each teacher). The participants also completed a Textbook Content Analysis Guide prior to the second interview (see Appendix C) to facilitate discussion of question number 2 and to compare the text to teacher self-reflection about their beliefs concerning the expectations of good citizenship. As part of the last interview, I shared all gathered data and the initial categories developed during the constant comparative coding process with the participants to ensure accuracy and to address any concerns they may have had concerning their portrayal in this research. This also addressed potential issues with validity; the participants did not question the developed coding or presented data.

Chapter 4 presents a narrative and thematic discussion of the participants within the case study, exploring their personal and professional backgrounds and describing the evolution of their views on the good citizen as shown through the interviews and observations. After discussing the elements of each participant case study, I examine the themes that emerged through analysis of participants' interviews and observations. Following this discussion, responses to the Textbook Content Analysis Guide are presented and integrated within the broader themes presented in the data. This last

section will tie the two components of the research together, connecting the initial research questions to the overall results of the study based on thematic elements.

Participant Descriptions

Michael

Michael is a social studies teacher at Bittleburg High School, working in his second career. He entered through an alternative-certification program, and while he has a strong background in content, he had limited exposure to pedagogy before he entered the classroom. He has not, however, seen this as a problem, as he is “less likely to buy into the fads that enter the field every other year” (Interview, 01/21/10). Prior to becoming a teacher, he describes himself as “civic minded, to say the least” (Interview, 01/21/10). Indeed, his prior professions in the military and as a police officer for close to 25 years suggest a familiarity with civic responsibility and the public good, and he has stated that these careers were perhaps “more than a bit influential” in shaping his view of citizenship and what a good citizen looks like (Interview, 01/21/10).

As a police officer, Michael often found that citizens tended to be less knowledgeable about their rights than they thought, misunderstanding the relationship between law enforcement and the average citizen. This is something that he tries to address in his own classes, seeking to change the fact that “They often saw me as the enemy, when I was there to ensure that their rights were being protected!” (Interview, 01/21/10). Born in 1951 and raised in the Florida panhandle, home to Eglin Air Force Base, a hotbed of military sentiment and what Michael describes as “patriotism writ large” (Interview, 01/21/10), he believes he was groomed in many ways for a future of civic engagement. At the time of data collection, he had been teaching as a substitute or regular teacher for a decade, and was currently teaching American History at Bittleburg

Middle High School in central Florida. With a son serving on active duty in the military, Michael actively follows news of foreign affairs and political decision making, believing that one obligation of a good citizen is what he terms “simple awareness of what is going on in our own country” (Interview, 01/21/10). Politically, he self-identifies as a conservative Republican, with a proclaimed sympathetic affiliation towards the Tea Party wing of the party, though he claims no particular affinity for the Republican Party and suggests that he is more than willing to “vote for the right man for the job” and he just does not “care about the party as much as what they are willing to do for this country” (Interview, 01/21/10).

Michael has been teaching juniors at Bittleburg Middle High School since he began his career as a regular education teacher. Based on observation, his classroom is set up in what might be considered by some to be the traditional layout, with his desk in the front of the room and student desks organized in traditional rows, though this could change depending on the activity that students would be participating in that day. His walls contain posters of student affirmation and military recruitment posters, along with some examples of student work, which he changes “once or twice during the nine weeks” (Observation, 02/18/10). He has two large whiteboards in the front of the room, often covered in notes, and two on the side of the room with assignments and agendas listed, as well as vocabulary drawn from the textbook and class discussion. Michael tends towards movement in the classroom, using the proximity approach to classroom discipline, and his lecture style is engaging. Throughout the lecture, Michael drew on his vast experience in the military, law enforcement and as a politically engaged citizen to help students make connections between the content they were learning in class and

what he calls “the world beyond these walls and beyond your video games” (Interview, 03/05/10). During the observations, I saw no students asleep or disengaged from the class discussion and lecture, though Michael claimed that I was observing his “more intelligent class”; he suggested that other classes do not always respond as well to his lectures (Observation, 02/18/10; Interview, 03/05/10).

As he describes it, Michael uses “discussion” to draw students into the content that he is teaching. While there was back and forth between Michael and his students, much of the discussion in the classroom was teacher-directed, though students often were able to direct the discussion to areas of interest to them. Michael states that his students sometimes need “a bit of a push” to get started, but that he tries to allow students the freedom to “speak their minds if those minds know what they are talking about” (Observation, 02/18/10; Interview, 03/05/10).

Michael's perception of his role as a social studies teacher reflects the belief that he must first be a transmitter of knowledge. This somewhat traditional approach, as described by Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977), Carter (1990), Carter and Hacker (1988), and Thornton (1994) among others, is one that allows room for little interpretation and a great deal of teacher direction. Michael, however, argues that so many kids “come to me with so little damn knowledge that I have to build them up to help them think” (Interview, 01/21/10). For Michael, this is a big concern and a significant problem. Citizenship, in his eyes, requires first and foremost a knowledgeable citizen. At the least, a good citizen should be aware of American history, have a familiarity with the Founding documents, know their rights and responsibilities, and be able to read and comprehend news and information in order to make good decisions. Without that

knowledge, the average citizen will be more likely to “listen to any smooth operator with a honey voice and a way with a crowd” (Interview, 01/21/10). During observations, Michael used a scaffolding approach to the content, drawing on background knowledge from prior classes, as well as students’ life experiences, to impart new knowledge. For example, during the observed discussion of the bombing of Hiroshima, Michael led his students through consideration of factors they would take into account when they personally had to make a significant and potentially life-changing decision. He connected this discussion about decision-making to his own experience by describing his decision to join the Army at the height of the Vietnam War and the impact that it had on his own life (Observation, 02/18/10). This connection was a significant element of what Michael sees as necessary to develop the knowledge of students as they grow into citizens, especially as the textbooks used in most social studies courses, including his own, focus more on breadth than depth (Fitzgerald, 1979; Gagnon, 1989; Levstik, 2008; Loewen, 2005; Woodard, 1986). He argued that connecting the vast amount of content covered in somewhat shallow detail in the textbook to a broader understanding of the real world based on ‘lived experience’ is necessary to ensure that students understand that “life is more than what you get in a book, and so is America” (Interview, 03/05/10).

The ‘lived experience’ is a key element in what Michael believes is necessary to understanding the role of the citizen. Indeed, much of what goes into crafting good citizens is, in his words, “understanding the day to day role that government plays in your life” and “how we can influence the government through just what we should be doing all the time” (Interview, 01/21/10). For Michael, the good citizen is one who goes

beyond “just knowing what the problems are. Everyone ought to know the problems already!” (Interview, 03/05/10). Rather, the good citizen is one that engages those problems and attempts to solve them, in one way or another. This could be through communication with those in power, organizing with others who seek to solve the problem, or voting in new leadership that reflects the desire for solutions (Interview, 03/05/10). The good citizen has to be able to reflect and think about what the issues are and why they matter.

Solving those problems of society requires citizens to not only have knowledge. They must also know how to access the levers of power necessary to have their voices heard at the highest level. To facilitate this understanding, Michael provides his future citizens with opportunities for engagement. Indeed, for Michael, the best citizen is the engaged citizen, because “you just can’t complain if you didn’t try to do anything about it” (Interview, 01/21/10). During our interviews, Michael referred constantly to the power of the pen. For him, what he terms the “somewhat old fashioned notion of writing your Congressman” has real meaning and is an activity all future citizens should practice and a skill that all citizens should possess (Interview, 03/05/10). This was an overarching theme throughout our discussions on citizenship; for Michael, the good citizen knows who his representatives are, and the good citizen remains in constant contact with those representatives. The citizen can shape and influence our nation by influencing the direction of debate and the response of the legislature at the state and national level, because it is in the legislature “where the power of the people really resides. The President is too remote for the regular Joe to be able to influence him” (Interview, 03/05/10).

If the good citizen is the engaged citizen, then he is also the literate citizen. For Michael, the good citizens have to know how to write if they want to influence the debate, and the good citizens also have to know where to find out information necessary to solving the problems facing American democracy. It is important, however, that these good citizens be willing to consider a variety of sources for information; while Michael proudly claims a mantle of Republican conservatism, he emphasized that “you have to look outside your little box and get other perspectives”, though one also has to know how to “tell when those perspectives were full of crap” (Interview, 03/05/10).

Michael’s classroom instruction and content choice reflect much of what he suggests in our interviews about what it means to be a good citizen. During the observations, there was a heavy emphasis on the reading of pre-selected primary sources. Within that reading, he ‘guided’ students in understanding bias and finding ways to look beyond the text to what the authors were attempting to say. Though Michael suggests that a good citizen should be able to “get other perspectives”, the idea that people might interpret the meaning of a passage differently was not one that he embraced with much belief. For example, when a student describes a passage concerning the bombing of Pearl Harbor differently than Michael did, he gently ‘corrected’ the student’s interpretation to the ‘correct’ one, with greater justification for American foreign policy in relation to Japan prior to Pearl Harbor (Observation, 02/18/10).

One significant element of good citizenship that Michael addressed in his interviews and which was evident in observations of his classroom lessons was the idea that a good citizen is one that sees himself as a proud American above all things.

Patriotism and pride are necessary to ensure that a citizen “values the things that this nation stands for” and a good citizen is one that places the needs of the nation first (Interview, 01/21/10). This appeal to the common good is, however, balanced by Michael’s fervent belief that the good citizen must be aware of their individual rights; more than that, good citizens must know what these rights mean in relation to the broader society. The balance between the individual, well aware of his rights, and the nation, needing the service of the individual, must be carefully maintained (Interview, 03/05/10). A close connection is made between the nation and the individual in his connection of citizenship; when the nation protects the God-given rights of the individual, the nation is in turn protected by the citizenry. For Michael, patriotism and good citizenship are intertwined and reinforcing.

If patriotism is an integral component of the good citizen, then the history that a student learns should be shaped and directed to reinforce that patriotism. This is evident in Michael’s teaching as seen during the observation and in interviews; the portrait of the nation that he paints, while not completely sanitized, emphasizes the notion of progress and comity over struggle and conflict. For example, a consideration of the civil rights movement emphasizes the idea that racism involved personal or local action, as in burning crosses or open discrimination, rather than issues within the system of white privilege. Indeed, ‘white privilege’ is a term that Michael explicitly rejects, as it serves to, in his words, “paint the white guy as the villain and that is not something that I feel comfortable with, and I don’t agree with it” (Interview, 01/21/10). Michael instead describes his approach to issues of race as one involving being ‘color-blind’ concerning equality. In the 21st century, every citizen has the same opportunity to

succeed and Dr. King's dream of character over color is lived. The effective civic educator, in Michael's view, addresses issues of division not by ignoring them but by painting a picture that suggests possibilities for resolution rather than ongoing discord. In this way, we shape citizens that maintain a positive view of the nation and develop a sense of civic pride balanced by individual liberties.

A number of themes are evident in considering the approach that Michael has taken in considering the conception of the good citizen. The most obvious theme is that of engagement. For Michael, the engaged citizen is the good citizen. This engagement is driven in part by ensuring that the engaged citizen is civically literate. That is, the citizen has an awareness and understanding of American political traditions and behaviors and how to take part in the democratic process in a variety of ways. To build civic literacy, the civic educator must ensure a strong foundation on which to build, and therefore must function as a transmitter of knowledge. He seeks to create a lived experience for students who are being shaped into the next generation of citizens, connecting civic concepts, history, and society to the experiences that influence the individual. The good citizen is an active part of the nation's life, seeking to solve the problems of society through dialogue and influence with the state and national legislatures. The good citizen also takes pride in the nation and meets the needs of the common good without sacrificing individual liberties. While cognizant of the problems faced by our nation, the good citizen is color-blind and optimistic, viewing the problems as solvable (if we can only work together) and our path as continuing progress rather than a series of advances and retreats, and the nation is strongest when this view is

shared by most. While conformity is not necessarily the goal, a shared perspective leads to a stronger nation.

May

May is the youngest participant in this research project, though she has been teaching longer than Michael as a full time teacher. She has been in the classroom for 8 years at the time of the interview process. Her first and only teaching position has been at Todd High School in rural Florida. Born in 1977, May describes herself as a native Floridian, raised in the rural area of Bell, Florida for most of her life. Her experiences as a student and citizen in that small community prepared her, she says, “for what I have encountered teaching in a small town with folks who might not care as much as I do about some things” (Interview, 02/04/10). Teaching is the only career that she has considered, and social studies is an area that allows her to “engage my students in places of passion, in things that matter, and ways that can help them grow” (Interview, 02/04/10). A graduate of a prestigious teacher education program, she is quite confident in both her pedagogy and her content knowledge. Politically, she self-identifies as a generally liberal Democrat, and makes no bones about the role that it plays in her classroom instruction, her curricular choices, and the finished product that she attempts to craft within her 11th grade American History classroom: “I mean I don’t, you know, broadcast my political beliefs, but I suppose that you can tell that I am personally pretty liberal, overall. My students have picked up on it, and so I try to avoid too much discussion of topics that could end up with me all alone defending the bridge, you know?”(Interview, 02/04/10).

While May admittedly tries to avoid being drawn into topics of discussion that could become unnecessarily difficult, she does not shy away from areas of controversy,

as long as “the students are the drivers of the debate” (Interview, 02/04/10). Debate is, in fact, a driving force in her classroom; she places a heavy emphasis on Socratic dialogue and open discussion (Interview, 02/04/10; Observation, 03/17/10). Indeed, in her conceptions of good citizenship, emphasis is placed on open communication between actors, and a presumption of good will rather than ill intent on the part of citizens (Interview, 02/04/10).

In entering May’s classroom for observation, it was evident that she avoids the traditional classroom layout in favor of something that allows for more collaboration. On the day I observed her, the desks in her classroom are rearranged in order to facilitate a Socratic discussion. Normally, her classroom layout has students in small rows three down and six across, facing the center of the room, where she often paces up and down while presenting PowerPoints or leading classroom discussions. One wall is covered in a whiteboard filled with the various agenda for her three classes, while the other whiteboard contains an essential question for the day and a large, untouched white space for presentations. Across the top of the boards are a number of relevant vocabulary terms (Observation, 03/17/10). May emphasizes that vocabulary is key to understanding; “without knowing the words, it can be hard to understand the concepts that make us who we are!” (Interview, 03/31/10). Her walls are covered with historic images from across American and world history, with a great deal of diversity in the choice of individuals highlighted on her classroom walls. While most are Caucasians from various eras in history, images of significant minority figures, such as Gandhi, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, are given places of prominence (Observation, 03/17/10). May believes that it is “important for my kids to see that there

is more to who we are than just the old dead white guys” (Interview, 03/31/10). During the observations, May had her classroom arranged in a semi-circle that is intended to facilitate discussion of the topics of the day. Based on students’ actions upon entering the room, this is a format that they are used to, as they slid easily and with little fuss into their chosen places in the semi-circle (Observation, 03/17/10).

For May, it was important that I see her classroom model. From her perspective, she is trying with varying degrees of success to restore some little bit of “respectability to the process of just living with each other as Americans” (Interview, 03/31/10).

Socratic discussions, in the model she has developed, avoid simply presenting new information; rather, they are intended to allow for deeper discussions of potentially controversial topics. At the time of the initial observation, discussion centers on the idea of compromise in the Constitution, and whether that document could be considered to be static or living (Observation, 03/17/10). As an integral element of American history, and the foundation of American citizenship, much of May’s early classroom work centers on the development of the Constitution and what was necessary for it to be a success.

May attempts to model the expectations for good citizenship that she has for her students. This includes “actually knowing what you are talking about. [She is] tired of people who don’t know what they’re talking about arguing like they are angry experts on Fox” (Interview, 03/31/10). May suggests that seeking out information, knowing how to find it and, more importantly, how to interpret what is learned is one of the most important characteristics of a good citizen. In her classroom, she seeks to provide students with numerous opportunities to analyze primary source documents in order to

help them develop strong arguments. Indeed, every Socratic discussion that she organized requires some use of primary source documents in the arguments being made. Much of her early classroom work introduces students to point of view and bias, and teaches them how to read documents and analyze a variety of media (including films, television, and Internet sources) in order to separate truth from fiction and fact from perspective. At the same time, knowing how the modern media chooses to present arguments and push the agenda is something that she believes “is one of the most important things that kids can learn if we want them to actually think for themselves!” (Interview, 03/31/10).

In order to develop an understanding of media, May provides for her students the opportunity to explore ways in which they can gather a deeper meaning concerning what is being presented as ‘unbiased news’ and entertainment. It is important, in her view, that students look ‘below the surface’ of various forms of media presentations, to interpret the meaning and identify the biases and the agendas hidden within them. To facilitate this, May exposes her students to ways in which technology can be used both to illuminate and to obfuscate information: “As a citizen, you really ought to be able to find information on your own, and know how to do things like Google searches and stuff like that” (Interview, 02/04/10). The good citizen is more than just a simple repository of facts; rather, the good citizen knows how to use modern technology to find out what they need to know, how is the information they seek is presented, and how to manipulate that information for consideration by others (Interview, 02/04/10; Interview, 03/31/10).

When students can effectively separate fact from fiction and understand how the media shapes the narrative, May then models for students the ways in which good citizens present arguments, in many cases using negative examples, such as modern television talking heads, in order to allow students to see how not to debate and argue points (Observation, 03/17/10). She has, for example, presented students with clips from 'The O'Reilly Factor' and 'Countdown with Keith Olbermann', as well as selected clips from 'The Daily Show', to explore with students the problem of uncivil debate. This allows for a discussion of how good citizens with differing perspectives should be expected to discuss problems and propose solutions (Interview, 02/04/10). The good citizen is one that is "willing to listen when somebody that we just don't like has something to say. We can all listen when people we like are talking, but, you know, it can be a whole lot harder to listen when you hate the messenger just as much as you hate the message" (Interview, 02/04/10). Getting students to put aside their personal politics or beliefs and open themselves up to discussion can be extremely difficult, especially when the topic can be a hot button issue of some kind. "Kids can be pretty set in their beliefs, and, you know, I am pretty liberal and it can be hard for me not to want to jump into discussions and say hey, you're wrong, and here's why. They need to be able to draw their own conclusions, I keep telling myself that, and I can't tell them they've drawn the wrong conclusion just because they interpreted something differently" (Interview, 03/31/10). In May's eyes, it is necessary to maintain a legitimate balance in every discussion and to avoid having students reluctant to express an opinion as long as it is supported by facts. Students, in the process of becoming citizens, must be

allowed to think for themselves, but they must also accept that they may be challenged on those thoughts if they are unsupported (Interview, 02/04/10; Interview, 03/31/10).

Helping future citizens learn to think for themselves is, in many ways, one of the most important tasks that May believes she performs as a civic educator. At the same time, she stresses that she wants her students to be able to do something with that thinking, no matter what their beliefs or political persuasions. One purpose of her Socratic approach to issue discussion is to help students learn not only how to discuss issues reasonably, but also to develop solutions for problems that we may face. As she argues, “we need to help kids know what to do. John Dewey was right that our democratic society needs people able to solve problems. Sometimes I think that we have lost that ability, especially like when we can’t stop arguing long enough to practice it” (Interview, 02/04/10). The need to help students develop an understanding of other points of view as a means of solving the problems posed by our democratic system, while difficult, is easier than helping these future citizens “understand why they should care. They just sometimes don’t seem to give a crap about much. I tell them sometimes, if you can’t even do your job as a student how can you meet your responsibilities as citizens?” (Interview, 03/31/10).

The concept of responsibility is one that May found her students struggled to understand, but continually tried to address it with her students: “I mean, responsibility, taking ownership of yourself and what you’re supposed to do, isn’t that what we want citizens to do? But the kids, they don’t understand that, because, you know, sometimes I think that we coddle them, we take that need for responsibility away from them, and we are seeing the consequences now” (Interview, 02/04/10). ‘Taking ownership’, as

May describes it, involves knowing the obligations that you have in whatever role you are in. The purpose of civic education, then, is to act as a 'dry run' of sorts, teaching these future citizens the importance of civic responsibilities, such as researching issues, voting, collaboration, and "contributing something to society that will make it better" (Interview, 03/31/10). The good citizen is, essentially, the responsible citizen. This responsible citizen seeks to understand the problems of 21st century America, takes part willingly in the pursuit of solutions, and fulfills the daily obligations of citizenship, whether that obligation is voting in an election, attending a board meeting, or even simply expressing an informed opinion in a political discussion.

In considering May's pedagogical approach and her own expressed views, a number of themes concerning the characteristics of a good citizen emerge. The good citizen is, first of all, media literate. This citizen knows how to gather information that can be used to make decisions, but also understands how bias and perception can shape the message put forward by a variety of media sources. The good citizen is willing to challenge these sources and seek out different interpretations in order to ensure multiple perspectives are accounted for as he works to understand the message that is being delivered through the media. This citizen asks questions about the meaning of the message and the motivation of the source. To facilitate this questioning, the media literate citizen is also technologically literate, capable of using and interpreting social media, search engines, and modern communication tools, a necessary element of 21st century citizenship in the United States. Both of these literacies lead to the good citizen being knowledgeable about the issues facing the nation. Another theme emerging from interviews and observations with May was her

perception that we have struggled as educators to develop in students another significant characteristic of the good citizen: responsibility. The good citizen takes ownership of civic rights and roles as an active participant in the American system. This requires becoming engaged with the broader civic polity and ensuring that the individual voice is heard. That same good citizen also is capable of open and honest discussion with those who may have different perspectives on the issues facing the nation. This is a necessary component for any true resolution of national problems.

Elaine

At the time of the original interviews, Elaine has been a Government and Economics teacher at Todd High School in rural Florida for approximately ten years. A native Floridian, Elaine was born in 1960 and spent most of her formative years in the small rural town of Archer, Florida. Though she also spent time in Tallahassee and Tampa, she suggests that her upbringing in Archer had a significant role in shaping her beliefs and goals as a civic educator. Prior to becoming a public school educator, Elaine worked in the retail and service industries, and as a nurse's aide. However, she was primarily a wife and mother, homeschooling her children for the first few years of their educational experiences. She became a teacher, in part, to have the opportunity to influence their schooling as they transitioned to public schools. Politically, Elaine is heavily influenced by her Christian background, identifying as a proud Christian conservative. Though she generally votes Republican, she claims no permanent affiliation, focusing instead on the characteristics of the individual rather than the partisanship of the party. For Elaine, her religion shapes her worldview, influencing the model of good citizenship that she presents to her students and factoring heavily into her development of lessons on civics and history (Interview, 01/27/10).

Collaboration plays a central role in Elaine's perception of good citizenship, and it is evident in the layout of her classroom. Bright and clean, with whiteboards on two sides of the room and her desk in a recessed area in the left corner, Elaine's room contains a number of posters featuring a diverse cast of significant individuals in American and world history. An understanding of the importance of diversity is an element of civic instruction in her classroom, and the organization of both the desks and the students reflects this. Desks are generally in small clusters of four, spread throughout the room, and Elaine has made a conscious decision to mix groups of students based on race, gender, and class as much as possible (Interview, 1/27/10; Observation, 02/09/10). This allows students to "see how important it is to be able to get along with others, and you know, this hasn't been something that they see all that often. So they practice it here" (Interview, 01/27/10). Her students are engaged with both the content of the American Government course and the instructor herself. They are used to working together and completing work as a team (Observation, 02/09/10; Interview, 02/23/10).

"I want my students to be good to each other. We need to love each other as we love ourselves. That is what I want my students to do" (Interview, 01/27/10). For Elaine, good citizenship necessarily involves the students developing a sense of empathy that allows them to place themselves within a different context of related issues. This is one reason that Elaine consistently places students into small clusters, even for testing. By making the students responsible for each other on something as significant as a test, they learn the importance of collaboration, of personal responsibility within the greater

common good, and the impact that the failure of one individual can have on the larger whole (Observation, 02/09/10; Interview, 02/23/10).

With the emphasis placed on collaboration as an element of good citizenship, Elaine feels comfortable with “talking about things that kids should know but that we might not always teach about” (Interview, 01/27/10). For her, this includes a consideration of the role of religion in the public life of the nation. This is a significant element, as “Christianity shaped who I am and helped me understand what was important and how we originally came together as a nation” (Interview, 01/27/10). An underlying theme of good citizenship in this case is being aware of the religious traditions in this nation, and knowing how it has historically influenced political and social decision-making. While the good citizen is not necessarily Christian, this citizen is someone with an understanding and belief in something greater than himself. This can be “God or Christ or even the Constitution, but you know, you just have to focus on more than just your own self” (Interview, 02/23/10).

If good citizens believe in something greater than themselves, then they also need to be aware of what is going on in that greater world. The good citizen, for Elaine, keeps up with the news and knows, especially, about the concept of media bias: “When you can’t distinguish truth from fiction, especially when the mainstream media is feeding it to you, well, then, you have a problem, and you have to know the ways in which you can get past that filter” (Interview, 02/23/10). Elaine sees a constant discussion of current events as key to helping students develop as good citizens, and showing them how to search through what she terms the “mainstream media filter” (Interview, 02/23/10). In some ways, this relates to elements of collaboration that Elaine views as

significant for the good citizen: “Perspective is what matters! What is the view that you are hearing and that you are reading? Why are they saying what they are saying? You have got to know different perspectives and make your own decisions about most things!” (Interview, 02/23/10).

Decision-making skills are also significant in Elaine’s view of the characteristics of the good citizen, and in many ways is “the most important thing that they need to be able to do” (Interview, 01/27/10). Students in her government classes are expected to explore scenarios relating to legal issues, individual responsibility, the Bill of Rights, campaign and election issues, and other areas where they may be required to make a decision (Interview, 01/27/10; Observation, 02/09/10). In so doing, they “can finally start thinking beyond just, you know, what they hear and see and consider that maybe they might reach their own decisions” (Interview,02/23/10). This includes reaching conclusions that may be different than those that she herself holds, as she doesn’t “want them to just parrot things back to me because they think that, you know, that I will hold it against them if they aren’t conservative or think differently or have different ideas” (Interview, 01/27/10). Explorations of protest movements and controversial court decisions allow the students to reach conclusions based on evidence and discussion.

In evaluating the characteristics of the good citizen considered to be important by Elaine, there are a number of themes evident. For her, a good citizen understands the importance of collaboration, knowing that working together can help citizens achieve greater things than if they remained in isolation. At the same time, this collaboration is facilitated by the development of empathy and understanding, grasping the perspective of others to allow for greater collaboration to solve the problems of American society.

This also ties into a main goal of Elaine’s civic instruction: helping students develop a sense of responsibility that will carry them forward as citizens. In Elaine’s view, when you are responsible for yourself, it “becomes possible to be more responsible for others” (Interview, 02/23/10). This sense of responsibility is also derived, in some ways, from an understanding of the origin of rights in our history; historical awareness is a key component of good citizenship in this perspective. History is, of course, an ongoing affair, and the good citizen is knowledgeable concerning the world around them and the issues facing the American body politic. These good citizens compile their information by being media literate. They understand the concept of bias and the disparate agendas of media sources and are capable of sifting the valid information from the mistruths. Ultimately, using what they have learned and what they understand about the world around them and the problems of 21st century America, they can think critically about the issues and themselves before reaching a conclusion and making a decision. The good citizen is, ultimately, a good *thinker*.

The Textbook: Ally or Enemy?

Textbooks generally play a significant role in the typical Social Studies course, especially at the lower grades where teachers may have less pedagogical and general content knowledge concerning the subject and may be reliant on the textbooks to guide instruction, when social studies is taught at all (Diem, 1982; Mathis & Boyd, 2009; Sewall, 2000). At the secondary school level, content knowledge may be greater, but there still is a need for the use of the textbook as either a foundational text or a supplement and teachers at this level may still lack a clear understanding of civic principles beyond the traditional text (Sewall, 2000; Tyson & Woodward, 1989; van Hover, Ross, & Yeager, 2001). The three participants in this study, to varying degrees,

also incorporate the textbook into their classroom instruction. This section contains a discussion of how the three teachers view and deal with the textbook message concerning good citizenship.

Textbook Content Analysis

Textual analysis has been an element of critical research for decades. One of the questions that we are considering in this study is how exactly social studies textbooks present a particular image of 'the good citizen.' For this portion of the project, the participants conducted an evaluation of their own texts according to the model provided by Avery and Simmons (2000/2001). This model, which is based on their own analysis of United States history and civics textbooks, addressed the areas of the nature of democracy, national identity and loyalty, and diversity. It asked questions about citizenship and what it means to be a citizen. This reflects my own questions about the nature of textbooks in the secondary social studies classroom, and the categories that they developed can serve as a means of exploring what type of image of the good citizen the social studies textbooks are trying to create. The questions by Avery and Simmons (2000/2001) addressed specifically nine different areas: advocacy groups, countries, documents, events, international organizations, names, political parties, responsibilities, and rights. These areas for investigation were derived from three framing questions explored by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement Civic Education Project: what are young people expected to learn about democracy, what are young people expected to learn about national identity and loyalty, and what are young people expected to learn about those that are different from them? All three of these framing questions related to an understanding of the characteristics of good citizenship that are a target of this dissertation, and served as a

strong foundation for looking at the textbooks used by the participants. I included both religion and economics as separate categories in order to more clearly see how the teachers considered the textbook presentation of these two areas. Economics and religion, after all, are significant touchstone issues in social studies textbooks and citizenship education, and how the texts and the teachers approach them can help determine what sorts of values and characteristics concerning good citizenship are being instilled (Evans, 2004, 2007; Loewen, 2005; Zimmerman, 2005). I also provided the participants with guiding questions based on the category explanations of Avery and Simmons in their discussion of the textbook study. Each participant conducted an analysis of their textbooks independently, using the provided categories and questions as a guide, and discussed their written responses following the analysis.

The texts the participants used cover a broad spectrum of the social studies, with a primary emphasis on American History and Government. The first text that was considered is a high school oriented American History text popular with many schools in Florida: *The Americans*, published by McDougal Littell and authored by Danzer, Klor de Alva, et. al. This text, covering 1,123 pages (not including preface sections, atlas, and appendix), is the ninth edition and the teachers in this study have been using this book for approximately 4 years at the time of this writing. The second text, an American Government book with the rather simple title of *Magruder's American Government*, was published by Prentice Hall and has been used throughout the home county of this study for approximately four years. It is, in this case, the tenth edition, and covers 844 pages.

As described in Chapter 2 of this paper, the impact of textbooks on social studies instruction is a continual area of concern for educators and researchers. Briefly

recapping that discussion, a number of authors found that how a text chooses to present American history and model civic behavior has an influence on what students learn about the traits necessary in a 'good citizen.' For this research, participants considered their own textbooks from a critical angle deeper than they may have generally done to this point. They interrogated their textbooks in such a way that they could begin to draw conclusions about the sorts of citizens the textbooks are trying to create. What are the characteristics of the good citizen as presented by the textbooks? This is not explicitly stated in the texts, and required the teachers to think about such things as word choices, content coverage, images, and sources across the textbooks. To facilitate this analysis and reflection, the participants were provided with a Textbook Content Analysis Guide (see Appendix C). This Textbook Content Analysis Guide was adapted from the work of Avery and Simmons (2000/2001), and asked the teachers to answer questions as they considered how their textbooks address the elements presented in Table 4-1 on the following page.

After a careful consideration of the elements of the text, each participant provides reflective responses to questions concerning the text and how it shapes curriculum and instruction. These questions are provided in the discussion of their responses in this section and in Appendix C at the conclusion of the paper. Once the three participants completed the analysis of their textbooks using the criteria described above, we met to discuss their reflections and they explained their own findings and thoughts concerning the textbooks and ways in which each text addressed issues of good citizenship. This ensured that any unclear responses in their answers were cleared up and misunderstandings concerning their own analysis were lessened. At the same time, this

ensured that it was their voice, not mine, that was heard the loudest concerning the textbooks.

Table 4-1. Textbook content analysis guiding questions. Adapted from Avery P. & Simmons, A. (2000/2001). Civic life as conveyed in United States civics and history textbooks. *International Journal of Social Education*, 15(2), 105-130.

| Content focus | Associated guiding questions |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Advocacy groups | What sorts of citizen advocacy groups are discussed in the textbook? In what ways are they posed? |
| Documents | What primary sources are used and/or incorporated into your textbook in order to discuss aspects of citizenship? |
| Events | What are the significant events described in the text to discuss aspects of citizenship? |
| Names | What individuals are referenced as embodying particular values of the good citizen or contributing to ideas about good citizenship? |
| Political parties | In what ways does the textbook discuss political parties? How does it describe their contributions to the civic fabric? |
| Foreign countries | What references are made in your text to foreign nations, and in what context? |
| International organizations | What references are made in your text to international organizations, and in what context? |
| Economics | How does your text explore economic systems, and how are they related to elements of American citizenship? |
| Religion | What place is religion given in your text? How is religion described in relation to conceptions of citizenship and the qualities of the good citizen? |
| Responsibilities | How does the text describe the responsibilities of citizens? |
| Rights | What rights does the text spend time discussing? How are they described? |

The Americans

A review of the table of contents for *The Americans* reflects the traditional chronological approach to American History as described by Stow and Haydn (2000). Beginning with pre-colonial America and covering material through the 2004 presidential election, the text provides a very broad and relatively shallow examination of American history. Indeed, the participants in this study suggested that they consistently failed to get far into the text, and often chose to supplement the textbook with outside material. The textbook thus served as a base on which to build and expand rather than being the

sole focus of the curricular approach for these teachers (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Loewen, 2005). Looking at the table of contents, the image of the nation painted by the authors is reflective of the notion of positivity and an avoidance of controversy as explored by Loewen (2005). For example, the opening chapters bear such headings as 'Chapter One: Three Worlds Meet', 'Chapter Three: The Colonies Come of Age,' and Chapter Nine: Expanding Markets and Moving West'. Among the middle chapters, which cover the era of the Civil War through the early 20th century, there are headings proclaiming the continuing growth and expansion of the American dream: 'Chapter 14: A New Industrial Age,' 'Chapter 16: Life at the Turn of the 20th Century,' and 'Chapter 21: The Roaring Life of the 1920's'. Finally, an examination of the chapters that many teachers often fail to get to, the mid to late 20th century and early 21st century (Loewen, 2008), shows the text closing with the same upbeat prognosis for the nation with which it began, with the headings reflecting America as a benevolent superpower: 'Chapter 27: The Postwar Boom', 'Chapter 31: An Era of Social Change', and 'Chapter 33: The Conservative Tide'. Each chapter is described in detail in Appendix D at the end of this paper.

Two of the three participants in this study examined their American history text, *The Americans*, and considered how this book attempts to create an image of 'the good citizen'. In this section, participant responses are presented in their own voice and tied to the concepts developed through the previously discussed participant interviews.

Table One in this section provides a detailed description of each guiding question.

General content questions

Q1: According to your textbook, what do students learn about the nature of democracy in the American system, and the balance between individual rights and the common good?

In considering this question, participants had contrasting answers, reflecting their perspectives on what they viewed as important for good citizenship and a quality perspective on American history. May, who self-identifies as a political liberal, finds that the book is relatively balanced in the approach it takes to the discussion of individual rights versus the common good. It is, in her words, a “quality balance, as much as could be expected in a textbook anyway” (TCA 3, 03/15/10; Interview, 03/31/10). To support her argument, she cited *Plessy v. Ferguson* and the *Indian Removal Act* as examples of infringements on or balances between the individual and the community. Further discussion of this key question with May found that she sees the text as rather effective in how it describes the development of the American system. Generally, it “did a good job with the political parties overall and how the nation began” (Interview, 03/31/10). In the classroom and in her lessons describing the establishment of the American system, May stated that she places a great deal of emphasis on compromise, and the textbook generally reflects her own approach (TCA 3, 03/15/10; Interview, 03/31/10).

Michael, who identifies himself as a constitutional conservative, disagreed somewhat with May on the quality of the text in discussing the balance between individual rights and the common good, complaining that “the books [sic] places more emphasis on individual rights without considering how they relate to the rest of society” (TCA 2, 02/23/10; Interview, 03/05/10). This attitude is reflected in his philosophy concerning the purpose of the social studies described earlier in Chapter 4; the good citizen is willing to put aside personal rights to fulfill the most important obligations to society. In looking at how the textbook addresses the nature of American democracy and key events in the shaping of that nature, Michael expressed doubts about the

textbook approach to particular issues relating in some way to race and discrimination. In his reflection, he notes that “There are incidents cited in which I questioned the author’s purpose. Example: p. 770, Recruiting and Discrimination. I do not know why they put the excerpts in the book” (TCA 2, 02/23/10). The excerpts he questioned relate to the recruitment of minorities during World War Two and the questions that arose about why certain Americans should wish to fight for a discriminatory nation:

“Why die for democracy for some foreign country when we don’t even have it here?” asked an editorial in an African-American newspaper. On receiving his draft notice, an African American responded unhappily, “Just carve on my tombstone, ‘Here lies a black man killed fighting a yellow man for the protection of a white man.’” (Danzer, Klor de Alva, & Krieger, et al., 2005, p. 770).

When asked about his reaction to these quotes, Michael expressed the sentiment that to some degree he feels that the textbook sometimes fails to provide proper context for some of the quotes and excerpts it provides. These quotes, he explained, “would be better served as part of a broader look [at discrimination] rather than as somewhat throw away lines within a small paragraph. What were the reasons for army discrimination as compared to national discrimination?” (Interview, 03/05/10). Michael addressed these issues by attempting to provide that broader context.

For Michael, the “War of Northern Aggression” (as he termed the Civil War) is one in which the textbook unfairly paints the South and slavery as the most significant cause, touching only tangentially on “the real cause of state’s rights” (TCA 2, 02/23/10; Interview, 03/05/10). Solving the issues of democracy requires real discussion of the source of those problems, and in this case, Michael suggested that the textbook “colors the truth and ignores the real problems that we had in our country” (TCA 2, 02/23/10). Contrast this with May who, in a follow up discussion of the textbook, was relatively

pleased with both the detail and primary sources provided within the text concerning the Civil War. “It does a good job, I think, looking at the issues related to slavery and the war and how things happened” (Interview, 03/31/10). For May, at least in this case, the text supports rather than neglects the discussion of the problems our democratic republic faced in the first half of the 19th century: “It ties into, what’s the term we used, the common good and individual rights by dealing with how slavery impacted both... It hurt us as a nation and kept us from working together because of the sectionalism, and it kept Americans from exercising their rights, period” (Interview, 03/31/10).

Q2: In what ways does your textbook address issues of national identity and loyalty? What sorts of events, descriptions, and the like are used to support the text’s depictions of national identity and loyalty?

In discussing *The Americans*, the participants pointed to specific excerpts from the text that almost explicitly screamed “This is what it means to be an American.” Both participants using this text suggested the short stories at the start of each section under the heading “One American’s Story” painted particular pictures of what it means to ‘be American’ (TCA 2, 02/23/10; TCA 3, 03/15/10). For example, consider the “story” at the start of Chapter 6, Section One, page 182. In this story, George Washington responds to his nation’s call by selflessly giving up private life to serve his nation (Danzer, Klor de Alva, & Krieger, et al., 2005). In the story at the start of Chapter 33, Section 1, we find the story of Peggy Noonan and her conversion to the “conservative” cause of freedom, eliminating the “problem” that was government, and expressing her support for Ronald Reagan (Danzer, Klor de Alva, and Krieger, et al., 2005). The final “story” is that found in Chapter 34, Section 4. This story stands out in many ways as it is the voice of a Hispanic woman, Antonia Hernandez, who describes the importance of ‘fair political

representation, equal distribution of resources, and enforcement of our civil rights' (Danzer, Klor de Alva, & Krieger, et al., 2005, p. 1088). According to the two participants that used this text, the words of Hernandez summarize the general tone of the text: a story of progress, integration, and the expansion of equality over our history. The vast majority of these stories are told from a white, middle or upper class, male perspective; it is not until the later chapters that we begin to see increasing amounts of diversity in these stories (The final chapter, 34, for example, contains four sections, and all four contain stories involving women and minorities). Of course, as the participants in this study have expressed, this is a chapter that they have rarely taught in their time in the profession (Interview, 03/05/10; Interview, 03/31/10). This is, again, highly reflective of traditional trends within social studies instruction; students very rarely learn of the current era of American history.

Participants also looked at the primary source selections in the text, and how these selections implied specific interpretations of what it means to be “an American” or “a good citizen.” May, for example, pointed to the number of political cartoons in the text that suggested that Americans only want to keep to themselves and let the world be: “To be isolated ensures neutrality, which in turn allows you to have that ‘national identity’” (TCA 3, 03/15/10). May suggests that one underlying theme that the texts present to students is that the “good citizen” “goes along to get along, and that is what the country does, according to the textbook” (TCA 3, 03/15/10; Interview, 03/31/10).

Q3: How does your textbook portray the concept of diversity, immigration, and the meaning of the word “American”? How does it discuss the contributions of women and minorities to the civic fabric of the United States?

The participants shared somewhat high praise for the textbook's presentation of diversity and the varying conceptions of the word "American". Both participants focused on the textbook's discussion of civil rights movements throughout United States history. May offers that the text traces a long history of civil rights advances, beginning with the Bill of Rights of 1791, and the expansion of the very term "American" (TCA 3, 03/15/10). Michael had similar praise for the text, and he also stated plainly that he "never had any problem with the author's attempt to express cultural diversity" (TCA 2, 02/23/10). When asked to elaborate on why he felt it necessary to include this in his written response to the question, he wished to emphasize that as a conservative, he appreciates cultural diversity within America, especially as it relates to assimilation. Indeed, his initial comment concerning diversity was followed by praise for the way in which the text covers immigration between 1800 and 1900 and how those immigrants were eventually assimilated into the broader mainstream (Interview, 03/05/10). Michael did not delve deeply into how the text addressed the contributions of women and minorities to the civic fabric of the United States, suggesting in a follow up that that was because they should be seen as a part of the broader civic whole, which he felt the text does a somewhat adequate job doing (Interview, 03/05/10). May, however, took a different view. While she had some minor praise for how the text addressed women in American history (mentioning specifically the text's discussion of Rose the Riveter, the Seneca Falls Convention, and the growth of female employment between 1910 and 1930), she suggested that "the text does not do a good job portraying the contributions of minorities" (TCA 3, 03/15/10). Borrowing from Czerniak (2006), one might say that many social studies and history textbooks used in schools tend to suffer from what

could be loosely called the “yellow box phenomenon.” This is when the contributions of particular groups or individuals, especially minorities, are “pulled out” of the main text and given a separate section within the chapter rather than integrated into the narrative of the broader text, or when the experiences of the minority group are told from the white perspective. As an example, May refers to the text’s approach to civil rights figures such as Cesar Chavez, Ben Nighthorse Cambell, La Raza Unida, and the American Indian Movement. These individuals and groups are addressed in isolation and in passing, with little context given concerning their motivations or the long term impact of their actions. Students are not asked to consider why they matter and the assumption is made that these individuals and groups fit into a narrative of progress and development in America, and “of course you see the usual depiction of the NAACP”, but even in this case, the information is very sparse (TCA 3, 03/15/10; Interview, 03/31/10).

Image questions

Q1: What kind of images does your textbook provide to support its discussion of citizenship?

The images in the book, according to both participants, reflect the general tone of the text toward positive citizenship and civic participation. May described the text as image rich, with specific reference to a plethora of illustrations relating to the content of the sections and chapters (TCA 3, 03/15/10). There is also an attempt to ensure diversity within the images in the textbook, a perhaps conscious decision at inclusion that has historically been an issue within public school textbooks (Loewen, 2005; Zimmerman, 2005). Michael and May both pointed out, however, that the majority of images in the text are of white men, particularly in the chapters covering history that occurred prior to the 20th century (TCA 2, 02/23/10; TCA 3, 03/15/10). This was touched

on earlier in this section, and the participants explicitly brought up this issue again when exploring the images a bit deeper. The images of minorities and women are generally associated with particular events or issues. Native Americans after initial contact and prior to the 1970's are generally shown in conflict with the US. African-Americans are mostly associated with issues related to slavery and abolition, though after Reconstruction the images become more associated with elements of civil rights. Women are prevalent throughout the text, but often seen in isolation as individual actors when not associated with some larger cause, such as temperance or suffrage (TCA 2, 02/23/10; TCA 3, 03/15/10). In this context, however, May pointed out that "a lot of these pictures and quotes and things are of people in the act of citizenship, like fighting for their rights or protesting or defending themselves" (Interview, 03/31/10). For example, an image of Dorothea Dix, as well as a quote attributed to her, is an element of a small section on school and prison reform (p. 244). Suffragettes campaign for the vote in an image on page 521, though it should be noted that these suffragettes are uniformly white. African-American troops on horseback prepare for conflict in the Spanish-American War on page 556. May pointed out, in considering these particular images, that we see little interaction between different minority groups or between minority groups and the larger white male group. Could this be a concern if the students are supposed to be learning that the good citizen is more than the white male, and a good citizen also knows how to work with those not like themselves? (TCA 3, 03/15/10; Interview, 03/31/10). Michael noted that the pictures of traditionally powerless groups also do not often show them in positions of power or authority, while the text is replete with images of white men in that position; he suggests that this is a consequence of the

biases of the eras being discussed rather than any intentional commentary on the part of the text, as “there was no reason to just take pictures of other people then!” (TCA 2, 02/23/10; Interview, 03/05/10).

Q2: What do you believe are the most predominant images within the textbooks?

For both participants, the most predominant images in the text are ones which serve as somewhat effective primary sources, such as a Klan rally or a newspaper headline. As described in their response to the first question, both Michael and May saw the text as attempting to select images which create a positive tapestry of American progress (TCA 2, 02/23/10; TCA 3, 03/15/10). This includes, for example, chapter and section headings that emphasize positivity and growth, such as Chapter 8 (‘Reforming American Society’), Chapter 9, Section 1 (‘The Market Revolution’), Chapter 27, Section 2 (‘The American Dream in the Fifties’), and Chapter 31 (‘An Era of Social Change’). Indeed, May and Michael pointed to the closing paragraph of the text as a perfect representation of the image of citizenship that it tries to present:

It is clear that the new century America faces will bring changes, but those changes need not deepen divisions among Americans. With effort and cooperation, the changes could foster growth and tolerance.... Much will depend on you--the dreamers, the decision makers, and the voters of the future. (Danzon, Klor de Alva, and Krieger, et al., 2005, p. 1093).

In its attempt to empower the future citizen, the text holds out hope that changes can be guided and controlled by those citizens, continuing the positivity and growth that was discussed throughout the narrative presented in the textbook. However, the text does not shy from somewhat controversial images that may encourage questioning of this narrative. For example, Chapter 30, which covers the conflict in Vietnam, shares with students the infamous picture of a Buddhist monk setting himself on fire to protest the war, one of the images that Loewen points out are often left out of the text (1995).

Both participants see this sort of inclusion as necessary to provide balance to the generally positive narrative of growth and change that makes up much of the textbook in words and illustrations and to, as Michael states plainly, “show people in the environment that they were writing about” (Interview, 03/05/10).

Citizenship questions

Q1: Based on what you have seen within this analysis of your textbook, how might you summarize the textbook’s approach to citizenship education and the qualities it emphasizes in “the good citizen”?

The participants in this study, up to this point, generally agree about how the text addresses issues of Americanism and civics. With this question, however, we see them split in their interpretation of the textbook and the value it has in preparing students to be “good citizens.” Michael, for example, was quite positive about the textbook, arguing that it takes what is in his eyes a “centrist” approach, and that it “expresses the traits [as described earlier] necessary to teach good citizenship” (TCA 2, 02/23/10). May, however, stated bluntly that “the textbook does not do an adequate job approaching citizenship education” (TCA 3, 03/15/10). Indeed, she suggested that the book, at times, seems to avoid any real discussion of good citizenship, of civics, and of what makes a “good citizen.” Rather, it attempts to teach history without any real incorporation of a broad understanding of civics. In a way, this text paints a picture of American history as something that happened to “other people” rather than as the story of us, an ongoing project open to interpretation. The isolated nature of many of the images of minorities and women, rather than showing the importance of collaboration for the common good, suggests that “history is acting on them instead of these people actually shaping the nation themselves” (TCA 3, 03/15/10). This subtle reading of the text contradicts what May and Michael identify as the textbook’s broader overt narrative suggesting citizens,

either individually or collaboratively, can have a significant impact on the problems and growth of the nation. While the narrative describes the citizens of the future as capable of influencing the future progress of the country, the text as a whole, according to both Michael and May, can be interpreted as presenting an image of the good citizen that is far less collaborative and active: “The book really does seem to focus more on the ‘Great Man’ idea instead of the ability of, you know, the regular kind of folks to change things” (May, Interview, 03/31/10). It is not until late in the text, she complained, that the book even puts forward the notion that at times sacrifice is necessary for good citizenship to ensure that the concept of ‘citizen’ applies to all equally (May, TCA 3, 03/15/10; May, Interview, 03/31/10).

Q2: How does the textbook construction of citizenship and the qualities of the good citizen compare with your own understanding?

Michael and May, once again, disagreed over this question. Michael stated quite plainly that he is far more conservative in his conceptions of the ‘good citizen’ and the responsibilities of citizenship than the text, but that he did always “try to present all sides available and express my views when I’m asked. I never try to press my views on my students. I try to help them develop their own opinions” (TCA 2, 02/23/10). While finding the text satisfactory as a whole, and generally agreeing with the image of the ‘good citizen’ painted by the text, Michael expressed some dissatisfaction with certain elements of civic participation the texts supports, however subtly (TCA 2, 02/23/10). For example, the text generally paints positive images of the New Deal and the Great Society, and critique of what he terms ‘liberal programs’ is limited. Through his perspective, this limitation suggests, however subtly, that one component of civic responsibility as a good citizen is support for the so-called ‘welfare state,’ a perspective

that Michael attempted to offset with available primary source critiques of such programs. These include contemporary newspaper accounts and editorials from the era, as well as more recent scholarship presenting conservative critiques of the New Deal that challenge the currently dominant liberal paradigm. There is also some consideration of left wing critiques of the program, such as Father Charles Coughlin and Dr. Francis Townsend, though these are more commonly presented in the textbook than conservative primary source critiques (Interview, 03/05/10).

May, with a more politically liberal perspective than Michael, felt that the book paints a somewhat unrealistic picture of good citizenship and “the good citizen”. For her, there was not enough clear discussion of civic responsibility and the common good, and she bluntly criticized the separation of civics from history that she perceives in the text (TCA 3, 03/15/10; Interview, 03/31/10). Like Loewen (2008), she saw the text as painting a story of progress without sacrifice and of citizenship without responsibility. Her biggest concern was that students may get the impression that they can be good citizens and good Americans without effort or acknowledgement of what came before, and without concern for the demands of the common good. For May, the text presents an idealized and somewhat conservative image of America and the good citizen, with little suggesting that we can be more than just passive participants. There is, for example, no clear contrast between individual responsibility and the need for the common good, and such things as capitalism, individuality, competition, and a vague sense of “white, middle class Protestantism” are presented, sometimes not so subtly, as “real” American values. There is little real comparison between the American free enterprise system and socialism (TCA 3, 03/15/10; Interview, 03/31/10). What little

mention is given to socialism (outside of the Palmer Raids and the McCarthy hearings) is centered on two key events: Eugene Debs' establishment of the American Socialist Party, which receives less than a paragraph of discussion (p. 514), and critical reaction from the right towards the New Deal as a path towards socialism (p. 699). The rise of the "New Left" is given three paragraphs in the text's chapter on Vietnam protest movements (p. 950), and the only real discussion of traditionally "liberal" values, in the view of May, occurs during sections on the civil rights movements (though again with a "Great Man" emphasis) and as a contrast in Chapter 33, the aptly titled "The Conservative Tide". The book never questions Reagan's assertion, introduced at the start of Chapter 33, that government is the big problem in American society, and asserts without question that entitlement spending was out of control, fraud was a problem, and civil rights legislation had overreached (pp. 1036-1039). For May, this was an obvious problem, and she "just had to try and use primary sources and other sources to balance it out, when we actually had a chance to cover that chapter anyway" (Interview, 03/31/10). Ultimately, to May, "it seems as if the textbook publishers treat citizenship as an 'outside' part of American history. It's all about the individual, at least the way that I read it" (Interview, 03/31/10).

The Americans and the citizen

Review of the responses of May and Michael to the textbook clearly indicate that both participants see the text as a supplemental source that allows for the building of a foundation. As such, it requires them to add to, modify, or expand the general content in order to explore deeper issues that can be tied to civic development and our question of 'the good citizen'. With that caveat in mind, Michael and May responded similarly to

concepts expressed in the text, though there was some disagreement about interpretation.

When considering how the text addresses the issue of the good citizen and the common good, May found that the text presents a somewhat adequate balance between individual rights and the broader common good; there is an effort to show when both the common good and individual rights had faced opposition through the force of law or pressures of society. Michael disagreed somewhat with this perspective, suggesting that the textbook places too much emphasis on individual rights and not enough on consideration of the need to balance those rights with the needs of society. At the same time, Michael questioned the text's approach to issues related to race and discrimination, and felt as though it goes too far in attempting to address issues concerning diversity and the expansion of the franchise, socio-political equality, and public resistance to oppression. The proper context, he believed, is lacking in the textbook discussion. Students are given stories about America's struggles concerning individual rights without an opportunity to consider perhaps justifiable reasons why those rights were limited in order to benefit the greater society. The assumption is made, simply, that limitations on rights are wrong. With that caveat, however, Michael and May both agreed that the text does make a concerted effort, however shallow, to ensure a broad representation of diversity within the broader text. There are issues with the approach, however, beyond those brought up by Michael.

Both Michael and May pointed to the 'One American's Story' sections as evidence that the text attempts to show the story of America as one of positive growth and progress and a nation dedicated to individual liberty, and the 'one American' that

was usually telling the story was most often a white middle or upper class male. The implication in this context, of course, is that the 'good citizen' takes part in American progress through the adoption of that white middle class male perspective. At the same time, while the text does present historical and social actors outside of the traditional mainstream, May pointed out that many of these inclusions are often told in a mainstream voice and found in areas of the text that students and teachers may not read, such as in 'yellow boxed' areas or end of chapter supplements. The good citizen, in this context, may be a supporter of a multicultural America, but that same good citizen may only have a shallow understanding of why that characteristic is so important, as the text presents that multicultural America as remarkably white and decidedly middle-class, assuming that assimilation was both positive and simple.

The shallowness of the text was a concern for May, who argued that it presents 'good citizenship' as something that is passive and requiring little effort on the part of the citizen. American history and civics is something that 'other people' do, a story of great men and great events rather than individual action and resistance. The text lacks a deep consideration of the common good and civic responsibility, and both Michael and May agreed that the book seems to paint the good citizen as the capitalist citizen, though they disagree over whether this is actually a good thing. While Michael felt as though the book was too favorable to 'liberal' values growing out of the New Deal, May saw the text as favoring conservative values, such as an association between being 'American' with being 'capitalist', with little question or consideration of the impact of those values on history or society. This element of dissension concerning the economic dimensions of civic life presents an interesting distinction between the two participants.

Both recognized the importance of capitalism in the way that the textbook chooses to present good citizenship, but there was a lack of consensus over whether that emphasis is a positive element.

Magruder's American Government

Like *The Americans*, *Magruder's American Government* paints a very positive image of the American nation and of the political system in which we as citizens function daily. Unlike *The Americans* however, the chapter and unit titles are less descriptive and more utilitarian. The units and chapters are consistent in scope and sequence, beginning with the origins of the American system of governance and exploring elements of that governance in somewhat thematic units. For example, Unit One, titled "Foundations of American Government", discusses the roots of American democracy, tracing it to English tradition and colonial habits. The unit breaks down into four chapters covering the principles of government, the origins of government, Constitution and federalism. Unit Four, on the other hand, covers the Executive Branch, breaking it down into five chapters covering the presidency, the bureaucracy, the budget, foreign policy, and national defense. Each chapter is described in detail in Appendix E.

General content questions

Q1: According to your textbook, what do students learn about the nature of democracy in the American system and the balance between individual rights and the common good?

According to Elaine, the text emphasizes the relationship between democracy and the free enterprise system, describing what she terms the "basic concepts of democracy" as individualism, equality, majority rule, minority rights, and the necessity of compromise. Quotes from Winston Churchill, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and Abraham Lincoln are provided to present the text's implication that democracy, particularly of the

American variety, is the ideal form of government. For Elaine, the text suggests a strong connection between American capitalism and the advance of rights (TCA 1, 02/18/10). For example, one chapter contains an image of an African-American couple that is starting a clothing store business. In this case, there is a portrayal of free enterprise as integral to civil rights (TCA 1, 02/18/10; Interview, 02/23/10). In the eyes of this participant, this is in fact a strength of the text, as “capitalism, you know, the capitalist system is what helped build this country to what we are now, and students need to know what it can do for us that other countries might not be able to do” (Interview, 02/23/10).

Q2: In what ways does your textbook address issues of national identity and loyalty? What sorts of events and descriptions are used to support the text’s depiction of national identity and loyalty?

According to Elaine, *American Government* ties national identity and loyalty to the framework of the Constitution. By tracing the path that the Framers followed in crafting the Constitution, students are exposed to the unique nature of the document and the one true unifying factor of identity and loyalty for all Americans. The Great Compromise (dealing with Congressional representation) and the creation of the Bill of Rights demonstrate for the students the American principles of seeking consensus on a middle ground and a concern for the rights of the individual (TCA 1,02/18/10). Specific issues of national identity and loyalty are not necessarily as obvious and explicit as one might expect in this text, as it “really is more about how things work than about the history and who we are and that sort of thing” (Interview, 02/23/10).

In considering those issues of who we are and national identity, the textbook does provide some consideration of the relationship between being American and

maintaining a mixed economy. Chapter 23, Comparative Economic Systems, explores the various strengths and weaknesses of capitalism, socialism, and communism. In so doing, Elaine suggests, it emphasizes freedom of choice and association within capitalism as natural extensions of the American democratic system, without delving too deeply into weaknesses of capitalism (TCA 1, 02/18/10). Indeed, economic inequality is not even addressed as a problem within the American capitalist system. However, the sections on socialism and communism both delve into the weaknesses and failures of these systems in far more detail. For Elaine, even the graphs provided for exploration of the systems paint a negative picture of socialism in relation to the American system. For example, a graph exploring per capita GDP in the United States as compared to other (socialist) countries focuses only on the US as compared to far smaller European and developing world countries, such as Sweden, Zambia, and Algeria (p. 669). A later graph comparing unemployment in France, Italy, and the United States suggests that the entitlements provided under socialism, such as longer vacations, cheaper health care, and unions have resulted in significantly higher levels of unemployment in socialist countries as compared to the American capitalist system (p. 670). With both graphs, there “isn’t a real deep expectation of a discussion at all. It’s just expected that the kids will make assumptions about which is better and which is worse, because really, how will they know?” (Interview, 02/23/10). While Elaine did claim to have concerns about the bias of the text in comparing economic systems, she “really think[s] that we have it right here anyway. I want my kids to see the problems of the welfare state, and they do need to know what we as Americans can and cannot do to help each other. Capitalism has problems, but it really is who we are, and everything else” (Interview, 02/23/10).

Q3: How does your textbook portray the concept of diversity, immigration, and the meaning of the word 'American'? How does it discuss the contributions of women and minorities to the civic fabric of the United States?

The participant addressed this question by looking at the suffrage movements of American history, the role of the political parties in the expansion of (or contraction of) civil rights, and uses issues of voter behavior to discuss the expanding role of minorities in the American political process. As with *The Americans*, however, a significant percentage of the discussion of the expansion of the meaning of 'American' occurs out of the main text and in the margins of the text. For example, a reading on Latinos in the media and in civic participation is placed in a separate section within a chapter on mass media and public opinion. In fact, this piece occurs AFTER the section review, and as Elaine pointed out, "these are the sorts of readings that kids and teachers tend to ignore" (TCA 1, 02/18/10).

Image questions

Q1: What kind of images does your textbook provide to support its discussion of citizenship?

Elaine stated that at the start of a chapter "there is always a picture depicting some historical building or groups of people celebrating an American event" (TCA 1, 02/18/10). In further discussion with Elaine concerning these images, she suggested that these tend to be glossed over or ignored by both the teacher and the students because "they all tend to run together, like with the people or the events or even just buildings" (Interview, 02/23/10) and in any case, they all tend to be positive depictions of American democracy or Americans. "I don't think there are even any negative images of American in the book, unless it's, I don't know, a political cartoon or something" (Interview, 02/23/10).

Elaine did consider that 'image' can mean something other than a photograph (TCA 1, 02/18/10). For example, the "passages and stories they use to introduce a section or highlight a theme tries to get kids to do something other than just read. It does a pretty good job letting them think about things and talk about maybe some problems we've had as a country. Like in Chapter 11, they have a quote about Congress and schools and funding and asks kids to consider what the quote is talking about. So some of the images, if you want to call them that, are of citizens thinking about things" (Interview, 02/23/10).

Q2: What do you believe are the most predominant images in the textbook?

The participant suggested that the most prominent images in the text involve struggle of some kind, with elements addressing the "challenges of maintaining a democracy and upholding the rights of the individual guaranteed by the Constitution" (TCA 1, 02/18/10). For example, we see in different chapters of the text an image containing the 'Oath of Citizenship' (p. 2), protestors in front of the Supreme Court (p. 504), and a depiction of freedom of religion (p. 530). This, in Elaine's view, reflected the text's focus on conceptions of American democracy as a work of positive progress and emphasizes the connections between all Americans that is reflected in the textbook narrative as she perceives it (TCA 1, 02/18/10; Interview, 02/23/10).

Citizenship questions

Q1: Based on what you have seen within this analysis of your textbook, how might you summarize the textbook's approach to citizenship education and the qualities it emphasizes in "the good citizen?"

Elaine had a generally positive response to how the textbook portrays "the good citizen." She suggested that it offers a "fair and balanced approach to citizenship" while emphasizing the multicultural nature of America and the role of the individual within it.

Elaine, in her own words, “appreciate[s] that the textbook presents the idea of limited government within the constitutional boundaries placed on it” (TCA 1, 02/18/10). From this perspective, a familiarity with the Constitution and the limits placed on government is significant knowledge that a good citizen must possess.

Q2: How does the textbook construction of citizenship and the qualities of the good citizen compare with your own understanding?

Elaine’s response to the textbook was very positive, and her critique was minimal to non-existent within the written responses (TCA 1, 02/18/10). She appreciated the emphasis that the text seems to place on personal responsibility, as she could “agree with [it] from a personal/professional point of view” (Interview, 02/23/10). For Elaine, the textbook avoids the problem of bias and allows her to supplement the foundational elements with her own selection of primary or secondary sources. For example, while the textbook touches lightly on the issue of judicial activism in Chapter 18, Elaine expanded the unit with a discussion of cases that highlight “the things that just go wrong when the courts do things they just shouldn’t do” (Interview, 02/23/10). This includes activist courts making decisions on race, gender, abortion, marriage, and other issues that tend to go beyond just what the Constitution says (TCA 1, 02/18/10).

Macgruder’s American Government and the citizen

Elaine’s analysis of the textbook suggested a text that places a great deal of emphasis on the good citizen as the capitalist citizen, connecting support for the ‘traditional’ American free enterprise system to good citizenship. At the same time, this is connected to the Constitution and the framework of an American government system that allows for economic and social prosperity. To Elaine, the text assumes that the citizen understands and accepts the importance of diversity and multiculturalism without

much real consideration of the expansion of citizenship and the concept of being 'American' to those traditionally outside civic boundaries. This is implied by the removal of the discussion to areas outside the main text, such as the end of chapters or margin boxes. The presentation of the changing nature of citizenship, that is, who actually gets to be a citizen and how that has changed over time, lacks historical context and integration with the rest of the text. Discussion and historical explanation is generally shallow and limited, though photographs in the text offer a cursory image of a diverse America that is often passed over by students and teachers simply trying to "get through" the content.

One important implication of the textbook regarding characteristics of the good citizen is that the good citizen is capable of thinking deeply and critically about issues important in American politics, economics, and society. This is done through scenarios, role-play, and student centered activities that ask them to draw conclusions and force them to think beyond the surface of facts and opinions. At the same time, the story of America is presented in the textbook as a story of positive progress, and efforts to solve any problems in America are a result of shared struggle and collaboration. Citizenship in this textual context necessarily suggests the good citizen has a positive view of America and a willingness to collaborate to solve problems that may appear in the body politic.

Themes

In this section, we consider again the questions that form the foundation of this research:

1. How do secondary social studies teachers with differing political self-identifications define the concept of citizenship in the United States within the context of the American political system, and how is this (or is this not) reflected in their classroom instruction?

2. How do secondary social studies teachers interpret the textbook's portrayal of the concept of citizenship within the context of the American political system, and how might this interpretation balance with their own conceptions as well as classroom instruction?

In answering these questions, I considered responses across the cases and drew conclusions based on the interviews and on the textual analysis and discussion that participants provided. At this point, it became possible to connect the themes arising through an analysis of teacher perspectives to themes arising within a consideration of how the textbook chose to present the idea of the good citizen. Looking at the broader picture, it was evident that while the participants shared three different worldviews and political orientations, certain shared themes arose. At the same time, differences in conception are seen, sometimes subtly, sometimes obviously.

The Concept of Citizenship

Citizenship, more specifically what makes a good citizen, is something that all three participants considered deeply over the course of this research. They spent hours reviewing their textbooks and interpreting how it presents conceptions of citizenship and they were willing to sit down with me and discuss in detail their understanding of what it means to be a good citizen, exploring their own thoughts and talking through their construction of citizenship. Upon reflection, all three admitted that this was something that they had thought about more than once. While there were differences in what each participant considered to be a good citizen, certain shared themes emerged when data across the cases was reviewed. First, the three participants specifically emphasized that the good citizen is knowledgeable. He or she has the skills necessary to both gather information and know how to effectively interpret it, as well as understanding vocabulary related to broader civic concepts. The three participants also agreed that, in

some form or another, understanding the importance of collaboration is an integral element of good citizenship. Literacy is also a key characteristic of the good citizen. That is, the good citizen is capable of interpreting and manipulating various media types in order to draw conclusions, make decisions, and participate as an active member in civic life. The good citizen is also a critical thinker capable of taking responsibility for themselves and for others, with an understanding of the common good. At the same time, two of the three teachers suggest that patriotism and national pride should, in some way, be within the heart of the good citizen. An overarching factor to consider is that all of these themes build upon each other and work together to construct the final product that we as civic educators consider to be “the good citizen”.

Knowledge is power

For two of the participants in the study, knowledge of some form or another is one of the most important elements of civic education and the development of the good citizen. The participants, two of whom make specific reference to the importance of knowledge building, believe that for the average citizen to be the good citizen, he or she has to have a foundation of civic knowledge on which they can build. In interviews and in observations, as well as in written and verbal discussions regarding the textbook, the three teachers describe knowledge as a significant component of effective citizenship.

Consider, for example, that Michael and May both argued that the good citizen must understand key concepts and vocabulary, such as “voting”, “rights”, “the common good”, and “civic life”, that are necessary for strong discussion and problem solving. These key concepts and vocabulary provide a sort of “universal language” that allows citizens to communicate effectively. At the same time, this knowledge forms a foundation that allows the future citizen to learn how to separate what matters from what

is extraneous and identify what is necessary for decision making as an active citizen. While Elaine was the only one of the three participants who did not explicitly mention knowledge as an important element in civic development and good citizenship, the interviews and discussions with her suggested that she, too, saw knowledge as one of the most significant characteristics of the good citizen. For example, in considering the value of vocabulary, Elaine argued that it serves as a foundational element for further and deeper instruction than is possible without a shared foundation of language and concepts, and it is where the textbook finds its most significant use. This theme of knowledge being power is also evident in her argument that citizens must have an understanding of history and broader civic concepts in order to feel a part of something larger than themselves. Michael shared this belief, and saw knowledge of history as a step on the path towards patriotism. For this teacher, it was important that students develop a shared knowledge and understanding of national history and how it impacts and shapes the good citizen.

The literate citizen

In interviews and observations, as well as consideration of the textbooks, Michael, Elaine, and May all pointed to literacy as a significant component of good citizenship. For Michael in particular, the good citizen understands the power of the written word. In every interview, Michael referred constantly to the power of the pen, tying it to a citizen's ability to influence elected leaders and play a role in decision-making and public policy. One of the most important things that he had his students do is constantly write essays, letters, and scripts that serve two purposes: build writing skills from the ground up and provide an opportunity for written engagement with the

material while introducing them to ways in which they can potentially influence the political process.

The theme of literacy also undergirds much of what Elaine and May suggested about good citizenship in interviews, discussions, and observations. Both of them, however, considered literacy to include a deeper understanding of texts of all kinds, an approach that incorporates a focus on media as an essential component of civic preparation. Elaine and May saw helping students understand the power of various forms of media as necessary to facilitating active citizenship. Both described lessons that incorporate an analysis and manipulation of the news media, of primary sources, of films, and of political campaign advertisements, among other things. This opportunity to engage with media allows them to practice the skills that they will need as they assume the responsibilities of good citizenship and begin to take part in broader civic life. This could involve identifying bias in a news broadcast, describing the ways in which an advertisement seeks to manipulate the reader or viewer, or crafting a media message of their own that expresses a particular point of view. These sorts of media literacy skills will translate into civic literacy skills as these future citizens put them to use while taking part in modern American civic life. While each approaches the area of media literacy from a different political direction, they reach the same conclusion: media literacy is a step on the path to civic literacy.

Cooperation and collaboration for the common good

One theme that crosses cases, no matter the political perspective of the teacher, is that the good citizen understands the importance of the common good. While the participants demonstrated differing conceptions of what exactly is meant by the idea of “the common good”, all saw the need for cooperation and collaboration within the

community as necessary to an effective and just society; as civic educators, one of their tasks is to help students understand that importance. There was a shared understanding among the three teachers that the most effective means of helping students know their roles as citizens is to allow them to explore the meaning of community. This would, for example, involve students exploring the questions of what makes a community function, what connections between individuals form a community, and how the definition of community can change over time.

Cooperation and collaboration were key elements in all three classrooms and as a component of civic development pursued by the three teachers. Michael, May, and Elaine all have students collaborating during discussions and activities when observed in the classrooms or describing these activities in their interviews. Elaine, for example, required students to work with partners on tests and activities, and grades are based on the success of the collaboration rather than individual work. May's work with Socratic seminars and small group discussions allowed students to work together to debate issues and develop solutions to historic problems. Michael paired students together to explore foundational texts and to develop presentations covering significant content. At the same time, Michael drew a straight line connection between individual rights and broader conceptions of the common good. The good citizen has a deep understanding of his rights under the Constitution, and also understands that those rights are balanced by the needs of the nation; in some ways, this is an echo of Benjamin Rush (1806), who argued that good citizens owe their first loyalty after God to the nation.

Responsibility

Growing out of conceptions of collaboration and cooperation is a conception of responsibility. All three participants referred in some way to guiding students towards an

understanding of good citizenship as responsible citizenship. This theme originates in discussions of collaboration and cooperation and directs the good citizen to consider how they may be responsible to themselves and responsible to others. For example, Elaine's future citizens simply cannot expect to succeed in her class unless they contribute to the broader group (a connection to the "common good") and complete assigned tasks within the classroom community or smaller group, particularly for tests and extended authentic assessments. Michael's students are expected to develop projects together; one student failing to contribute fails the whole group. May's class discussions required a contribution from every student, either written or verbal, and during the reflection process the students evaluate each other and themselves on their contributions. As she suggested, a single voice not contributing can derail the entire conversation and stifles possible unheard perspectives.

While responsibility is most certainly tied to the earlier theme of collaboration and cooperation, it contains an element of individuality that all three participants agree upon. Elaine, May, and Michael emphasized in interviews that one of the most frustrating and difficult tasks that they as civic educators have is to help students understand the responsibility they have both to and for themselves. If students cannot be responsible to themselves, it can be difficult for them to be truly responsible to and for others. May and Michael, for example, described the difficulty they have in getting students to complete assignments without some sort of external incentive. Elaine, building on the same idea, suggested that many students feel a sense of entitlement that has to be overcome if they are to actually live as "good citizens". Michael's idea of shared sacrifice for the

broader common good, an element of the theme of collaboration discussed earlier, necessarily requires a sense of responsibility to self as well as others.

The citizen patriot

Elaine and Michael both explored with their students the meaning of patriotism for what they describe as the good citizen. For Michael, this patriotism required a shared understanding of American history and society, similar to Benjamin Rush's (1806) notions of education focused on creating the "republican machine". Patriotism is far less of a concern for May; indeed, the concept as Elaine and Michael understood it did not appear in any of the interviews and discussions that took place between May and the researcher.

Michael's conception of the good citizen as the patriotic citizen reflects a somewhat traditional notion of what it means to be "patriotic". His approach in the classroom and instruction approaches history as a story of great men, of positive change, and of continual improvement with few stumbles along the way. It is typical of the approach to American history as described by Loewen (2005), Zimmerman (2005), and Barton and Levstik (2004). The result, according to Michael, is a citizen whose patriotism is reinforced and supported by a broad knowledge base emphasizing a positive America.

Elaine's conception of the good citizen as the patriotic citizen differs from Michael's. While she does not focus on a history of America that brushes past the struggles, she does work to help students view the nation as something more than an abstract concept. For Elaine, patriotic citizens understand the nation as something bigger than themselves, drawing upon a deep understanding of the common good. Her future citizens focus on the Constitution as a text requiring deep study and thought, and

the Founding Fathers as men of brilliance, though she avoids heroification (Loewen, 2008) by also discussing their flaws in moral character or decision-making.

The good citizen is the thinking citizen

A shared theme across cases in this study is the conception of the good citizen as one capable of developing critical arguments and seeing beyond the surface of media, history, and society. This requires citizens to understand motivations, biases, agendas, and consequences and how the tools of media and citizenship interact to influence each other and the broader American society and polity. All three participants emphasized, in similar ways, that the good citizen must, almost by definition, be the critically thinking citizen. Interviews and observations throughout the research process with Michael, Elaine, and May demonstrated a shared consensus among participants with varying personal backgrounds that without the ability to think critically, citizens will be less able to develop other characteristics of good citizenship, such as media literacy or patriotism.

May, Elaine, and Michael all provided students the opportunity to develop skills related to critical thinking. Much of their focus, based on discussion and observation, was centered on the use of primary source documents and a discussion of current and past events that allows for varying interpretations; this forces students to back their arguments with supports from prior discussions or learned material. For example, Michael leads students in exploring the appropriateness of dropping the bomb on Hiroshima, with some students having to develop arguments against the decision, and others opposing it based on primary and secondary source readings and prior class discussions. Elaine has students develop a national constitution for the new century, and any alterations to the old constitution had to be justified. May, in Socratic

discussions, requires students never to argue a point without being able to back it up with references or citations. Ultimately, critical thinking is a theme that undergirds other themes that appear in interviews, discussions, and observations. All three participants return again and again to the need to help students know *how* to think about things in order to provide a foundation for future civic growth.

The Textbook Citizen

The textbook presentation of ‘the good citizen’ is one which raises some significant red flags for May and Michael, though it was less of a problem for Elaine. This may be due in some degree to the different courses and texts that the three teachers taught (Elaine with American Government and Michael and May with American History). *The Americans*, for example, is aimed at a broad overview of the entirety of American history, while *Magruder’s American Government* is intended to provide an overview of the functioning of the American system, reflecting the general and explicit purposes of each course. In comparing their feedback across cases, and considering the differing natures and purposes of the books, a number of themes emerged that paint a particular image of “the good citizen” according to a textbook. These themes were derived from the participant analysis of the textbooks and are based on their responses to the guiding questions contained in the Textbook Content Analysis Guide and discussion with the participants concerning their responses. Each participant analyzed the text independently and was not aware of how others responded to the questions. The themes reflected the commonalities across the responses, and are listed in this section and as individual headings following this section. The first theme that was evident across the texts and the cases is the idea of progress. Within this context, the good citizen is one who embraces the concepts of diversity and multicultural America

without extensive deeper thinking about the meaning of that America and those particular concepts; the voice of the good citizen is, in many ways, to be interpreted as the voice of a white America, of an upper middle class America, and of a male America. This theme also incorporates in some ways the conception of the good citizen as one that maintains a positive vision of America and its progress toward issues of equality and democracy. This positive vision of the nation leads to the second theme evident in considering the civic vision of the text: collaboration. The texts make an effort to describe the importance of compromise and collaboration in dealing with issues facing the country, and suggest that the path of progress has been followed cooperatively. The third theme is that of good citizenship as tied to an acceptance of free enterprise doctrines and the ideal of America as a bastion of capitalist liberty. Within this context, to be an American is to support some form of capitalism. A fourth theme evident in both texts is the good citizen as the thinking citizen. While this may be somewhat contradictory with the aforementioned shallowness of considerations of diversity, both texts do make an effort to encourage students to think deeper about certain issues, such as civil liberties and turning point decisions. For example, students are asked to place themselves within a historical event and determine courses of action. Do you let the South leave? Do you bomb Hiroshima? As President, do you vocally support the *Brown* decision? A final theme evident in discussions arising over the textbook is the importance of a shared language of citizenship. This builds upon the idea of the good citizen as the literate citizen, a significant theme arising in the participant interviews. Just as within the themes arising through teacher interviews and observations, these particular themes are all tied together and interrelated, across texts and cases.

Progress and positivity

A shared theme across the texts, and one all three participants noted, was the conception of national identity and good citizenship necessarily involving an ultimately positive vision of America. With this theme, the good citizen values a conception of America that is unfailingly progressive and capable of overcoming problems through shared definitions of liberty and identity.

This positive vision of American progress, a key feature of good citizenship as implied by the textbooks, was seen in how the texts choose to present difficulties and obstacles that the nation has encountered. For example, *The Americans* tends to avoid deep discussions of race and gender in favor of a shallow overview of civil rights movements in American history. Those struggles that may call for greater consideration or extended emphasis are instead relegated to areas outside of the main text. In *Magruder's American Government*, the expansion of protections promised in the Constitution to those historically outside of the mainstream get only a surface treatment. The tone regarding both issues is one that does not ask students to wonder whether progress is possible; instead it assumes that progress has already occurred.

Within this positive vision of America and the good citizen is an implication that diversity and the multicultural nature of American society has always been something that we take for granted and is to be recognized as natural, if not explicitly celebrated. The assumption within this element of the theme is that this nature has developed easily, with only token struggle. *Magruder's American Government*, for example, presents the students with information concerning the Amendments that expanded suffrage and liberty, such as the 14th and the 19th, without more than a cursory consideration of the conflict over the appropriateness and consequences of that

expansion of civic participation. *The Americans*, while generally being better about providing some background regarding the difficulties proponents faced in passing or implementing the expansion of liberty, generally presents the assumption that once suffrage and access has expanded to include once-out groups, the problems that led to their inclusion are positively resolved. Shallow coverage across the texts present future citizens with the notion that change is relatively simple and consequence free, and the path that America has followed requires little in the way of effort or sacrifice to maintain.

Cooperating for progress

The second theme that was seen emerging in the texts, based on the perceptions of the teachers using them, is the conception of national progress as only being possible when good citizens work together to achieve that positive progress. Generally speaking, the texts explore controversial topics with the assumption that for the most part, there was a shared agreement about what was necessary for progress and resolution (though the Civil War and Integration are notable exceptions to this). These topics are rarely revisited later in the texts for a consideration of consequences and discussion of whether or not there truly was consensus.

One intriguing element of the texts, noted by the participants using them, is that outside of the Civil Rights movements, minorities are rarely represented within this theme. Most of the actions that are described as having significant impact on progress and change are centered around the actions of white men. Frederick Douglass, for example, comes and goes in *The Americans* without any real consideration of his voice within the abolitionist and post-Civil War Civil Rights movements. Indeed, until the chapters devoted specifically to the Civil Rights movements of the late 19th and 20th

centuries, women and minorities rarely make significant appearances as drivers of movements, and their voices are often isolated and lightly considered.

A good capitalist

A theme which also appeared relatively early in interviews with all three of the participants, the relationship between good citizenship and capitalism (or at least the American version), is significantly implied throughout both textbooks. Both *The Americans* and *Magruder's American Government* avoid deep consideration of the economic consequences of the American model of capitalism, suggesting that the 'victory' of American free enterprise over various European forms of socialism was complete. The repetitive nature of this theme results in a citizenship that avoids questioning the dogma of free enterprise and neglects the promise that alternative forms of economic participation may offer if adapted to the American model.

For example, *Magruder's American Government* touches briefly on comparative economic systems, but fails to truly contrast the strengths and weaknesses of each. Indeed, the section discussing the (significant) strengths and (limited) weaknesses of American capitalism is presented in isolation from sections dealing with socialism and communism. At the same time, little attention is paid to the diversity across nations in relation to those economic systems. America is presented as the model to be emulated, and other countries are presented, somewhat subtly, as less worthy of consideration.

The Americans takes a similar approach to the development of "good citizenship". Free enterprise and entrepreneurship in the American model are given priority consideration. The financiers and organizers of the American Industrial Revolution, particularly those rising to power in the late 19th century, are generally painted as drivers of progress or growth. While some consideration is given to the

consequences of industrialization, particularly as an outgrowth of late century urbanization, students are not truly asked to consider whether alternative models of development would have been possible. Indeed, the only real positive references to elements of the 19th and 20th century socialist movements is a short discussion of Eugene Debs and the development of the New Deal; much 20th century economic discussion, when it occurs, focuses on the contrasting models of the Soviet Union and the United States. Even a discussion of reform and protest in the 1960's as an element of the Great Society fails to look beyond much more than cultural factors.

Ultimately, for the teachers taking part in this research, the context within the text was often shallow and limited. Discussion of the Great Depression, for example, presents only a shallow examination of the structural and societal factors that impacted both collapse and recovery, and the text presents the New Deal as a natural outgrowth of American economic reform; opposition from the left or the right is given only a brief mention. The root causes and eventual recovery are given a few brief paragraphs, and the tremendous impact both the Depression and the New Deal had on American society, politics, and culture is not really addressed outside of the unit on that era. Challenges to New Deal and later Great Society programs in the 1980s after the Reagan Revolution are given far more attention, and far more weight, than critiques of the programs that occurred during initial implementation.

The critical thinker

While the three participants shared an implied disdain for the general contextual shallowness of the textbooks, and the image of the good citizen painted by those texts, there was a consensus that the texts do strive to provide some foundation that will allow students to think critically about selected issues. In both interviews and observations, all

three participants discussed the theme of the importance of helping students become critical citizens. It was important for them to see that students are able to make decisions and reach conclusions, and in the opinion of the participants, the text, on some topics at least, provides that needed foundation.

Michael and May both expressed satisfaction with how *The Americans* works towards creating citizens that could think critically concerning significant historical issues, despite the previously mentioned limitations of the text. For example, students are asked, in *The Americans*, to consider the justification for the dropping of the atomic bomb on Japan. To do so, they may have to draw on both primary and secondary sources and develop arguments for and against the action. With *Magruder's American Government*, Elaine is able to have students explore conceptions of compromise within the American political system, and the text also provides connections, explicitly or implicitly, to possibilities for a look at current events.

Thinking through a critical lens is presented to students as one of the strengths of American democracy. A discussion of the 1960s in *The Americans*, for example, while not necessarily painting the activists of the era in a purely positive light, does ask students to consider the motivations that inspired protesters and the impact that the reform movements of the 1960s had on American life, such as in the expansion of civil rights and the growth of the sexual revolution. *Magruder's American Government* also seeks to help students develop that critical lens concerning the structure of the American system by asking them to explore alternatives to the Constitution and centralizations of power.

A shared language, a literate citizen

One of the most important components in content acquisition is the development of vocabulary (Christen & Murphy, 1991; Harmon, Hedrick, & Wood, 2005; Marzano, 2003) and social studies is no exception. Carney, Anderson, Blackburn and Blessing (1984) suggested that pre-teaching vocabulary improves the knowledge acquisition of social studies students, and this writer's own experiences in the classroom support this idea. The participants, throughout interviews, observations, and consideration of the textbook, all saw vocabulary, particularly a shared civic vocabulary, as a necessary component of good citizenship. It is necessary, then, that we consider at least to some degree the types of vocabulary we find in the text. What terms do the authors see as most important? Within both texts, we see the terms chosen for discussion and student development reflecting the characteristics and images that the authors wish to present as important for good citizenship and American success. While a deeper discussion of vocabulary is not a key focus of this paper, a brief sampling of the vocabulary in the text that reflects expectations for citizenship and is touched on by the participants is provided in Appendix F.

The participants suggested that a consideration of the vocabulary used in the textbook when discussing concepts key to their understanding of good citizenship was important in knowing how the texts attempt to shape the direction of individual civic development. Without prompting or touching on the research discussed in this section, May, Michael, and Elaine all pointed to vocabulary development as integral to preparing students to become good and active citizens. For May, "if the kids don't know the terms, they can't know even the most basic functions of being a good citizen" (Interview, 03/31/10). Michael argued that, "the words build the foundation. If we are building a

house, you have to start with the bottom bricks, and the vocab [*sic*] does that. When I was a police officer, it used to drive me crazy when people couldn't even explain the rights they accused me of violating when they were arrested!" (Interview, 03/05/10). Elaine approached the vocabulary from a similar perspective, pointing out that "you can't teach them the big stuff if they don't know the little stuff first" (Interview, 02/23/10).

Each chapter and section within the two texts these three teachers used first present students with the key vocabulary terms that they will encounter in the course of their reading. Students, with the guidance of the teacher, are expected to be able to use and understand these terms as they explore elements of history, civics, economics and related areas found within a typical social studies textbook. The texts then use the terms within the context of civic activity, historical events, or broad discussion, depending on the textbook and the content. The expectation, suggested by the fact that the books will often reuse terms in later chapters, is that students will develop a strong and shared vocabulary that allows connections to be made to both historical events and immediate history, as well as to their own lives. All three participants in this research emphasized that developing that shared vocabulary is key to developing the civically literate citizen that is their goal.

Reconcilable Differences: The Teachers and the Textbooks

Throughout the research process, in interviews, observations, and in considerations of the textbooks, Michael, Elaine, and May stressed the need to balance what is presented in the textbooks with what they feel is important and necessary in developing good citizens. Ultimately, considering the words and approaches of all three participants, the textbooks serve as neither an obstacle to nor support for excellent instruction and the development of the characteristics of the good citizen. Instead, the

books serve as a foundation that must be built upon, and perhaps altered in what content is given priority, to develop the type of citizen that each teacher wished to create. Despite the evident flaws described by the teachers, there are certain themes shared as to what the good citizen is, as the teachers describe and as the texts suggest.

Both the textbooks and the teachers in this study agreed that the good citizen must be literate in some form or another. This importance of shared knowledge and literacy (of the civic variety or otherwise) begins with vocabulary in the textbooks and is expanded upon by the teachers; this may be in the direction of civic literacy, or it may be broadened to incorporate media literacy. Good citizenship is the lock; for these teachers and the texts that they use, knowledge is the key.

One outgrowth of the emphasis on knowledge that the textbooks and the teachers share is the conception of the good citizen as the critical citizen. While the texts somewhat limit what they ask future citizens to be critical about, there was a shared understanding between the texts and the teachers that the good citizen is capable of independent thought and understands how to draw conclusions based on gathered information. At the same time, students are asked by both the teachers and the textbooks to develop a sense of perspective regarding significant issues and events in American history and civics.

In some ways, good citizenship is truly about perspective: every American defines what it means to be a good citizen differently, and what it means to be 'an American' may be shaped by how we perceive ourselves and our relationships with others. This is a theme that also appears across texts and teachers. The notion of

America as a multicultural society is an expectation of good citizenship that the textbooks try to get across, though that effort may lack a clear definition of just what it means to be multicultural beyond the toleration for other groups. The teachers, too, work to help students develop this conception of good citizenship as multicultural in nature, though teachers bring their own particular biases and preferences to their understanding of the concept.

The textbook centered theme of positivity and progress is apparent as well when we look at the theme of the good citizen as the patriotic citizen. All three teachers expressed this theme as they contemplated their own understanding of 'the good citizen'. The textbook image of the good citizen is one which sees the American story as a story of progress and growth. The participant analysis of the textbooks suggests that while students are asked to think critically about a variety of issues, they are never truly asked to challenge this narrative of positivity presented as the story of America and the American citizen. The teachers, too, reflect a vision of American citizenship that has a positive notion of national progress, though there is disagreement among the participants about the extent of that vision. The positive vision of the nation results in a sense of patriotism, an important civic element for the participants. Elaine, Michael, and May share a perception that the good citizen is engaged and collaborative. The citizens shaped in their hands understand the need to work together to solve problems, know how to influence change (whether through political protest or simply writing letters), and are capable of understanding the views of others. Good citizenship is active and collaborative citizenship. This builds upon the textbooks' emphasis on a particular flavor of somewhat uncritical patriotism.

Conclusions

Chapter 4 presents the findings gathered through interviews and observations, and provides a specifically developed reflective analysis of the two main textbooks used by the three participants in this research. In using the data gathered in this research, I pull together six themes relating to the first question under consideration, and five themes relating to the second question under consideration. I then connect the themes developed through the second question with the themes developed through the first question. The themes that provide a conclusion to this study can be summarized as follows:

1. The good citizen is one who is knowledgeable about the foundations of American democracy and constitutional government. As a result, classroom instruction emphasizes building a foundation and providing opportunities for growth that allow for students to gain knowledge.
2. The good citizen is one who is literate. This literacy relates to both knowing how to use words and the media to influence political and social decision making and understanding the ways in which the media shapes individual and group viewpoints concerning those same decisions. There is a shared sense of the language of the civic responsibility and American history.
3. The good citizen is one who understands the importance of collaboration to pursue the common good. The good citizen is able to balance individual rights with the needs of the nation, without sacrificing either.
4. The good citizen, knowing the importance of both individual rights and the common good, is a responsible citizen. This citizen is capable of understanding consequences and is aware of the importance of individual initiative and responsibility in achieving reform and ensuring civic awareness.
5. The good citizen is a patriotic citizen. This patriotism enables the citizen to appreciate the story of progress that the nation offers, and allows them to feel they are a part of something greater. This attitude can be developed through an appreciation for the sacrifices of others, the Constitution, or other elements shaping the story of positive progress.
6. The good citizen is a critically thinking citizen. This citizen can explore consequential issues and alternate perspectives and understand how to develop and debate arguments.

7. The good citizen supports the American free enterprise system. This citizen understands the strengths of the system and the relationship that American capitalism has to maintaining liberty.

Generally, the themes appearing in the text relating to the concept of good citizenship flowed naturally into the themes developed through an examination of teacher interviews and observations. Within the context of this dissertation, the textbook and the teacher, while not completely in harmony, are not necessarily in direct contradiction to each other when considering the themes and characteristics of good citizenship. At the same time, differing political self-identifications do not preclude similar perceptions of the characteristics of good citizenship. The implications of this are discussed in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 5 SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

Within Chapter 5, I summarize the findings presented in Chapter 4, discuss the implications and limitations of those findings, and propose future avenues for research and possibilities for social studies teacher education. Let us first begin with a consideration of the current reality in social studies and civic education. We have long considered social studies to be a neglected field. Increasingly, schools and districts are pushing social studies aside in favor of language arts, math, and science (Fitchett & Heafner, 2010; Gross, 1977; O'Connor, Heafner, & Groce, 2007). Indeed, as of this writing, one district in Pennsylvania has announced plans to merge 6th grade social studies with language arts, providing more time for instruction in math (Esack, 2012). This cannot help but have a negative impact as we seek to prepare students to become the next generation of citizens. Social studies has, historically, been the center of civic education. As the center disappears, what happens to civic education?

It is up to the teacher to maintain that center as civic education is overwhelmed by the demands of 21st century testing and priorities, serving as the gatekeeper to civic participation (Pace, 2007). In exploring the questions at the heart of this study, I developed a greater understanding of both my own intellectual perspective of what it means to be a 'good citizen' and what social studies teachers from different backgrounds have in common about that meaning as they defend social studies and civic education from the current trend of neglect and apathy.

Summary of the Findings

Teachers' Perceptions of the Characteristics of the Good Citizen

The participants in this study saw social studies as a powerful tool for creating an active and engaged citizenry. For these participants, the foundation of effective citizenship begins with knowledge. Indeed, knowledge is integral for both teacher and student; if the gatekeeper lacks the knowledge necessary for good citizenship, one must question the ability of that teacher to act as gatekeeper (Fritzer & Kumar, 2002; Hill, Rowan, & Ball, 2005; Leming, Ellington, & Schug, 2006; Pace, 2007). A broad understanding of history (and its related fields) as well as an extensive civic vocabulary are necessary tools to construct an effective citizen, and those tools transform into characteristics of good citizenship.

Literacy is also an extremely significant element of good citizenship. This is a broad concept, encompassing literacy across the spectrum of media, and participants in this research shared a view of good citizenship that requires students to develop the ability to interpret and analyze media and use media tools to influence the civic narrative. This shared consensus reflects an understanding of the importance of a variety of types of media in the era of the sound byte and the blog, the written word and filmed image. The effective social studies teacher, in the guise of the gatekeeper of citizenship, serves to guide students into what Hobbs (1998) described as a critical literacy, and the opportunity for practice is integral to effective media literacy (Alvermann & Hagood, 2000; Banks, 2007; Hobbs, 1998; Livingstone, 2004).

While the participants in this research described it differently, all three shared a belief in the importance of helping future citizens understand the need for creating a collaborative community centered on the common good. Hamilton (2005) argued that

effective civic education requires an emphasis on collaboration and discussion in order to ensure active civic participation, as well as the involvement of as many institutions and citizens as possible in the task of creating a strong and democratic nation.

Gutmann (1990) suggested that the care of the common good has always been key to good citizenship. The role of the teacher, in this context, is to prepare students for working towards the common good. Ultimately, the pursuit of that common good requires citizens to be active participants in the national project, and students should be allowed to practice the skills of democracy necessary to allow that participation (Banks, 2009; Barton & Levstik, 2004; Macedo, 2004; NCSS, 2001; Parker, 1996). In this study, the three participants saw understanding the common good, and the balance between the common good and individual rights, as a key element of democratic practice

The democratic practice emphasized in teaching students to understand the common good also requires that future citizens be capable of grasping the idea of responsibility. Michael, May, and Elaine all suggested that one of the most important characteristics of the good citizen is being responsible for oneself and for the broader common good. By emphasizing the need for responsibility within the framework of active and engaged citizenship, the civic educator seeks to ensure that students grow into an understanding of the role they play as citizens, balancing individual rights with the broader common good as we understand it in the 21st century (Carr, 2008; Kerr, 2003). Michael, May, and Elaine stressed that the first goal is to help the students understand the need to be responsible for oneself so that they may then learn the concept of broader civic responsibility to each other. This sort of connection to the

broader community is ultimately vital for effective and democratic citizenship (Dewey, 1909; Haynes & Pickeral, 2008; Hinde, 2008; Patrick, 2003).

Patriotism, for two of the three participants in this study, was a necessary component of good citizenship. Within this context, patriotism for Elaine and Michael encompassed an image of the nation as a land of opportunity and progress, and America as a concept larger than any one individual. This approach to civic education reinforces the notion of a good citizenship that, while not necessarily avoiding difficult questions about America, serves to emphasize the 'unique' nature of the United States compared to the rest of the world and may avoid the 'hard questions' about the national character (Marciano, 1997; Pangle & Pangle, 1993; Smith, 1988; Tyack, 1966, as cited in Heater, 2004, pp. 58-60).

While patriotism as conceived by Michael and Elaine avoided too much emphasis on a critique of the American story, both teachers, as well as May, stress that the good citizen must have the ability to think critically about the issues facing modern America. Indeed, critical thinking was seen by all three participants as a necessary foundation for the entire project of creating a good citizen, reflective of the idea that critical thought is the pathway to solving the problems of modern American democracy (Dewey, 1909; Marciano, 1997). In exploring the concept of critical thinking within a civic context, the participants provided students with both a framework to consider problems and the opportunity to practice the skills that will allow them to reflectively consider American democracy, such as the use of primary sources, debate, and discussion (Barton & Levstik, 2004; Butts, 1980; Glaser, 1985). At the same time, the practitioner

must balance helping citizens develop an appreciation for the nation with thinking objectively and critically about the nation (Zevin, 1994).

The Text and the Good Citizen

As teachers attempt to develop in students the characteristics they see as desirable in a good citizen, they must also take into account the textbook portrait of a good citizen. As the main resource for many social studies teachers, particularly at the elementary level and for those teachers who consider themselves to be weak in content or view social studies as a less important subject, the textbook remains an important tool in civic education (Goodman & Adler, 1985; Schug, Western, & Enochs, 1997; Vogler, 2005). Consequently, we as educators must consider how we balance our own perceived and valued characteristics of a good citizen with those as expressed by the textbook. One of the overriding concerns about using the textbook as the main tool in crafting the characteristics of the good citizen is, ultimately, a lack of depth (Hoge, 1986; Paxton, 1999; Thornton, 1994). As the teacher participants noted in their discussions of the texts used in their classrooms, much of the material covered in the text as integral to good citizenship lacks any sort of depth. As a result, the teachers must find ways to supplement the content as they develop the characteristics.

The textbooks examined for this study, *The Americans* and *Magruder's American Government*, generally present the good citizen as one with a very positive vision of America, a nation with a strong multi-cultural heritage and a history of positive development in most areas. The story of America, within this context, lacks any true consideration of sacrifice as a necessary component of citizenship. As a result, the multicultural nature of the modern nation is taken for granted, and the struggles that we as a nation have faced in living up to the ideals of our founding are most often glossed

over. Consequently, the teacher must bear the responsibility of 'filling in the gaps' and exploring with students the ways in which the image of the good citizen and the story of positivity and progress are flawed; this will allow the teacher to work with future citizens in developing critical thinking skills and the knowledge necessary as characteristics of good citizenship (Boyer, 1990; Galston, 2001; Glaser, 1985).

While the textbook may present something of a problem for those teachers attempting to paint a stronger image of the good citizen and the history and society that shapes that citizen, there are areas where the text and the teacher may find common ground. For example, the textbooks generally paint the good citizen as one which embraces cooperation and collaboration as necessary for progress and equality. This hews closely to the teacher perception of the good citizen as the collaborative citizen. Again, however, the texts contain flaws, as the obstacles to cooperation are little discussed and minority agency in their own progress is barely noted. The texts serve as an introduction to cooperation; it is the teacher who must explore the issue at a deeper level. In order for there to be progress in the nation, the texts suggest that there must also be a shared consensus on what must be done in order to achieve that progress. Within this suggestion, however, is the assumption that this consensus has been generally universal and easily attainable. Within both *The Americans* and *Magruder's American Government*, the voice of the minority and the underprivileged, in the view of the participants in this study, was rarely heard. As Loewen (2005) argued, minority representation in textbooks is often incorporated in such a way as to reinforce the traditional narrative of continuous progress rather than ongoing struggle. As a result, the

vision of the citizen painted by the textbook tends toward conformity rather than confrontation.

In considering the economic role of the good citizen, the participants believe the textbooks make clear that the good citizen embraces the American capitalist ideal as the best path toward progress and the most equitable form of resource sharing. As described by the teachers in this study, the texts rarely present alternative forms of economic organization as viable or desirable. Rather, these are seen as obstacles or threats to American liberty, individual rights, or national wealth. As May pointed out in her discussion of the text, a somewhat conservative perspective on government and socialism predominates. The discussions of socialism are generally antagonistic, as in discussions of the Cold War, which tend to ignore the social democracies of western Europe in favor of the capitalist United States versus the communist Soviet Union, or minimal, as in passing over the role of socialist thought and organization within the labor movement or in politics. Conservative claims that government is the problem or that the New Deal is pure socialism are given little context or rebuttal.

Though May saw the text as essentially underlining support for capitalism as an inherent characteristic of the good citizen, and questions this positioning, her perception was not universal. Michael and Elaine both expressed approval of the emphasis *The Americans* and *Magruder's American Government* place on capitalism as an inherent characteristic of good citizenship. Indeed, Michael expressed some concern that perhaps *The Americans* does not place enough emphasis on capitalism, though like May, he disliked the lack of attention paid to socialism as a viable alternative. However, his concern was that the text does not do enough to discredit socialism as an alternative

economic system, and as a result paints support for the 'welfare state' as a natural element of civic responsibility. As a result, Michael felt the need to provide students with alternative discussions of socialism and capitalism within an American context.

Whatever the perspective of the participants on American economics, all of them felt as though the discussion within the text was far too shallow and painted an improper portrait of the characteristics of the good citizen, though they disagree on what that final portrait should actually embody.

Despite the aforementioned flaws in how the textbooks in this research present the characteristics of the good citizen, teacher participants generally appreciated the expectations for critical thinking that the texts demonstrate. Though critical thinking opportunities were limited by the previously discussed flaws in the texts, the citizen as presented by those texts is one who engages with and thinks about causes and consequences, compromises and conflicts. To do so, the texts provide students with essential questions to consider, present scenarios for them to explore, and provide teachers with a foundation for further discussion. If one considers this from a different angle, the particular failings of the textbooks themselves are turned into strengths. As a result of the sometimes shallow discussions, the students and the teachers are forced to explore outside of the texts in order to address the questions that are raised about controversial topics and turning points in American history and society.

An understanding of the characteristics of the good citizen necessarily requires the development of a shared vocabulary. As explained in Chapter 4, content acquisition, and thus implicitly acquisition of those skills and concepts necessary for good citizenship, is helped a great deal through the pre-teaching of vocabulary, connections

between student experience and vocabulary terms and concepts, and continual use and reinforcement of the terminology related to the content being taught (Carney, Anderson, Blackburn, & Blessing, 1984; Christen & Murphy, 1991; Harmon & Hedrick, 2005; Marzano, 2003). As May suggested in considering elements of vocabulary development in relation to the creation of good citizens, “if the kids don’t know the terms, they can’t know even the most basic functions of being a good citizen” (Interview, 03/31/10). Michael argued that the citizen that cannot explain his rights and his responsibilities will be unable to articulate why those rights matter and why those responsibilities should be a concern of anyone (Interview, 03/05/10). Elaine summarized the importance of vocabulary development quite succinctly: if you don’t know the little stuff, the big stuff is going to be out of your reach (Interview, 02/23/10). All of the participants in this study viewed the textbook as a useful tool in building that shared vocabulary of civic understanding, though the content and depth of the books may be lacking. Essentially, the vocabulary presented in the textbooks serves as a foundation upon which to build a stronger edifice of good citizenship. To paraphrase Michael, the textbooks and their vocabulary are the bricks, while the teacher is the builder, and the civically engaged student is the final construct. One cannot build a strong student without the bricks, but other tools are necessary as well. This reflects the common refrain from the participants that the textbooks are one of many necessary tools in developing the characteristics of the good citizen, and not even the most important one.

The Teacher and the Text

In considering the impact of the textbook on their efforts to develop elements of good citizenship in their students, the participants in this study saw the books as neither a help nor a hindrance to their work. This is, as suggested in the previous paragraph,

because the textbook is not the only tool that they use to develop these elements. At the same time, the teachers in this study share certain perspectives on citizenship that are reflected in their particular texts.

In order to “fill in the gaps” of the texts, the teachers used a variety of resources. All of the participants, for example, selected alternative secondary and main primary sources that offset a perceived bias within the textbooks. Michael provided a conservative critique of the New Deal that is not offered in *The Americans*, supplementing the text with articles and transcripts that reflect both modern and contemporary critiques (Interview, 03/05/10). May provided students access to and uses in her class a primary source text, *Voices of a People’s History of the United States* (2004), in order for students to explore the perspectives of those whose voices are not traditionally present in the textbook (Interview 03/31/10; Observation 03/17/10). Elaine pursued a similar route, providing students with access to articles, original documents (such as the Constitution), and interpretative sources that go beyond what *Magruder’s American Government* offers.

While the participants felt required to offer supplementary materials to the textbooks, there are certain elements in relation to the qualities of the good citizen as presented in the textbook that they reinforce rather than challenge. These have been touched on throughout Chapter 5 and earlier in this study, and reflect what are perhaps the most common shared beliefs among the civic educators taking part in this study. The first, and for the participants the most important, is the development of a shared language of civic knowledge, literacy and understanding. Civic literacy, even the

relatively shallow sort that requires deeper development on the part of the educator, is a foundational element of good citizenship that the textbooks begin to provide.

The foundational elements of civic literacy are themselves built on between the teachers and the textbooks through the practice and development of critical thinking skills. As Chapter 4 described, the texts and the teachers share a belief that future citizens should be asked to think critically about significant issues in American government, history, and civil society. The critical thinking that forms such an important element of good citizenship is tied to the development of an understanding of perspective. Students are asked to consider issues from a variety of different lenses, in order to refine that skill of critical thinking and allow for these citizens-in-waiting to appreciate the diverse nature of the nation and the ways in which issues can be interpreted and argued. This key element of perspective building, done through the texts and the work of the teachers, is ultimately focused on an appreciation for the multicultural nature of American society. The multicultural character of the United States, while painted very broadly and uncritically by the textbooks, is a view that the participants in this research share. The good citizen, in this case, is the multicultural citizen. As Banks (2001) argued, this citizen connects to a personal ethnic and cultural community as well as to the broader national civic culture. It is integration without pure assimilation, and the multicultural citizen is capable of being comfortable in, and accepting toward, multiple cultural identities.

Finally, the teachers and the textbooks generally shared a view that one of the most important characteristics of the good citizen is an understanding of and appreciation for patriotism. While the textbooks were rather shallow in their

consideration and discussion of patriotism, the participants largely share a vision of the nation that was essentially positive and inherently patriotic, though the degree of that positivity differs between them. The patriotic good citizens, in the tapestry weaved by the text and colored by the participants, are collaborative citizens that work together to overcome the historic and present problems facing the nation. They understand the tools available to them, and view problem solving and collaboration as a patriotic duty. The emphasis on collaboration and critical thinking within this context reflects the ongoing concern that the teachers in this study have about what skills and characteristics are necessary to ensure quality citizenship. A responsibility of the civic educator in this context, then, is to provide students the resources and opportunities that will allow them to go beyond the traditional and static notion of patriotism as described in the text.

Implications

In exploring the implications for citizenship education suggested by this study, we can build on the answers to the two questions addressed in Chapter 4 and posed throughout this study:

1. How do secondary social studies teachers with differing political self-identifications define the concept of citizenship in the United States within the context of the American political system, and how is this (or is this not) reflected in their classroom instruction?
2. How do secondary social studies teachers interpret the textbook's portrayal of the concept of citizenship within the context of the American political system, and how might this interpretation balance with their own conceptions as well as classroom instruction?

In this section, I will address three key areas: implications for social studies citizenship education, implications for pedagogy, and implications for social studies teacher

preparation. These will be further broken down to explore different elements of these implications.

Implications for Social Studies Citizenship Education

This study reflects the consensus that social studies teachers are, in many ways, the product of factors beyond the control of social studies teacher education programs (Ambrose, Clement, Philipp & Chauvot, 2004; Barlow & Reddish, 2006; Darling-Hammond and Bransford, 2005; Fang, 1996; Lanahan & Yeager, 2008; Owen, 1997; Tatto, 1996). An ongoing debate within the field of teacher education is what sorts of social studies teachers colleges of education are seeking to create, and indeed, the very meaning and purpose of social studies itself (Barr, Barth, & Shermis, 1977; Barth & Shermis, 1970; Evans, 2004; Nelson, 2001; Ross, 1997). Barr, Barth and Shermis (1977) argued that social studies instruction, and thus social studies itself, falls into 3 general approaches. Citizenship or cultural transmission replicates the prevailing attitudes and values of from generation to generation, passing on accepted knowledge and understandings, with an emphasis on history and patriotism. Social science attempts to integrate diverse academic disciplines and teach future citizens the skills necessary to understand those disciplines and translate them to their own lives. Their final approach, reflective inquiry, encourages critical thinking and the opportunity to solve social problems. The participants in this study, while not expressly familiar with these three categories described by Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977), do express a conception of good citizenship and the characteristics of good citizens that can fit within all three categories. This leads us to consider what kind of good citizens, then, they are seeking to create.

What types of citizens?

The three general approaches to social studies instruction, elements of which the teachers in this study model, connects to what Westheimer and Kahne (2004) argued are three different types of “good citizens”. The ‘personally responsible citizen’ is in many ways the traditional conception of the good citizen. This citizen is obedient, volunteer-oriented, and productive. The emphasis for this citizen is individual action. The ‘participatory citizen’ focuses on collaborative effort, with more active involvement in civics and government within the community. This citizen is less individually oriented and more concerned with collective action. The third type of citizen within the framework Westheimer and Kahne (2004) described is the “justice oriented citizen”. This sort of citizen is concerned with issues of social justice and attempts to find ways to address underlying social problems rather than simply addressing the consequences of those problems (which is where a participatory type citizen might stop).

One of the elements that Westheimer and Kahne (2004) proposed that distinguishes the types of citizenship from each other is the attempt on the part of those dedicated to the development of the personally responsible citizen to ensure that civic education is non-political; as they put it, this is “citizenship without politics—a commitment to service, but not to democracy” (p. 4). At the same time, while participatory citizenship education allows students to develop an understanding of how collaboration with others can address the problems of society, it fails to truly lead to a deeper political engagement with the root causes of those problems. It is with a civic education focused on justice that leads to a citizenship that strives to analyze and solve the problems of democratic society, rather than simply bandage them. In Table 5-1, derived from Westheimer and Kahne (2004), each of the three types of citizens are

described. So what do the characteristics of good citizens generally agreed upon by the participants in this study imply for the types of good citizens that they are creating?

Table 5-1. Overview of the three types of citizens. Adapted from Westheimer, J. & Kahne, J. (2004). Educating the “good citizen”: Political choices and pedagogical goals. *PS: Political Science and Politics*, 38(2), 1-7.

| Criterion | Personally responsible citizen | Participatory citizen | Justice oriented citizen |
|------------------|---|--|--|
| Approach | Centers on character education; emphasizes following rules, working, paying taxes, volunteering. | Centers on engagement with the community; emphasizes civic knowledge, community organization, addressing problems through collective action. | Centers on pursuit of social change; emphasizes analyzing and addressing the cause of social problems (rather than just the outcome), pursuing social change through organized and collective large scale movements. |
| Sample action | Contributes to charity that addresses a social problem. | Organizes a charity that addresses a social problem. | Explores the reason that a charity is needed and works to obviate that need. |
| Core assumptions | “To solve social problems and improve society, citizens must have good character; they must be honest, responsible, and law-abiding members of the community” (p. 2). | “To solve social problems and improve society, citizens must actively participate and take leadership positions within established systems and community structures” (p. 2). | “To solve social problems and improve society, citizens must question and change established systems and structures when they reproduce patterns of injustice over time” (p. 2). |

Earlier in Chapter 5, I reviewed the characteristics of the good citizen as the participants and the textbooks describe. These characteristics include a shared civic knowledge, particularly in history and vocabulary; literacy that encompasses a variety of visual, written, and verbal types that allow the development and maintenance of the

aforementioned civic knowledge; an understanding of the common good in relation to individual rights; the importance of responsibility to oneself and to the community; the role of collaboration in addressing civic issues; patriotism, within a certain limited and semi-critical context; the ability to think critically about issues; and an appreciation for the capitalist model of American society. The good citizen that embodies these characteristics is active, engaged, and collaborative within the community, aware of the variety of their responsibilities, civically knowledgeable, and patriotic. Examining the types of good citizens as described by Westheimer and Kahne (2004) and comparing them to the concept and characteristics of the good citizen as developed by the teachers in this study, it is evident that these teachers primarily pursue the crafting of participatory citizens. The key in this consideration is the importance of taking action to address social problems and recognizing the role that the good citizen plays in maintenance of the common good and taking responsibility not just for oneself but for the community. This takes it beyond the personally responsible approach, which is more focused on character education and limited action beyond volunteerism. As a result, these future citizens, with the characteristics defined by the teachers, are more likely to be aware of social problems, develop a greater knowledge of the process of civic engagement, and have a greater sense of civic efficacy (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Political beliefs do not seem to matter in this context when considering the characteristics of the good citizen and what students learn about quality citizenship. The three participants in this study self-identify as a liberal (May), a Christian conservative (Elaine), and a traditional small government conservative (Michael), and all three are creating some version of the participatory citizen.

It is intriguing that all three participants in this study, despite differing self-proclaimed political and ideological identities, lean toward the participatory citizenship model. The question that naturally arises then is why this may be. While this is certainly an area for further research, it is possible to offer some possible reasons for this outcome. While the participants do indeed state differing perspectives ideologically and politically, it may be the case that the conservative and liberal educators that were the focus of this study are not as far apart on the ideological spectrum as they profess. It may also be the case that an environmental factor has contributed to the convergence. All three participants teach within the same rural region; does this impact what they perceive as the appropriate approach to citizenship education? Ultimately, it may simply come down to comfort with the particular model of citizenship education the three educators reflect. The participatory citizenship model, with an emphasis on the non-political, may be one that can appeal across the political spectrum because it is one that can be implemented without requiring a challenge to socialization within a school community or reflection upon the teacher beliefs that are brought into the classroom (Kuzmic, 1994; Lortie, 1975; Su, 1990; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). The characteristics of the good citizen that are encouraged by these teachers reflect this reluctance to challenge the status quo without great cause. For example, while both the textbooks and the teachers encourage students to think critically about issues, it is within a defined context that is more likely to address the consequences rather than the root causes of social problems. An appreciation for the multicultural nature of the nation may ignore the challenges of multiculturalism and instead emphasize a 'color-blind' attitude toward others that perpetuates the social problems that these teachers try to address

(Atwater, 2008; Banks, 2001; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004). Being active and engaged, characteristics these teachers encourage, does not necessarily translate to acting as agents of social change (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). However, while the participatory citizenship orientation is flawed in that it does not pursue solutions to the problems of modern American democracy, the characteristics of good citizenship that form its foundation can also be built upon to move toward a social justice model if the opportunity is provided.

Teaching for social justice

Many social studies education researchers argue that the teachers that are being taught in education programs should be prepared to teach for social justice and work towards ensuring a citizenship that is active and generally liberal. But is this possible, and is it necessary? Consider, for example, the significant debate within the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) over removing 'social justice' from the required foci for colleges of education (Heybach, 2009; Johnson & Johnson, 2007) This dispute over the concept of "social justice", and what that concept means for social studies teachers, is especially relevant if we consider that social studies may be the first time that students encounter the concept. Social justice has been defined in a number of ways. Kohl (2000/01) suggested that social justice is at the heart of good citizenship, ensuring equitable access for all to the tools of civic life and the resolution of problems that plague a capitalist and democratic society. Freire (1971) emphasized the importance of using the schools to act as agents of social change, challenging established pedagogy, content, and structures that continue the cycle of oppression and prevent the pursuit of equity. For Freire, the oppressed must take ownership of freedom and justice and destroy the traditional balance between the oppressor and the

oppressed. McLaren (1998) argues that social justice must necessarily include challenges to the dominant capitalist system in order to ensure equity and liberation. Taken together, these and other descriptions of social justice encourage the development of citizens that do more than simply respond to societal problems. Rather, in this context, citizens act as agents of social change seeking solutions rather than as non-political actors addressing only the consequences and not the causes of the problems of democratic society.

As the preceding section describes, the type of citizen the teachers in this study craft is primarily a participatory citizen, active in the community and aware of the importance of collaboration in addressing the consequences of social problems. What this citizen is not likely to be, however, is one who spends a great deal of time considering issues of social justice and analyzing the root causes of social problems. These citizens may think critically about issues, but will focus that thinking on how to help those in need rather than how to prevent the problems leading to that need in the first place. Alternatively, the justice oriented citizen knows that “to solve social problems and improve society, citizens must question and change established systems and structures when they reproduce patterns of injustice over time” (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004, p. 2).

The consequence of the focus on crafting the participatory citizen can be significant. The participants in this study, reflecting a variety of political persuasions but sharing in conceptions of the characteristics of good citizenship, could be considered to be unconsciously perpetuating rather than challenging the traditional social structures and problems of 21st century American democracy. While the emphasis on

collaboration, responsibility, and the importance of the common good is laudable, it is questionable whether the development of the civic characteristics toward participatory citizenship rather than a justice oriented citizenship is the most effective solution to perceived ills of American democracy. Ultimately, whether social studies civics educators teach towards a social justice philosophy depends on the type of citizen that they are trying to create, and not necessarily on their own self-identified political persuasion, which they may strive to separate from their own civic classroom goals.

Implications for Social Studies Pedagogy

The pedagogy of the social studies classroom is inevitably shaped by the goals of the social studies instructor. Earlier in Chapter 5, I discussed the type of citizen developed in the framework envisioned by the participating teachers and the impact that ideal of the good citizen may have on the pursuit of social justice. Taking this further, we can consider the deeper consequences related to pedagogy for citizenship.

The text and the teacher: A real conflict?

Without a doubt, the textbook remains an important component of social studies citizenship instruction even for those teachers that attempt to move beyond it. All three participants in this study, for example, expressed concern over the quality of the textbook, but did not choose to completely abandon it. Is social studies citizenship instruction necessarily harmed by the way that the teachers use the textbook? The National Council of the Social Studies (2001) described effective and quality citizenship instruction as promoting critical thinking, responsibility, civic knowledge, collaboration, diversity, and literacy. These characteristics of quality citizens are also emphasized by the teachers in this study and, to a lesser degree, by the textbooks that they are using to aid in instruction, at least from the perspective of the participants. As a result, they

see no significant conflict between their conceptions of good citizenship, the conception presented by the textbook, and the expectations of the broader community.

Another issue to consider in answering this question is whether removing the textbook from the social studies classroom would have a significant impact on how and what these civic educators focus on in their instruction. A parallel issue in this field has been the influence of high stakes standardized testing on how teachers choose to teach the social studies. The argument has been made by a variety of researchers that when faced with the pressures of a high stakes examination, teachers will focus their pedagogy and their content choices on preparing students to achieve a passing score on that examination (Amrein & Berliner, 2003; Gordon & Reese, 1997; McNeil & Valenzuela, 2000; Smith, 1991). Alternatively, there is evidence to suggest that in fact the influence of high stakes testing on social studies instruction is mixed at best and exaggerated at worst. van Hover (2006), Gradwell (2006), and Gerwin (2004), for example, argued that social studies instruction has not changed a great deal since the implementation of a high stakes testing regime. Social studies educators worry about the impact of those tests, but have so far not faced a great demand to adapt towards a teaching model that may be required by those tests (van Hover, 2006). The reason for this failure to change approaches may be because many of these teachers are *already* using a pedagogy that is encouraged by high stakes testing (Au, 2009; Gerwin, 2004). There is little need to adapt to the tests when the model that is chosen for instruction is already teacher-directed and content specific.

Extrapolating this research concerning high stakes testing in the social studies to concern over the use of textbooks as a significant element of civic education, the issue

is the same. The participants within this study, while not relying exclusively on the textbook for instruction in civic education and the creation of the next generation of good citizens, never considered completely abandoning the textbook because the textbook fulfills a particular role. For Michael, Elaine, and May, the textbook served as a foundational tool. Michael, for example, relied on the textbook to cover the basics of the material that he teaches. This could range from dates and names to vocabulary and basic content. Indeed, for Michael, it remained the most fundamental tool that he uses, and everything he teaches is designed to supplement, not replace, the text (Interview, 03/05/10). May, while not relying on the textbook as much as her co-participant, continued to use the book because it was simply easier than having to find new resources for every element of the content that she teaches (Interview, 03/31/10). For Elaine, the textbook remained vital because the material that she teaches can be relatively complex, and the text serves as an effective, if flawed, introduction to the basics of American government (Interview, 02/23/10). These teachers recognized the flaws of the textbooks, and yet continue to use them.

Looking at this from a different angle, the participants in this study all have a particular conception of the good citizen that they are aiming for in teaching the social studies. While diverse in the language that they have chosen to use in describing that conception and varied in the backgrounds that they bring to the process of that construction, the teachers taking part in this study share a general understanding of the good citizen as an engaged, knowledgeable, multicultural, progress-oriented, critical (to a degree) and patriotic citizen. In most ways, this does not differ a great deal from the image of the good citizen as described by the textbooks. As described in Chapter 4 and

summarized earlier in Chapter 5, the good citizen the textbook presented is oriented toward positivity and progress, is patriotic, understands a common civic language and history, and is able to think (somewhat) critically about issues facing the nation. Just as social studies pedagogy may not have been heavily influenced by the rise of high stakes testing because much of the traditional social studies pedagogy was already teacher centered and content heavy, so too could social studies civics educators not be overly concerned over how their texts present the good citizen because they already pursue a similar image of the good citizen.

If social studies civics educators are indeed reliant on the textbook in supporting their conceptions of the good citizen, then it also remains true that teachers must have access to a variety of materials outside of the textbook to supplement its weaknesses. The three teachers in this study, for example, all agree that they have to ‘fill in the blanks’ of the textbook they have chosen to use. Again, however, this could be an issue, as while all of the participants in this study generally agreed what the characteristics of the good citizen *are* and pursue the creation of the participatory citizen, they may not agree on what the good citizen *is supposed to do politically*. In other words, the teachers separate the political goals of the good citizen from the nature of the good citizen. This again reflects the Westheimer and Kahne (2004) perspective that even citizenship education that moves towards a participatory citizenship model avoids making a political statement or taking a political path that could cause dissent or generally challenge prevailing orthodoxy. The resources that they have chosen to supplement the textbooks hint at this discrepancy. Consider, for example, that Michael’s outside critiques of the New Deal generally reflected a somewhat right-of-center critique

of the New Deal, while May provided supplemental resources that consider it from a more liberal perspective. While both attempted to maintain balance, their political biases and backgrounds influenced the resources that they choose, as Chapter 4 suggested. This issue makes providing a definitive resource for teachers to supplement the textbook problematic at best. Do we supplement an American history textbook with Zinn's *A People's History of the United States* (2010) or do we use Schwiekart and Allen's *A Patriot's History of the United States* (2004)? What about using both? Is there a resource that might address historical issues from both ends of the spectrum that teachers could agree on? Who would select this resource or compilation of resources? A further area for research would involve a deeper study of how social studies civics educators select the tools that they use to supplement the main textbook in order to instill the characteristics they desire to see in the good citizen. Further, how do these characteristics influence the political choices that these citizens make?

Modeling good citizenship

In exploring the sometimes controversial question of what makes a good citizen, social studies teachers must ensure that they provide students the opportunity to explore the question themselves, demonstrating the very process in which good citizens should engage (Patrick, Metcalf & Vontz, 2003; Pepper, 2004). Indeed, the three teacher participants in this study see their roles as one of modeling and enlightenment. Their practice reflects their own conceptions of what it means to be a good citizen, and while they differ slightly across the cases, they attempt to 'mold students into their own image'. As educators, they strive to model and practice good citizenship, and as citizens they strive to instill the characteristics that they value into the next generation of citizens, emphasizing a participatory citizenship orientation.

Why does modeling matter? From the perspective of the teachers taking part in this study, you cannot teach about good citizenship without practicing good citizenship. Consider, for example, that one of the most important characteristics of the good citizen the participants describe is civic knowledge. These teachers seek to ensure that students have a strong knowledge base to build upon, and appreciate the importance of using that knowledge to make good decisions. Knowledge, however, is not static, and the good citizen seeks out new knowledge to influence their actions and their thinking. All three teachers in this study model this characteristic. Elaine, for example, attended trainings put on by the Federal Reserve and civic education organizations to learn more about the nature of federal authority, the impact of government policy and the role of the citizen (Interview, 01/27/10). Michael and May have both attended training seminars on teaching the Constitution and other significant documents from American history and government (Interview, 01/21/10; Interview, 02/04/10).

The pursuit of civic knowledge matters little without appropriate civic behaviors. In creating a classroom environment that encourages students to think critically and deliberately, actively participate, and treat each other respectfully, the teachers in this study model the expectations for good citizenship that they are teaching their students. The positive classroom environment, one of the most important components of effective civic modeling on the part of the teacher, becomes associated with positive citizenship, and the students can become more engaged with civic life as a result (McDevitt, Kiouisis, Wu, Losch, & Ripley, 2003; Pasek, Feldman, Romer, & Hall Jamieson, 2008).

As we encourage civic educators to model the characteristics that they wish to instill in their students, there are potential issues for consideration. First, while the three

participants in this study are in general agreement concerning the characteristics of good citizenship, there are differences in the relative importance of each characteristic, dependent to some degree on political perspective and backgrounds. For example, Michael and Elaine have a different understanding of and place greater importance on traditional conceptions of patriotism as a characteristic of good citizenship than May. Relatedly, while all three participants value engagement as a significant characteristic, they model engagement differently. Michael, for example, focused a great deal on emphasizing the role of the individual actor in dealing with problems and challenging leadership, while May tended to value the role of collective action and pressure in addressing the consequences of social problems. These differences are not minor, and the perspective of the teacher has the potential to alter the meaning of the characteristics that are taught. This leads to an additional and related issue: bias.

I have not used the term “bias” a great deal in this study, but in reading the findings that address the answers to the questions that have been posed, it is a term that one cannot escape. The implication of bias is evident when we consider that teachers make selections, both conscious and unconscious, concerning what characteristics they value in good citizens and the model of good citizenship that they present to the students. This is nothing new in the social studies of course; concerns over bias have been around as long as social studies education has existed (Evans, 2004; Zimmerman, 2005). Recognizing the bias is key, and is in itself an element of modeling good citizenship. Understanding our own perspective can help us recognize how we differ from the perspective of others, one of the characteristics of good citizenship valued by the three teachers in this research.

In discussing how they approached social studies civics education, Elaine, May, and Michael all recognized that bias could be a problem for them. As a result, they have sought to provide a variety of perspectives in the tools that they use in teaching the characteristics of good citizenship. While they recognized their own biases and sought to balance them as they are able, there were some differences concerning the extent of the bias inherent in the textbook that they use as one of those tools. For example, Michael found some elements of the textbook leaned too much to the left in areas concerning the New Deal and Great Society (Interview, 03/05/10) while May found the lack of depth concerning both capitalism and socialism an issue (Interview, 03/31/10). The teachers found it relatively easy to recognize their own biases, but while they agreed that the textbook was flawed and biased, the political perspective that was brought to an analysis of the textbook impacted the extent of and type of bias that was found. This can make it very difficult to create a text that is satisfactory to every teacher and all citizens. Attempts to create textbooks that are all things to all people have not generally been effective, and in attempting to avoid controversy, the textbooks satisfy no one (Evans, 2004; Tyson & Woodward, 1989; Zimmerman, 2005).

Implications for Social Studies Teacher Education

Teacher growth and development, from the pre-service through the in-service phases, is an area which might serve as a means to strengthen a teacher's ability to prepare good citizens beyond the participatory citizenship model this study describes. The characteristics of the good citizen that the participants in this research value are not in and of themselves an obstacle to a justice oriented citizenship. Rather, it is how the teachers approach the instilling of and practice with these characteristics that is of

concern. Pre-service and in-service teacher education might be a means of addressing this concern.

Research concerning the impact of both pre-service teacher education and in-service professional development has been mixed. Beliefs concerning what they do and do not know and what they can and cannot do are often set before pre-service educators even step foot into a teacher education program. Educator beliefs form in a large part through their own experiences as students and what they have observed within their pre-service exposure to teaching and learning. These attitudes become significant when they serve as an obstacle to addressing deficiencies within content or pedagogy and prevent the teacher, pre-service or in-service, from challenging settled orthodoxy (Ambrose, Clement, Philipp & Chauvot, 2004; Barlow & Reddish, 2006; Darling-Hammond and Bransford, 2005; Fang, 1996; Lanahan & Yeager, 2008; Owens, 1997; Tatto, 1996). At the same time, pre-service and in-service teacher beliefs may be reinforced by professional development that offers no alternative to conceptions that they already hold or does not ask them to move beyond a particular comfort zone of content, attitude, or pedagogy (Darling-Hammond and Bransford, 2005; Levin & He, 2008; Owens, 1997).

Complicating matters is disagreement over the nature of social studies. Thornton (2005) pointed to the ongoing dispute between those who favor a return to 'history' as a separate and central academic subject and those who view 'social studies' as a means to go deeper into the disparate elements that have created and continue to influence human society as a source of tension over meaning and philosophy. Nelson (2001) described the problem concerning the nature of social studies as "encumbered by a

confounding history, conflicting conceptual ideas, and strong ideological divergence in both political and educational philosophy. ... [T]he several definitions of social studies cover a political-educational gamut from right-wing conservative traditional to left-wing liberal progressive. They range from definitions that would eliminate social studies entirely (e.g., Bestor, 1953; Keller, 1991), to one that identifies social studies as virtually all social knowledge-the most inclusive, overarching field that envelopes content from all other subjects (Stanley & Nelson, 1994)” (p. 17-18). As a result of this problem, crafting pre-service programs and in-service professional development that can meet the need to establish a justice-oriented citizenship will encounter significant obstacles. There is promise, however.

Teachers in this study possessed a belief about the characteristics of good citizens that encouraged the development, consciously or unconsciously, of a participatory citizenship framework. The participant interviews suggested that their beliefs about good citizenship are established by the time they begin their first in-service position, and as the research concerning teacher beliefs suggests, perhaps sooner than that. It is within the characteristics that they value and the citizenship model that they provide as teachers, however, that offer a path towards a teacher education and professional development approach that can encourage a social justice framework. Critical thinking, collaboration, multiliteracy, and an appreciation for diversity are characteristics of the good citizen that apply to a participatory citizenship model, but can also apply to a stronger social justice orientation. To encourage the development of that social justice orientation, McDonald (2005) proposed that pre-service teachers be provided not only exposure to theories of social justice, but be given the tools,

strategies, and opportunities to implement a social justice oriented approach to citizenship education. As these teachers value particular characteristics of citizenship, allowing them to see how those characteristics can be developed or engaged differently could encourage movement beyond a participatory citizenship model. This might be especially effective with teachers like May, who have been exposed to theories of social justice in education programs but struggle with the implementation of a social justice framework because of school community socialization or the pressures of adherence to a particular set of teaching standards and planning within internships and then in their first in-service positions (Interview, 02/04/10). At the same time, two of the participants in the study did not attend a traditional social studies teacher education program, instead entering through an alternative training program as a career change (Interview, 01/21/10; Interview, 01/27/10). Therefore, an in-service professional development model that exposes these types of civic educators to theories concerning why a social justice orientation is a citizenship model of greater consequence would be a necessary starting point. Within this context, in-service professional development that aspires to help social studies civic educators create stronger citizens needs to be more than a simple 'give and get', expert-driven approach that dominates current professional development in an era of high stakes testing (Warren Little, 1993; Wilson & Berne, 1999). Instead, the creation of teacher networks and a critical inquiry approach toward professional development, reflective of the characteristics of good citizenship that teachers in this study already espouse, could serve as a means to explore issues of social justice and an opportunity to solve, rather than treat, the problems of modern American democracy (Rogers, et al., 2005).

Limitations and Possibilities

This research owes a great deal of debt to a number of scholars in the field of civic education. The foundation of this research builds upon the work Barr, Barth and Shermis (1977) with their exploration of approaches to social studies education. In many ways, one can connect the approaches towards civic education as seen in the work of Westheimer and Kahne (2004a), to the models of social studies education put forward in the work of Barth and his collaborators. For example, the justice oriented citizen of Westheimer and Kahne (2004a) can be seen to correlate to the reflective inquiry model of Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977). At the same time, similar connections can be made between participatory citizenship and the social science tradition and personally responsible citizenship and the cultural transmission tradition. A debt is also owed to Hahn (2008), whose own exploration of the civic curriculum and teacher belief and practice informed the way in which the research questions in this study were crafted. In considering the role of the textbook in the civic classroom, the scholarly focus builds upon the ongoing research of Avery and Simmons (2000/2001). The question of how teachers view and use their social studies textbooks is one of the central components of this research, and the tool provided by Avery and Simmons (2000/2001) contributes valuable insight within and across the 3 case studies that make up this research. At the same time that this dissertation builds upon the work of these scholars, however, it also raises additional questions and offers new possibilities for research. The characteristics of the good citizen that teachers and texts value and encourage and the potential consequences of those characteristics for citizenship behaviors is an area which is ripe for further study. While my own research contributes to the body of literature that explores how social studies civics educators create the next generation of

citizens, as well as how the textbook that they use impacts their construction of the good citizen, the limitations of this study suggest avenues for greater research.

One of the implications Chapter 5 proposes suggests that the conception of the good citizen held by the teachers in this study is not dependent on political perspective. Rather, the conception of the good citizen is universal across the ideological spectrum within this study. A question to consider is whether this would be true across a greater selection of participants, overcoming the sample size limitation within this study. The three teachers that took part on this study self-identified as a liberal, a Christian conservative, and a mainstream non-partisan conservative. A larger number of participants and a deeper exploration of political perspectives could lead to conceptions of good citizenship that differ in their characteristics. As these participants all teach in neighboring small, rural communities, it could explain why they share similar perceptions and civic orientations, despite their differing political orientations. Does the local administration play a role in this? Are there demands for specific approaches or views towards good citizenship that are expected or required? It might also be the case that the political and ideological self-identification of the participants is inaccurate when considered across a broader sample. How does each one define liberal or conservative? Would urban or suburban teachers share these conceptions and identifications? At the same time, is there a difference in how each teacher approaches the participatory citizenship model? Would elementary grade level teachers share similar perspectives?

An intriguing avenue for further research relates to the location of the study. This particular study explored perspectives on good citizenship among teachers in a rural

Florida county. How representative are these teachers of Florida as a whole? As illustrated in Chapter 3, the demographics of the district demonstrate some differences from the broader state. Do these demographic differences impact teacher perceptions of and local expectations for the characteristics of good citizenship? This could also be broadened to a national level. How do teachers in Florida, for example, compare to teachers in the perceived liberal bastion of Massachusetts or the conservative state of Texas? Is there something unique about Florida that shapes teacher perceptions of characteristics of the good citizen?

An additional implication this study suggests indicates that the conceptions of the good citizen on the part of the teachers does not necessarily contradict that of the conception the textbooks used in their courses imply; there was not a great deal of contrast between the text and the teacher. Instead, the textbooks serve as a non-political tool of reinforcement for the conceptions that they are trying to teach and model concerning the good citizen. Because of the limitations of this study, however, the textbook diversity is limited, with two of the participants using the same textbook within their course. Exposing the teachers to alternative texts and asking them to compare their own textbook's conception of the good citizen with that of an alternative text may prompt a deeper reflection on the part of the teachers on what they and their students are actually taking away from the book. At the same time, while the participants provide a brief overview of the outside resources that they use in their instruction to supplement the textbook, further study should be done on how those particular resources frame conceptions of good citizenship and how those resources are selected. This study implies that political orientation and perception plays a role in that selection. Asking

participants to reflect on their favored resources as they reflect on the textbook could provide a greater insight into teacher conceptions of good citizenship.

While one of the implications of this research relates to pre-service and in-service professional development, this is also an area of limitation. Only one of the participants, May, completed a traditional social studies teacher education program. The other two participants took alternative routes to certification as they transitioned from prior careers. An area for further research would be to compare a larger number of teachers derived from those two different paths to the classroom. Do social studies teachers trained within a traditional framework share conceptions about good citizens with those entering the classroom from outside that framework? The sample size in this study is too small to make that determination, and the issue of how they were prepared to teach does not go beyond considering their paths to the classroom. These are also experienced teachers. A possibility for further research could address the question of how their conceptions of the good citizen and their perception and use of the textbook changes over time.

In considering conceptions of the good citizen, the central components of this study were the secondary school teachers and the textbooks. This leaves open an avenue for research that would draw in a third focus: the students. While the teachers and the texts conceive of the good citizen in one particular way involving a variety of characteristics, students may have a completely different conception of the good citizen. The text and the teacher generally emphasize a participatory citizenship orientation. Would students be more likely to hold an individually responsible orientation, or might these students start with a social justice orientation and then conform to the

participatory orientation as a result of socialization? How might it change over time, and what do these students describe as their own influences? At the same time, this study focuses on adolescent classrooms. Torney-Puta and Vermeer (2004) present evidence that by the end of elementary school, the civic perspectives of children are often already formed, reflective of the adults within their sphere. Is it thus too late for the teacher to have a significant impact on how the student perceives good citizenship? At this point, are these perceptions already formed and hardened? The perspective of those that the teachers are trying to shape into citizens is one that could be a valuable contribution to the greater body of research.

APPENDIX A
IRB PROPOSAL

1. Title of Project: Creating the Citizen: How Social Studies Teachers Understand the Characteristics of Good Citizenship
2. Principal Investigator: Stephen S. Masyada, Doctoral Candidate, School of Teaching and Learning. [personal information removed]
3. Supervisor: Dr Elizabeth Washington, PhD, College of Education, School of Teaching and Learning, PO Box 117048, Gainesville, FL 32611-7048
4. Dates of Proposed Research: December 15, 2009 to December 15, 2010
5. Source of Funding for Protocol: None
6. Scientific Purpose of the Investigation: To investigate how social studies teachers understand the concept of the good citizen, how it is reflected in classroom instruction, and how these teachers reconcile their conception with that of their textbooks.
7. Describe the Research Methodology: Researcher will recruit Florida high school social studies teachers with at least three years of experience in teaching American Government and Economics as study participants. They will be asked to take part in a textbook analysis and three interview sessions. Interviews will last approximately one to two hours and occur where the teacher is most comfortable and a time selected by the teacher. Interviews will be recorded and transcribed (see interview questions attached). Researcher will also observe two lessons for data collection relating to elements of civic education and citizenship that were touched on during the interview process. Participants will also be asked to provide student work samples and teacher lesson plans.
8. Potential Benefits and Anticipated Risks: This study will allow for a greater understanding of how teachers conceive of the good citizen, the type of instruction that reflects the pursuit of that conception, and how teachers can balance their own conceptions with that implied by the textbook. This can allow teachers and teacher educators to better prepare students as citizens and the crafters of citizens and contribute to the civic education research that explores what characteristics of good citizens are seen as universal among civic and social studies teachers. All participants will be pseudonymous and asked to share their honest perceptions of the characteristics of good citizenship. Transcripts of all interview sessions will be provided to participants to ensure accuracy, and all confidential material will be secured in the researcher's private home office.

9. Describe How Participants Will Be Recruited, the Number and Age of Participants, and Proposed Compensation: The principal investigator will recruit five to seven participants with at least three years of teaching experience from a pool of social studies teachers in ██████████ County public secondary schools. These participants will be recruited through email and in-person inquiries, and will range in age from 25 to 65. No compensation will be given to participants. (see attached recruitment letter)

10. Describe the Informed Consent Process: An informed consent form will be provided to participants prior to the first interview. Participation is voluntary and may be withdrawn at any time. (See attached informed consent form).

Principal Investigator's Signature Date

Supervisor's Signature Date

I approve this protocol for submission to UFIRB:

Dept. Chair Date

APPENDIX B
RECRUITMENT EMAIL SCRIPT

Dear Colleague,

My name is Steve Masyada and I am a doctoral candidate in Social Studies Education Curriculum and Instruction at the University of Florida, as well as a fellow social studies teacher here in ██████ County. I am seeking participants in a research study that would explore how social studies teachers construct their ideas of the good citizen, how these ideas are reflected in classroom instruction, and how these are balanced with a textbook conception of the characteristics of the good citizen. To explore this, each participant would take part in a series of three interviews, from one to two hours long, in a place and time of his or her choosing. I would also ask that each participant take part in a content analysis of the textbook that is used in the course that is being taught, prior to the second interview, as well as provide an opportunity for approximately two hours of classroom observation. There is no risk to you, as all information will be kept confidential and pseudonyms will be used. While no compensation is provided, your participation in this study would be greatly appreciated. If you would like to take part in this study, please contact me at ██████ High School or email me at:

Stephen S. Masyada

████████████████████
████████████████████

[personal information redacted]

Thank you for your time and support.

Best,
Steve Masyada

APPENDIX C
TEXTBOOK CONTENT ANALYSIS GUIDE

Title of Your Text

Author(s)

Publisher

Year of Publication

Directions: For this part of the project, you are asked to use this guide to explore your textbook and how it develops and presents elements of citizenship and the qualities of the good citizen. To help you in answering the questions, you have been provided with a variety of categories that research suggests often appear within civics and history texts. The categories are described with both questions and examples to help you in understanding them.

*After you have looked through your text and considered the various categories, answer the questions which begin on page three. **You have been provided with suggested categories to help you develop your responses, but please do not feel as though the categories are in any way intended to limit your reflection.** When possible, include examples from your textbook in your responses.*

Categories for Consideration and Guiding Questions:

Advocacy Groups:

What sorts of advocacy groups are discussed in the textbook? In what ways are they portrayed?

Examples: NAACP, NRA, NARAL

Documents:

What primary sources are used and/or incorporated into your textbook in order to discuss aspects of citizenship?

Examples: US Constitution, Bill of Rights, Plessy v Ferguson

Events:

What are significant events described in the text to discuss aspects of citizenship?

Examples: Shay's Rebellion, Great Depression, Constitutional Convention

Names:

What individuals are referenced as embodying particular values of the good citizen, or contributing to ideas about good citizenship?

Examples: John Adams, Abraham Lincoln, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Political Parties:

In what way does the textbook discuss political parties? How does it describe their contributions to the civic fabric?

Examples: Republican Party, Democratic Party, Reform Party

Foreign Countries:

What references are made in your text to foreign nations, and in what context?

Examples: Soviet Union, Great Britain, Greece

International Organizations:

What references are made in your text to international organizations, and in what context?

Examples: NATO, UN, Warsaw Pact

Economics:

How does your text explore economic systems, and how are they related to elements of American citizenship?

Examples: Communism, Capitalism, Mixed Systems

Religion:

What place is religion given in your text? How is religion described in relation to conceptions of citizenship and qualities of a good citizen?

Examples: Pursuit of religious freedom, Protestant work ethic, Reform movements

Responsibilities:

How does the text describe the responsibilities of citizens?

Examples: Obligations, Duties, Civic responsibilities

Rights:

What rights does the text spend time discussing, and how are they described?

Examples: Voting rights, Right to free speech, Right to privacy

Reflective Questions**General Content:**

According to your textbook, what do students learn about the nature of democracy in the American system, and the balance between individual rights and the common good?

Possible categories for consideration: Advocacy Groups, Documents, Foreign Countries, Rights, Responsibilities, Economics, Religion, Political Parties

In what ways does your textbook address issues of national identity and loyalty? What sorts of events and descriptions are used to support the text's depiction of national identity and loyalty?

Possible categories for consideration: Events, Names, Documents, Foreign Countries, International Organizations, Economics, Religion

How does the textbook portray the concept of diversity, immigration, and the meaning of the word 'American'? How does it discuss the contributions of women and minorities to the civic fabric of the United States?

Possible categories for consideration: Advocacy Groups, Events, Religion, Political Parties, Economics, Rights, Responsibilities

Images:

1. What kind of images does your textbook provide to support its discussion of citizenship?
2. What do you believe are the most predominant images within the textbook?

Final Questions:

1. Based on what you have seen within this analysis of your textbook, how might you summarize the textbooks approach to citizenship education and the qualities it emphasizes in "the good citizen"?
2. How does the textbook construction of citizenship and the qualities of the good citizen compare with your own understanding?

APPENDIX D
THE AMERICANS CHAPTER SUMMARIES

Danzer, G., Klor de Alva, J., Krieger, L., Wilson, L., & Woloch, N. (2005). *The Americans*. Evanston, IL: McDougal Littell.

Unit One: American Beginnings to 1783
The settlement and independence of the United States of America

Chapter One, 1200 B.C.-A.D. 1500: Three Worlds Meet

Overview of Europe, Africa, and the Americas in 1492 and the interaction between peoples.

Chapter Two, 1492-1681: The American Colonies Emerge

The settlement of the colonies, including the Spanish Empire.

Chapter Three, 1650-1765: The Colonies Come of Age

The relationship between England and its Northern and Southern colonies, as well as the French and Indian War.

Chapter Four, 1765-1783: The War for Independence

Pre-revolutionary protests and the outbreak and conclusion of the American Revolution

Unit Two: 1781-1850: A New Nation
The formation of the early Republic, the rise of nationalism and sectionalism, and social reform

Chapter Five, 1781-1788: Shaping a New Nation

The Articles of Confederation and the development and ratification of the Constitution

Chapter Five Supplement: The Living Constitution

Breakdown and discussion of each article and amendment in the Constitution

Chapter Six, 1789-1816: Launching the New Nation

The presidencies of George Washington, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson and the outbreak and conclusion of the War of 1812

Chapter Seven, 1815-1840: Balancing Nationalism and Sectionalism

Regional economic differences, the development of nationalism, states' rights, and the presidency of Andrew Jackson

Chapter Eight, 1820-1850: Reforming American Society

19th century reform movements and their impact on American society

**Unit Three: 1825-1877: An Era of Growth and Disunion
Manifest Destiny, Sectional tensions, Civil War and Reconstruction**

Chapter Nine, 1825-1847: Expanding Markets and Moving West
New economies and national expansion into the West

Chapter Ten, 1850-1861: The Union in Peril
The problems of slavery, increasing sectionalism, and the move toward secession

Chapter Eleven, 1861-1865: The Civil War
Politics, Life, and Conflict during the Civil War, as well as the significance of the war

Chapter Twelve, 1865-1877: Reconstruction and Its Effects
The implementation of Reconstruction, its failure, and consequences

**Unit Four: 1877-1917: Migration and Industrialization
Immigration and the Western frontier, urbanization, industrialization, and the
early 20th century**

Chapter Thirteen, 1877-1900: Changes on the Western Frontier
The Great Plains, conflict between settlers and Native Americans and the rise of the Populist movement

Chapter Fourteen, 1877-1900: A New Industrial Age
Industrialization, Railroads, and the conflict between labor and management

Chapter Fifteen, 1877-1914: Immigrants and Urbanization
The arrival of new types of immigrants, the expansion and problems of cities, and the politics of the Gilded Age

Chapter Sixteen, 1877-1917: Life at the Turn of the 20th Century
Science, art, education, racial relations, and politics at the dawn of the 20th century

**Unit Five: 1890-1920: Modern America Emerges
The rise of the Progressive Movement, America as a world power, and United
States in World War One**

Chapter Seventeen, 1890-1920: The Progressive Era
Origins and impact of the Progressive Movement

Chapter Eighteen, 1890-1920: America Claims an Empire
The desire for territory, the Spanish-American War, and the United States as a global power

Chapter Nineteen, 1914-1920: The First World War
The outbreak of World War One, the role of the United States, and the Fourteen Points

Unit Six: 1919-1940: The 1920s and the Great Depression
Politics, economics, life, and culture in the 1920s and 1930s

Chapter Twenty, 1919-1929: Politics of the Roaring 20s
Life in postwar America and the “return to normalcy”

Chapter Twenty-One, 1920-1929: The Roaring Life of the 1920s
Women, the Harlem Renaissance, and new consumerism in the 1920s

Chapter Twenty-Two, 1929-1933: The Great Depression Begins
The outbreak of the Great Depression and the early response

Chapter Twenty-Three, 1933-1940: The New Deal
The development, implementation, and legacy of the New Deal

Unit Seven: 1931-1960: World War Two and Its Aftermath
World War Two, the Cold War, and the 1950s

Chapter Twenty-Four, 1931-1941: World War Looms
The rise of war in Europe, the Holocaust, and tensions with Japan

Chapter Twenty-Five, 1941-1945: The United States in World War Two
The entry and role of the United States in World War Two

Chapter Twenty-Six, 1945-1960: Cold War Conflicts
Foreign and domestic politics and policy during the early Cold War

Chapter Twenty-Seven, 1946-1960: The Postwar Boom
American life and culture in the aftermath of World War Two

Unit Eight: 1954-1975: Living with Great Turmoil
Social and political change and challenges from Eisenhower to Ford

Chapter Twenty-Eight 1960-1968: The New Frontier and the Great Society
Kennedy, Johnson, the Cold War, and efforts at social reform

Chapter Twenty-Nine, 1954-1968: Civil Rights
The progress and challenge of the Civil Rights Movement and the end of segregation

Chapter Thirty, 1954-1975: The Vietnam War Years
The causes and consequences of the United States’ role in Vietnam

Chapter Thirty-One, 1960-1975: An Era of Social Change
The expansion of the Civil Rights Movement

Unit Nine: 1968-2004: Passage to a New Century
Distrust in government, the success of the Conservative Movement, and the
United States in the early 21st century

Chapter Thirty-Two, 1968-1980: An Age of Limits

Nixon, Ford, Carter, the rising distrust of government and the development of environmentalism

Chapter Thirty-Three, 1980-1992: The Conservative Tide

Ronald Reagan and the victory of the Conservative Movement

Chapter Thirty-Four, 1992-2004: The United States in Today's World

Promises and challenges facing the United States at the turn of the 21st century

APPENDIX E
MAGRUDER'S AMERICAN GOVERNMENT CHAPTER SUMMARIES

McClenaghan, W. (2004). *Magruder's American Government*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Unit One: Foundations of American Government
The history and establishment of the American federal system

Chapter One: Principles of Government

Types of government and concepts of democracy

Chapter Two: Origins of American Government

The influence of the English, the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the development of the Constitution

Chapter Three: The Constitution

Basic principles and structure of the Constitution

Chapter Four: Federalism

The division of power between the states and the federal government

Unit Two: Political Behavior: Government by the People
Parties, interest groups, the media, and the electoral system

Chapter Five: Political Parties

The history, structure, and function of the two party system in the United States

Chapter Six: Voters and Voter Behavior

Voting, the limitation and expansion of suffrage, and voter behavior

Chapter Seven: The Electoral Process

Nominations, the electoral system, and the influence of money in elections

Chapter Eight: Mass Media and Public Opinion

The relationship between the media and the people and the development and measurement of public opinion

Chapter Nine: Interest Groups

The characteristics and role of interest groups in the electoral system

Unit Three: The Legislative Branch
The structure and role of Congress in the American system of government

Chapter Ten: Congress

The structure of Congress and the relationship between the houses

Chapter Eleven: Powers of Congress

Expressed and implied powers and the extent of Congressional authority and lawmaking

Chapter Twelve: Congress in Action

The process of law-making

Unit Four: The Executive Branch

The structure and role of the Presidency and the Executive Departments in the American system of government

Chapter Thirteen: The Presidency

The election and role of the President

Chapter Fourteen: The Presidency in Action

The powers of the Presidency and their expansion over time

Chapter Fifteen: Government at Work: The Bureaucracy

The day to day running of the government and the role of the civil service

Chapter Sixteen: Financing Government

Taxation and the budget process

Chapter Seventeen: Foreign Policy and National Defense

Diplomatic and military relationships and national security

Unit Five: The Judicial Branch

The justice system, civil liberties, and civil rights

Chapter Eighteen: The Federal Court System

The organization, structure, and role of the federal courts

Chapter Nineteen: Civil Liberties: First Amendment Freedoms

The role of the First Amendment in American life and politics

Chapter Twenty: Civil Liberties: Protecting Individual Rights

Due Process, freedom, and individual security and protections

Chapter Twenty-One: Civil Rights: Equal Justice Under the Law

Diversity, discrimination, equality, and citizenship

Unit Six: Comparative Political and Economic Systems
Comparing systems of government and economics across the globe

Chapter Twenty-Two: Comparative Political Systems

The systems of government in Great Britain, Japan, Mexico, Russia, and China as compared to the United States

Chapter Twenty-Three: Comparative Economic Systems

Capitalism, socialism and communism

Unit Seven: Participating in State and Local Government
Government and politics at the state and local level

Chapter Twenty-Four: Governing the States

The structure and functions of state governments

Chapter Twenty-Five: Local Government and Finance

Counties, towns, townships, and cities and how they provide services

APPENDIX F
VOCABULARY SAMPLE

Below is a list of teacher identified “foundational” terms within specific social studies textbooks that contribute to a shared civic vocabulary. These terms are repeated in the texts and in their respective courses.

American History

Danzer, G., Klor de Alva, J., Krieger, L., Wilson, L, & Woloch, N. (2005). *The Americans*. Evanston, IL: McDougal Littell.

| | | |
|--------------------|----------------|-------------|
| Act | Conservative | Majority |
| Amendment | Democracy | Nationalism |
| Americanization | Discrimination | Party |
| Assimilation | Egalitarianism | Progressive |
| Bill of Rights | Election | Propaganda |
| Capitalism | Executive | Republic |
| Civil disobedience | Federalism | Revolution |
| Civil rights | Government | Rights |
| Compromise | Judicial | Sovereignty |
| Constitution | Legislative | Suffrage |
| Confederation | Liberal | Voting |

American Government

McClenaghan, W. (2004). *Magruder’s American Government*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.

| | | |
|-----------------|----------------|-------------|
| Act | Consensus | Judicial |
| Amendment | Conservative | Law |
| Confederation | Constitution | Legislative |
| Assimilation | Democracy | Liberal |
| Ballot | Discrimination | Media |
| Bill | Electorate | Nationalism |
| Bill of Rights | Election | Party |
| Capitalism | Executive | Power |
| Citizen | Federalism | Progressive |
| Civil liberties | Franchise | Propaganda |
| Civil rights | Government | Rights |
| Compromise | Ideology | Suffrage |
| Confederation | Interest group | Vote |

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Stephen Stewart Masyada was born as the second of four children in Needham, Massachusetts in the winter of 1973. His father, Frank, is an engineer while his mother Elaine was a homemaker and part-time factory worker. While he grew up in New England, the family relocated to Gainesville, Florida his senior year of high school in order to facilitate his younger brother's recovery from a brain tumor. Graduating from Buchholz High School in 1992, he attended the University of Florida with a Florida Bright Futures Scholarship.

Bored with college at the time, Stephen left after his junior year and entered the United States Air Force. Stationed in Dover, Delaware, he served as an aircraft electrician on the C-5 Galaxy, with deployments to Germany and Qatar. Prior to separation from the Air Force, he earned the Air Force Achievement Medal in recognition of his service during deployment to Qatar. After four years on active duty, Stephen returned to the University of Florida for the fall semester of 1999. He graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree in history in 2000 and a Master of Education degree, with an emphasis on social studies, in 2002. After college, Stephen taught a variety of social studies courses at a small school in rural central Florida for nine years. While in his first teaching position, Stephen also coached golf and JV baseball for two years and sponsored student government as well. He returned to the University of Florida to pursue a Doctor of Philosophy degree, with a focus on curriculum and instruction in 2004.

After returning to college following his military service, Stephen met Susan Breikreutz, a student in the Elementary Education Proteach program. It was Susan that

convinced him to enter the Secondary Social Studies Proteach program, and it was Susan that he decided to spend the rest of his life with. They have been married for 11 years and have one daughter, Meghan Elaine Dawn Masyada.

Stephen currently pursues consultancy work in the area of social studies education and has written items for Florida and Georgia social studies end of course/end of year exams. His research focus, inspired by his mentor Dr. Elizabeth Washington, remains attentive to issues of civic education, conceptual social studies instruction, and standards and assessment development.