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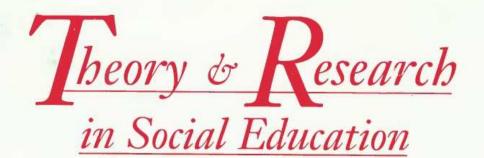Scholar Commons Citation

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*T*heory & *R*esearch
in Social Education

In this issue...

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Reviewer Acknowledgment

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IN THIS ISSUE...

Editorial

We have recently received inquiries about the maximum length of articles that may be submitted for publication consideration in *Theory and Research in Social Education*. Our response is this: manuscripts of any length are welcome. As you will note in this issue, the article by Alan Sears as well as the one by Lynn Nelson and Fred Drake are quite lengthy. Indeed, one of the initial reasons for starting *TRSE* was to provide a forum where in-depth articles dealing with social studies education might be published. Having said that, however, I must stress that we do not encourage length for length's sake. We frequently receive manuscript submissions that require substantial trimming in the editing process, because they are poorly organized and, at times, redundant.

We have also received letters from authors asking that I summarize the review process. Although the section at the end of each issue entitled "Information for Authors" details much of the submission process, perhaps what actually occurs during review needs clarification. All manuscripts (except a rare few that are, on occasion, solicited directly by the editor) are sent out (names removed) for review by four peers. If the majority of reviewers favor publication, the manuscript is accepted. If the reviewers are divided in their opinions, the editorial staff of the journal makes a decision to accept or reject. Whenever possibilities for improving a manuscript exist through revision, we encourage authors to rework their articles and resubmit them.

Articles in this issue include an examination of citizenship education in Canada by Alan Sears; a study by Lynn Nelson and Fred Drake of 29 teachers in Maine and Illinois with regard to the new social studies movement and other contexts that may have influenced their teaching; and Rahima Wade's study of how one group of elementary school students learned about the important concept of civil rights.

We think you will enjoy what they have to say, and as always, we welcome comments.

Jack R. Fraenkel
January, 1994

1

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Dr. Jack R. Fraenkel, Editor
Theory and Research in Social Education
Burk Hall 238
San Francisco State University
San Francisco, CA 94132

Dear Dr. Fraenkel:

Thank you for the opportunity to respond to Dr. Joseph Onosko's provocative reaction to my article. I would like to address his concerns point by point. To his initial query as to whether I was arguing that societal problems and issues should assume a significant place in the social studies curriculum and that it assume an interdisciplinary design, or if I thought that interdisciplinary study should assume a significant place in the social studies curriculum regardless of its emphasis upon societal problems and issues, my answer is "both." After presenting a relatively lengthy case for interdisciplinary studies based largely on arguments favoring issues-focused curricula (pp. 201-215), I acknowledge that interdisciplinary studies also make sense from a traditional academic standpoint (pp. 215-216). I then classify various forms of interdisciplinary curricular organizations gleaned from the literature of the curriculum field as either academic forms or educational forms (pp. 216-217). This classification was intended to serve two purposes: to demonstrate that both academic priorities and educational imperatives (see p. 215) can be served by interdisciplinary studies (put another way, that interdisciplinary studies can be justified from traditional academic and progressive educational viewpoints); and to raise awareness among educators unfamiliar with the literature about interdisciplinary studies from the curriculum field. A caution against viewing the development and enactment of interdisciplinary and discipline-centered studies as an either/or issue is reiterated throughout the article (e.g., pp. 205, 211, 215, 216, 223).

Onosko's next observation, that application and synthesis can take place within single-discipline classrooms (as can the examination of societal problems and issues) as well as within interdisciplinary curricula, is well taken. If, however, a teacher adheres to the boundaries of his or her discipline, the perspective students will have on a particular issue will be necessarily limited. Thus interdisciplinary

2

experiences are needed to complement disciplinary ones in an effort to broaden student perspectives on issues.

Given the academic benefits of interdisciplinary studies identified in the article, there is little reason for Onosko to be "surprised and disappointed to see a number of recommendations for interdisciplinary curriculum that appear to have lost their mooring in societal problems and issues." Indeed the two examples of interdisciplinary curricular organizations he cites would not necessarily focus on societal issues since they are offered as illustrations of curriculum correlation (an academic form of interdisciplinary curricular organization) which, as defined earlier on pages 216 and 219, retain subject identities and usually (although not always) emphasize discipline-based knowledge. Here mere "connection making" is not the "driving force behind curriculum design," as Onosko suggests, but a function of horizontal curriculum articulation.

Onosko depicts another illustration of curriculum correlation (the integration of social studies and science subject matter to "shed light on science-related historical developments") as "standard instructional fare" that abandons "student decision-making about contemporary or persistent societal issues and problems." Again, such a curriculum was classified as an academic form of interdisciplinarity and typically serves the academic priority. At this point, however, Onosko stops short of quoting the remainder of that sentence, which offers the examination of "science-related societal issues (e.g., problems relating to pollution and health, such as solid waste disposal and AIDS)" in a combined social studies science curriculum as an illustration of curriculum fusion (defined earlier on pp. 216 and 219). (He does, however, eventually quote the latter part of this sentence.) These suggestions for correlated and fused curricula are based on the academic value of interdisciplinary studies identified previously on page 216. These criticisms seem to suggest that Onosko has either overlooked or dismissed the academic case for interdisciplinary studies I advanced in the article, since it appears to be the missing rationale he repeatedly calls for.

Onosko accurately indicates that I quote Hunt and Metcalf's objection that the core curriculum should "not integrate for the sake of integration," but neglects to point out that in the same paragraph, I subsequently elaborate on this issue, stating that "integration solely for the purpose of examining social issues is unnecessary as well" referring to "the benefits of integrating disciplines regardless of whether a life problem or social issue is under scrutiny" (p. 211), which are subsequently discussed.

Onosko admonishes advocates of interdisciplinary studies for promoting what he takes to be an unreasonably demanding educational practice without providing teachers the necessary support to succeed at

such an endeavor, implying that interdisciplinary programs are too difficult to implement (if not unworkable). These are discouraging words for teachers and supervisors struggling to enact such programs in schools. In fact, in two places (pp. 212-214 and 224-225) I identify a number of potential obstacles to enacting interdisciplinary curricular organizations and briefly offer some suggestions for overcoming them, as advocates of interdisciplinary curricula have done since at least the 1930s (many of whom are cited in the references). Onosko's dismissal of interdisciplinary studies as a curricular option due to the implementation challenges they present to school people is tantamount to abandoning the search for a cure for cancer or for AIDS because of the daunting challenges these crucial efforts have presented medical researchers to date.

    In short, Onosko maintains that since I imply incorrectly that increased opportunities for application and integration of subject knowledge and modes of inquiry are exclusive to interdisciplinary curricula; and since I recognize interdisciplinary curricular organizations that do not necessarily focus on social issues as legitmate, I tacitly abandon issue- focused education. Onosko's letter left me with the impression that I should have come down exclusively on one side of the discipline-centered versus issues-focused curriculum debate, preferably the latter.

    My aim in the article was to advance a case for interdisciplinary studies based largely, but not exclusively, on the need for citizens to be able to address complex societal issues that cut across traditional disciplinary boundaries. As I indicated, there is also a compelling academic rationale for interdisciplinary studies. I had hoped to make clear that there should be a place for both discipline-centered and interdisciplinary studies in the secondary curriculum. Similarly, there should be a place for both academic (i.e., subject-focused) and educational (i.e., real world problem-focused and issues-focused) forms of interdisciplinary studies. I think that viewing this as an either/or issue advances neither interdisciplinary nor issues-focused curricula and instruction, as the inclination will probably be for interested parties to take sides rather than tackle problems—a tendency that is symptomatic of the fragmentation that inflicts the field of social education. This said, I find issues-focused, interdisciplinary curricula and instruction to be more educationally sound and had hoped that the article would lean that way. In fact, in the article, I proposed that an interdisciplinary, issues-focused course be taken by all students each year during their high school career (pp. 223-224), a proposal Onosko overlooks. At the very least, these approaches need greater attention and support simply because they are not widely practiced in the schools, despite their demonstrated educative value. At best, issues-focused, interdisciplinary curricula and instruction can fill a void in the

kind of education most students experience and will enable them to assume their adult role as participating citizens of a democracy in a more enlightened, competent fashion.

Sincerely,

William G. Wraga
Bernards Township Public Schools
Basking Ridge, NJ 07920

INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES

SOCIAL STUDIES AS CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN ENGLISH CANADA: A REVIEW OF RESEARCH[1]

Alan Sears
University of New Brunswick

Abstract
Social studies in North America has most often been defined as being fundamentally concerned with preparing students for participation in civic life. Much of the research on citizenship education, however, has been conducted in the United States. Many of the findings of this research have often been applied to Canadian situations despite different political structures and understandings of citizenship in the two nations. In this article, I review the research on citizenship education in English Canada that has been conducted since Hodgett's landmark 1988 study What Culture? What Heritage? A summary of research findings and suggestions for further research are provided.

Introduction

Citizenship has been a central concept for social studies educators in North America for most of this century and social studies is most often defined as being fundamentally concerned with preparing students for participation in civic life. In his historical analysis of the social

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studies in the United States over the past 100 years, Jenness (1990) notes that although educating for citizenship is often identified as an important role for the school as a whole, a central explicit focus on educating for citizenship in academic literature and curricular materials occurs most often in the field of social studies.

Tomkins (1983) expressed much the same sentiment about the Canadian experience when he wrote, "The goal of 'citizenship' probably comes closer than any other to identifying the purpose that Canadians have usually believed the social studies should serve, even though they might not agree on what a 'good' citizen (or a good Canadian) is" (p. 15). A recent survey that included an analysis of department of education policy and curricula documents as well as interviews with departmental personnel from across Canada found that citizenship remains the primary focus of social studies (Masemann, 1989).

While educating for citizenship is central to social studies in both the U.S. and Canada, the research literature in the field is predominantly American. The Citizen Development Study Project (Gross & Dynneson, 1991) at Stanford University, California, and the Center for Civic Education (Quigley & Bahmueller, 1991) in Calabasas, California, are two examples of large-scale projects that have supported research and curricular development in the area of civic education in the United States. While Canada shares a democratic tradition with the United States, its history, political institutions, and contemporary challenges are very different.

Resnick (1990) argues that throughout its history, Canadian political life has been dominated by a much more conservative view of the role citizens play in society than in the United States. He contends that Americans tend to regard sovereignty as residing with citizens, while Canadians have seen it as residing in the power of the "King/Queen-in-parliament" (p. 88). This view is held by both leftists and rightists in Canada and Resnick writes that "few are the politicians, Conservative, Liberal, or for that matter CCF/NDP, who have questioned the hegemony of parliamentary sovereignty, or who have been prepared to accord the people more than an auxiliary role in the operation of government and state" (p. 93).[2]

Canada also has a persistent identity crisis about what it means to be a Canadian.. In 1947, the year the first Citizenship Act was enacted in Canada, Kidd (1947) wrote, "Canada is legally a nation, but the Canadians are scarcely yet a people." This concern for citizenship

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[2] Conservative, Liberal, and NDP (New Democratic Party, formerly called the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation or CCF) are the names of major political parties in Canada. They represent respectively the right, center, and left views on the Canadian political spectrum. For a further discussion of the more limited view of the role of the average citizen in Canada see Regenstreif,1974.

education to develop some sense of unity, or at least some understanding among Canada's disparate peoples and regions, has been a persistent theme in the literature in the field in English Canada (Cairns, 1993; Hodgetts, 1968; Hodgetts & Gallagher, 1978; Kidd, 1947; Kymlicka, 1992; Milburn & Herbert, 1974).

Several recent writers about citizenship in Canada (Kaplan, 1993; Kymlicka, 1992; Resnick, 1990; Taylor, 1992) have argued that particular groups of Canadians understand citizenship very differently. Many Canadians, they contend, understand themselves as citizens in essentially the same way that most Americans do—as autonomous individuals in relationship to the state—while other Canadians, particularly native peoples and French Quebecers (Quebecquois), perceive themselves as citizens of the Canadian state by virtue of the fact that they are members (citizens) of collectivities, indeed nations, within that state with loyalties to both. Kymlicka (1992) refers to this as 'differentiated citizenship,' and argues that "despite a long history of arguments to the contrary, it does seem possible to be citizens of two overlapping political communities" (p. 40). This seems to echo some of the concerns expressed in recent debates in the United States about the status of various cultural and ethnic groups in American society and the way they are represented in the social studies curricula (see, for example, Asante, 1991; Cornbleth & Waugh, 1993; Ravitch, 1990, 1991), and Americans might find some instruction in the Canadian experience in this regard.

In light of these discussions, debates, and concerns with regard to Canadian citizenship, it is important that Canadian social studies educators develop a body of theory and research in citizenship education that recognizes the unique features of Canadian citizenship. The purpose of this review is to discuss the recent research in the area of citizenship education in English Canada, to provide an analysis of both the research conclusions and the structure of the studies under consideration, and also to suggest directions for further research in the area.

Selection of Studies

The studies selected for this review included those having direct bearing on social studies where education for citizenship finds its most explicit expression in public school curricula, and others which look at the wider social, political, and educational contexts in which educating for citizenship takes place. The work examined for this review reflects the research that has been done on citizenship education in English Canada. As noted above, French Canada, particularly Quebec, has developed unique conceptions of nationalism and citizenship (Kymlicka, 1992; Resnick, 1990; Taylor, 1992) that are

reflected in the Quebec social studies curriculum. A complete review of the research on citizenship education in French Canada would require an extensive examination of the literature published in French, and would probably result in a substantial manuscript in its own right; therefore, this review focuses on those studies published in English. Some of this English work deals with aspects of citizenship education in Quebec, but it should be noted that the view offered of this is incomplete.

The publication of *What Culture? What Heritage?* by A. B. Hodgetts in 1968 appears to be a watershed in Canadian social studies. Tomkins (1969) referred to it as "the most comprehensive and thorough study that has ever been made, based on actual classroom observation on a nationwide scale, of the teaching of any subject in Canadian schools" (p. 23). Many of the other studies examined for this review refer to this study, and many educators regard it as of central importance to any discussion of Canadian citizenship education (for example, Bowd, 1978; Kirkwood, Khan & Anderson, 1987; Osborne, 1987). Therefore, this review begins with an examination of Hodgetts' study.

In their review of social studies literature in the United States, Marker and Mehlinger (1992) found that "with regard to the purpose of social studies, the term 'research' must be used broadly. The vast majority of published articles and books employ philosophical analysis and model building" (p. 831). They state that "it is difficult to explain why so much attention is devoted to the nature and purpose of social studies in the curriculum" (p. 832) because there is little evidence that this research has much impact on teacher beliefs or practice.

In Canada as well, considerable attention is given in the literature to developing proposed models of citizenship education (see, Hodgetts & Gallagher, 1978; Meyer, 1988; Osborne, 1989; Robinson, 1977; Schuyler & Schuyler, 1989). While "it is not clear why this more philosophical writing holds greater appeal than empirical studies of actual practice" (Marker & Mehlinger, 1992, p. 846), social studies in general and citizenship education in particular suffer from a dearth of the latter. In an effort to contribute to the knowledge base with regard to the practice of citizenship education in English Canada, this review will focus on studies that examine practice and learning outcomes in this area.

Previous Reviews of Research

In his review of political socialization research, Tomkins (1977) examined 15 studies to identify possible implications for social studies. For the most part, these studies were conducted by political scientists who did not take "much explicit note of the role of the school in

political socialization" (Tomkins, 1977, p. 87). Tomkins, however, does discuss three studies that focused more explicitly on the role of the school, and identifies some implications of the findings for all the studies for social studies curricula and pedagogy.

The most pervasive finding in the literature reviewed was the tendency for Canadian students to identify more with their region, local area, social class, or linguistic community than with the nation as a whole. Tomkins wrote that "much contemporary political socialization research in Canada stresses a social cleavage, as opposed to a consensus or equilibrium view of society" (p. 83); furthermore, the literature indicates that this tendency to identify with the region rather than the nation as a whole generally grew stronger as the children grew older.

This lack of national cohesion so readily apparent in the United States, Tomkins argued, poses a dilemma for Canadian social studies teachers "as on the one hand they may value and promote cultural diversity, while on the other hand they may espouse a national civic education" (p. 89). He further notes that one obvious implication of this finding was that social studies curricula and teaching in Canada must take into account strong regional perspectives and perceptions. This does not mean foregoing any national focus, but requires a concerted effort to build understanding among regions; for example, material might be developed for Ontario students "to study the Prairie regions from a Prairie.point of view" (p. 90).

Tomkins review provides a helpful introduction to the field of political socialization research for social studies teachers and researchers. As a review of research based on the model outlined by Curtis and Shaver (1987), however, it is lacking in several areas. For example, there is no discussion of the search methods for locating the studies reviewed. This leaves the reader with no way to judge how comprehensive this review is and to what degree the studies included represent the total research effort. There is also very little discussion of methodology or potential limitations; however, Tomkins does point out that much of this research is on attitudes, and he writes that "as in all attitude research, we must be cautious in inferring how far attitudes may be translated into behaviour" (p. 89). Finally, Tomkins makes no suggestions for further research, an addition that might prove helpful to future researchers interested in the relationship between political socialization and school-based citizenship education.

What Culture? What Heritage?

What Culture? What Heritage? was published in 1968 as the report of the National History Project, a two-year investigation of Canadian history, social studies, and civics in schools. These subjects

according to A. B. Hodgetts, the project's director and author of the report: "are regarded in Canada as the traditional academic areas in which civic education takes place" (Hodgetts, 1968, p. 1). This study sought to investigate numerous areas related to citizenship education such as student knowledge, teaching practices, classroom structure, teacher training, and curricular materials. The data collection for the project included:

- a preliminary two-hour interview with 200 educators in Canadian studies to determine what should be investigated;
- a student questionnaire administered to 10,000 students primarily at the twelfth-grade level from all 10 provinces, including both French and English speakers;
- an open-ended 15-minute essay by 1,000 students from five provinces;
- one-hour interviews with 72 tenth-grade boys in Ontario and Quebec;[3]
- one and one-half hour interviews with 500 teachers representing all provinces;
- questionnaires to student teachers in 14 faculties of education;
- observations in 951 classes including 850 teachers in 247 schools across the country;
- interviews with administrators; and
- examination of materials from departments of education.

In all areas, Hodgetts paints a bleak picture of Canadian civic education. In the programs of both official linguistic communities, he reported that "much of the standardized Canadian history taught in the schools [was] antiquated and fundamentally useless" (p. 19). Not only did the history taught ignore the new directions being taken by the scholarly community, what has been termed the "new history" (p. 20),[4] but Hodgetts also found that almost no attempt was made to connect the past to the present despite the fact that curricular documents in all provinces suggested teachers make such attempts; in addition, there was an "almost total absence of any conflicting material" (p. 24). Most students in both history and civics classes were being exposed to a series of unconnected facts not related to their lives in any way and issues of substance were avoided altogether. Perhaps the

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[3]No explanation is offered as to why only boys were interviewed.

[4]See Seixas, P. (1993). Parallel crises: History and the social studies curriculum in the USA. *Journal of Curriculum Studies, 25*(3), 235-250, for a discussion on the lack of attention in social studies to the "new history" in the United States.

most damning indictment is the description of the almost totally different civic education offered to French and English students. Hodgetts wrote that "Canadian studies in the schools of both linguistic communities do so little to encourage a mutual understanding of their separate attitudes, aspirations and interests" (p. 35).

In terms of classroom and teacher practice, Hodgetts reports equally disturbing findings. He found that 62 percent of the classrooms visited had no Canadian books other than prescribed texts, and only ten percent had Canadian historical maps on the walls. Seventy-five percent of the classes observed were using one of two very traditional methods of teaching: the lecture and assignment methods. In lecture classes, the students were "bench-bound listeners" (p. 45) with no chance to discuss the material being covered, while in classes using the assignment method, students were involved in "the mechanical, question-answer routine based on the factual recall of a few assigned pages in the textbook" (p. 46). In many other classes, the situation reported was even worse with so-called discussions drifting into what Hodgetts called "democratic idle talk" (p. 51). He described these discussions as "free-wheeling, virtually undirected," and "lacking in any real factual content" (p. 50). Only 20 percent of the observed classes were rated as satisfactory or better, and in only a very few classes did the observers find in-depth discussions where students were "using the facts rather than hammering them home through mere recitation" (p. 54).

As might be expected, Hodgetts found that students had very limited opportunities to develop the critical thinking skills that are so often associated with effective citizenship. Not only did students lack in opportunities to develop these skills, they were also bored, and Hodgetts argues that the evidence gathered suggests "very strongly that the apathy of the great majority of these students regarding Canadian studies is taken out of the classroom, and adversely affects their involvement in Canadian affairs" (p. 77).

Hodgetts held that the many failings of the civic education described in the report should be shared. He looked beyond classroom teachers to the departments of education and to universities, both faculties of education and faculties of arts. He states that the project's findings showed that departments of education often assigned "the formal civic education of its youth to teachers who [were] not qualified to assume this responsibility" (p. 97). Hodgetts argued that niversity teachers in both history and education failed to adequately model appropriate teaching strategies; those in history especially alienated themselves from the tasks of teacher training and curricular development.

The major recommendation in the report called for a national initiative in curriculum development and teacher inservice training.

The timing was right for such a suggestion, as Hodgetts worked with similarly interested educators at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, and the Canada Studies Foundation (CSF) was born. The CSF sponsored projects across Canada from 1972 to 1986 that had a significant impact on social studies in Canada (Grant, 1986). Osborne (1987) writes that the CSF "was successful in, though not solely responsible for, popularizing the idea of Canadian Studies as a course of study with interdisciplinary and often contemporary emphasis, an approach now to be found in many provinces" (p. 122).

Hodgetts study was very comprehensive and his conclusions are compellingly articulated. It is one of the few studies that examines both the curriculum as described by curricular documents, administrators and department of education officials, and the curriculum as it is experienced by teachers and students in classrooms. This multifaceted examination leaves one with a more complete sense of the state of civic education than is gained from a more limited study.

The report does have its limitations; for example, it does not provide examples of the instruments used in the various assessments. Indeed, an intended companion volume detailing the research procedures has never been published (Brown, 1974), and several researchers have raised serious questions about the methodology used in the study (Brown, 1974; Milburn & Herbert, 1974; Tomkins, 1969; Stamp, 1969). Tomkins (1969) notes that "attitudes are notoriously difficult to measure" (p. 26), and suggested that perhaps Hodgetts misinterpreted some of the data in this area. He states:

> Hodgetts deliberately chose to present a "highly personalized" report that makes a hard-hitting impact on the reader. This would not have been diminished by a greater sophistication in obtaining and treating his data. There is no evidence that Hodgetts is aware of the literature on attitude and personality studies or of various techniques of analyzing classroom interaction that are now emerging in educational research (p. 26).

Despite this and other criticism, most reviewers concur with Tomkins, who regarded this as "a landmark report" (p. 26), one that was "extremely important because it has had widespread popular acceptance" (Brown, 1974; p. 73). Any consideration of research in citizenship education in Canada must discuss *What Culture? What Heritage?* We will now turn to what research conducted since this landmark study reveals about citizenship education in Canada.

Student Knowledge, Skills, and Attitudes

The overall results reported in more recent surveys of student knowledge and attitudes are not nearly as bleak as those reported by Hodgetts (1968). Three of the reports are a direct response to the publication of *What Culture? What Heritage?* Bowd (1978) conducted his study in response to the claims of Hodgetts and others that Canadian students were ignorant about Canada, and that poor Canadian Studies programs in the schools were to blame. He argued that many of these studies unfairly compared the knowledge of Canadian students about their country's history and political institutions with data indicating similar knowledge for American students. Bowd contended that these comparisons were suspect because of the different political institutions of Canada and the United States. He wrote that the "existence of parallel political institutions facilitates comparisons involving political socialization" (p. 3), so instead Bowd compared Canadian students with Australian students.

Bowd found, as he had expected, that the Canadian students surveyed knew significantly more about the United States than did their Australian counterparts. When comparing the two groups' scores on knowledge of their own political institutions and national history, however, Bowd concluded that despite differences in performance on particular parts of the instruments, "the similar level of knowledge about their own political institutions is more striking than the differences that exist with respect to some items" (p. 7). He goes on to argue that the contention Canadians know less about their political institutions than Americans might have more to do with "the nature of the parliamentary system" (p. 8) than with poor-quality Canadian social studies programs. Bowd cautioned that the students involved in this study were selected "on the basis of their comparability, and are not considered necessarily representative of Canadian and Australian high school students in general" (p. 4).

Two other studies that directly addressed the findings of Hodgetts (1968) with regard to student knowledge and attitudes about Canada, are those of Kirkwood and Nediger (1983) and Kirkwood, Khan, and Anderson (1987). These studies are closely related because the first reported the results of a large-scale survey of the knowledge and attitudes of seventh- and tenth-grade students with regard to Canada, and the second used the data from the first study, incorporating the results of the same survey given to twelfth graders a year later. In both cases, the "study was undertaken to assess the effects of the new emphasis on Canadian studies" (Kirkwood et al., 1987; p. 203), an emphasis directly attributed to the publication of Hodgetts study. The authors concluded that "the findings concerning the attitudes of the students toward Canada and issues concerning Canada

were heartening" (p. 208). The study by Belovari and others (Belovari, Cook, Murphy, Nicholson & Williamson, 1976) somewhat supports these findings of positive attitudes because they found, for example, that 88 percent of the students in their sample felt that it was quite important to vote in elections.

The studies by Kirkwood and Nediger (1983) and Kirkwood et al. (1987) are very valuable as large-scale national assessments of student attitudes, but they have limitations that call into question some of their conclusions; for example, the authors contend that "there appears to have been a dramatic shift in the knowledge and attitude level of students since the Hodgetts study" (Kirkwood & Nediger, 1983, p. 37). This conclusion is difficult to verify because this research was done using different populations of students and different instruments to gather the data. In both cases, the authors also attribute the significant improvement in knowledge about, and positive attitudes toward, Canada directly to enhanced Canadian social studies programs in schools and, in one of the studies, specific programs and organizations were applauded. They wrote:

> Organizations such as the Canada Studies Foundation, the Canadian Institute of Mining and Metallurgy, and the Canadian Foundation for Economic Education appear to have made a positive contribution to enhancing the state of Canadian studies by providing resources (Kirkwood et al., 1987, p. 208).

Even if the reported improvement in awareness and attitudes could be verified, the ten-year time span and the fact that the assessment instruments used were not based on programs or materials developed by any of these organizations raises serious questions about the contention that curricular resources produced by these organizations had been shown to be effective. Any number of external variables could have had an effect on the attitudes of students over that period of time. To use the results of these studies as anything other than an indication of the attitudes and level of awareness of Canadian secondary school students at the time is not warranted. The other significant disappointment is the lack of any analysis of the data concerning the variable of first language. It would have been very valuable to know if there are significant differences in the attitudes between French and English students, and what these differences might be.

Two of the studies were designed to determine student knowledge in particular areas (Belovari et al., 1976; Ungerleider, 1990). Ungerleider (1990) found that student knowledge of the freedoms contained in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms ranged from a low mean of 52.7 percent for democratic rights to a high mean of 74.8

percent for language rights, and that the level of knowledge in each area corresponded very closely to the level of agreement with the rights. He was particularly encouraged that there was no significant difference among ethnic groups in terms of either knowledge about or support for rights. He gives much of the credit for this relatively equal level of socialization among various groups to schools, although this is not justified by the evidence presented in this report.

Belovari et al. (1976) reported on an assessment of students' political knowledge based on their ability to identify local, provincial, national, and American political figures. The authors express concern because "the responses clearly indicate that the American officials were the best known of the whole group" (p. 36). This must be interpreted in light of the fact that they did not include the names of the prime minister of Canada or the premier of Ontario because pretest data indicated that almost 100 percent of students could identify them, and the researchers were concerned that if these names had been included, the test "would not have produced discriminating results" (p. 36). Obviously, if these two names had been included the balance would have been tipped at least somewhat favourably in the direction of Canadian political figures. This does not change the fact that 87.4 percent of these students could identify the American secretary of state while only 57.4 percent could identify the Canadian minister for external affairs. The authors report that their results are tentative and "can only be used as the basis for further study" (p. 33).

Both of the studies (Belovari et al., 1976; Coldevin, 1973) designed to find the sources from which students received information about politics found that television was by far the most prevalent. It should be a matter of some concern to social studies educators that in both these studies, students perceived schools as providing very little of information about national or world affairs.

Several of the studies examined included assessments of student attitudes towards human rights (Curtis, 1981; Kirkwood et al., 1987; Ungerleider, 1990). The results ranged from "a very slight inclination to support the freedoms in the Canadian Bill of Rights" (Curtis, 1981, p. 38) to strong support for freedom of speech, equal pay for equal work, and preservation of native peoples' cultures (Kirkwood et al., 1987). Ungerleider (1990) found that the level of agreement with the freedoms contained in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms ranged from a mean of 55.5 percent for democratic rights to a mean of 73.6 percent for language rights.[5]

Some of the discrepancy in the results of these studies might be

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[5]In 1982, Canada added the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* to its Constitution. Previously, rights in Canada were defined and protected by the Canadian Bill of Rights, which was not part of the constitution.

explained by the different populations surveyed. Ungerleider and Kirkwood et al., who reported more positive support for rights, surveyed school populations in general, while Curtis focused on three particular populations. Curtis reported that "the slow-learning students were significantly less libertarian than either the vocational or the academic students" (Curtis, 1981, p. 38). Although the slow learning students in this study were lowest in their support for fundamental freedoms, it should be noted that the other two groups did not score particularly high in their support for these basic rights.

Curtis (1981) does point out that because of the possibility of sampling bias, these results should be regarded as tentative but also as worrying and suggesting that perhaps specific programs incorporating democratic values should be developed. Ungerleider (1990), who surveyed for knowledge of rights as well as level of agreement with them and reported somewhat more positive results than Curtis, agrees that a specific focus on rights in schools is important.

Meyer (1989) surveyed students to determine the degree to which they were globally as opposed to nationally minded. He reported that "the secondary school sample reflected marginal, not statistically significant, global mindedness" (p. 31). The sample activity from the instrument that Meyer used in this assessment, *The World Affairs Analysis*, raises questions about this result. Each activity in the instrument provides the students with a scenario to which they must respond with one of five choices. Two of the choices are supposed to represent a globally minded response, two a nationally minded response and one is neutral. The possible responses in the sample provided appear to be much too complex to easily fit into these categories, and this causes one to question the validity of the instrument. Meyer does indicate that the instrument was "validated by several subject area experts" (p. 31), but more information on how the instrument and especially the possible responses were constructed would be helpful.

With regard to students' attitudes about their place in the political process, Meixel and Haller's (1973) study sought to discover which variables correlate with a sense of political efficacy in children. Meixel and Haller defined efficacy as "an individual's subjective feeling of political competence—his [sic] belief that he [sic] can influence the political process" (p. 1). The study used a path analysis, with the authors hypothesizing that the variables of classroom participation, personal characteristics (age, sex), and classroom politicization (the discussion of political issues in the classroom) would have both a direct and an indirect effect on the students' sense of political efficacy. A path diagram indicated that none of these variables acted directly to influence the students' sense of political efficacy, but acted only indirectly through contributing to an

17

Table 1 Surveys of Students' Knowledge and Attitudes				
Author(s)	**Subjects**	**N**	**Dependent Variable(s)**	**Organismic Variables**
Belovari et al. (1976)	Students from eight Southern Ontario communities: grades six through teacher training	810	Political knowledge and political attitudes	Age, sex, socioeconomic background
Bowd (1978)	Tenth-grade students from Australia and Canada attending two similar urban schools	143 Canadian; 147 Australian	Knowledge of domestic political institutions and knowledge of American history and politics	Age, sex, socioeconomic background
Meixel & Haller (1973)	Students in grades four, six, and eight from 17 Toronto catholic schools	1,341	Sense of political efficacy	Political knowledge, grade, sex, intelligence
Coldevin (1973)	Eleventh-grade students from two Seattle schools, and two English and two French schools in Montreal	200 from Seattle; 200 English Canadian; 200 French Canadian	The relative impact of the mass media on national and international orientation.	American, English Canadian, French Canadian
Curtis (1981)	Slow-learning, vocational, and academic secondary students from 11 British Columbia communities	95 slow learners; 210 vocational; 138 academic students	Attitudes towards the fundamental freedoms contained in the Canadian Bill of Rights	Group, age, sex, location
Kirkwood & Nediger (1983)	Students in grades seven and ten from randomly selected school boards in the ten provinces and two territories	10,821	Effects of school emphasis on Canadian studies in terms of national pride, respect for diversity, and awareness of issues	Grade level
Kirkwood et al. (1987)	As above with the addition of grade twelve	14,051	As above	Grade level
Meyer (1989)	Students from six volunteer classes in an urban Ontario school district	339	Incidence of nationalistic and globalistic thinking	Sex, grade level, career plans, information on world affairs, trips out of Canada, and parent occupation
Ungerleider (1990)	Random sample of British Columbia students grades eight and eleven	3,161	Knowledge of rights and freedoms in the Charter of Rights and level of agreement with those rights and freedoms	Canadian and non-Canadian birth, English speaking ability, subjective ethnicity

increased sense of school efficacy and political knowledge. The study also indicated that "at least a rudimentary sense of political efficacy has developed even in the lowest grade studied" (p. 16), but that this sense was not affected by either the discussion of political issues or the opportunity for student participation in the classroom. Ferguson (1991) notes that this kind of correlational research dominates studies on social and political participation in the United States and questions its value arguing that "these sorts of findings, although acceptable to dissertation committees and publishable in the journals of the field, make no serious theoretical contribution, and are of little use to social studies practitioners" (p. 392) (see Table 1).

Several of the studies examined the results in terms of student knowledge, skills, and attitudes of particular instructional approaches to citizenship education (see Table 2). Three of these studies reported on a research project carried out with slow-learning students in British Columbia (Curtis, 1980; Curtis & Shaver, 1979, 1980) undertaken because of what the authors argued was a "paucity of evidence to corroborate the opinion of some special educators that investigating contemporary problems is an effective alternative to the usual social studies programs for slow learner classes" (Curtis & Shaver, 1980, p. 302). Conducted in eight British Columbia schools, this study used a nonequivalent control group design in four schools that had two special needs classes and a one group pretest/posttest design in the remaining four schools which contained only one special needs class each. The results from the one group pretest/posttest classes were used only to confirm results obtained from the other, more reliable design.

The students involved in the study were given five assessment instruments as pretests to control for initial differences between regular and experimental classes, and as posttests to establish comparisons. The instruments used were the Newspaper Headline Test, the Dogmatism Scale, the Cornell Critical Thinking Test, the Self-Esteem Inventory, and the Gates-MacGinitie Reading Tests (Curtis & Shaver, 1980, p. 305). All of the students were also given the Freedoms Scale as a posttest, which was developed specifically for this project.

During the course of the intervention, students in the experimental classes were taught a special unit that examined a community issue—in this case housing problems in the community. Materials used to gather information were available locally, such as newspapers, government reports, and community experts. An extensive analysis by the authors found that "the reading levels of these materials indicated that a large number of readings—consisting mostly of readings from newspapers, government publications, and magazines —are suitable for use with junior high school students" (Curtis & Shaver, 1979, p. 269). During this same period, students in the control classes continued with the regular curriculum, which varied somewhat

		Table 2		
		Studies of Instructional Approaches		
Author(s)	Subjects	Treatment	Length of treatment	Dependent Variables
Curtis (1980); Curtis & Shaver (1979, 1980)	Eight classes of slow-learning high school students in British Columbia	Contemporary problems inquiry	Four months	Interest in contemporary problems, closed-mindedness, critical thinking, self-esteem, reading, attitude towards fundamental freedoms
Osborne & Seymour (1988)	27 sixth-grade classes in Southern Manitoba	Use of materials developed for a political education project sponsored by the Canada Studies Foundation	Four to five weeks	Sense of political efficacy, level of political cynicism, attitudes toward various political actions and conflict
Chamberlin (1992)	One class of fourth-graders in Alberta	Involvement in social action project	Over two months	Sense of political efficacy, and conception of good citizenship

in each class but was consistently textbook based. The authors were generally quite encouraged with the results of the study. While improvement in the experimental group was only slight in some areas, such as critical thinking (Curtis, 1980), it was improvement nevertheless; and in other areas, more significant progress was noted. About the Dogmatism Scale, for example, the authors wrote: "the Eta indicates that approximately nine percent of the variance of the posttest scores appears to be accounted for by whether the students were in the treatment or control groups. Given the generally assumed tenacity of personality traits such as dogmatism, the impact seems to have educational as well as statistical significance" (Curtis & Shaver, 1980, p. 306). They went on to write that "an important conclusion from the present study is that slow-learning high school students can engage in more sophisticated studies than those described in many social studies curriculum guides" (p. 307).

The study reported by Osborne and Seymour (1988) used a quasi-experimental design to assess attitude change in elementary school students using a political education curriculum developed in Manitoba as part of a project sponsored by the CSF. This study followed up on a more informal survey they conducted after piloting the materials, which indicated that teachers supported the inquiry approach of the materials, and students developed more democratic attitudes after completing the units. The formal study was designed to investigate the latter finding. As with the study by Curtis and Shaver (1980), the experimental curriculum in this study emphasized "an inquiry-based teaching style that encouraged student involvement and participation in the classroom" (Osborne & Seymour, 1988, p. 68), while the control classes continued with the regular social studies program. Student attitudes were assessed using a 37-item Likert format questionnaire and after controlling for initial differences between control and experimental classes, the authors concluded that the attitudes of the students in the experimental classes "became significantly more democratic" (p. 74).

These two studies (Curtis & Shaver, 1980; Osborne & Seymour, 1988) represent the only quasi-experimental investigations of instructional approaches in citizenship education in Canada. The results support the theoretical position that a contemporary issues/inquiry-based approach to social education fosters the development of democratic attitudes, but in both cases the authors indicate that there are limits to how widely the results can be generalized. Clearly, more work needs to be carried out in Canada.

The other study of instructional approaches (Chamberlin, 1991) examined was a preexperimental design with numerous threats to internal and external validity; therefore, the results should be regarded very tentatively, perhaps as the basis for further research.

Here, the author administered an instrument to gauge the sense of political efficacy of fourth-grade students after they wrote letters to government officials about a social issue, received a response from the premier of Alberta, and were featured on the local CBC news.

Students were also assessed to ascertain if they viewed good citizenship in active or passive terms. Most students viewed good citizenship in passive rather than active terms; for example, 55 percent agreed with the statement that "a good citizen tells others what he or she thinks about political problems," while only 32 percent agreed that "a good citizen tries to change things in the government" (Chamberlin, 1991, p. 25). While it is impossible to determine why students hold such attitudes and beliefs, the author speculates that "for most of these students' school lives, they [have] been encouraged to *know* about the world, but not to *act* on it" (Chamberlin, 1991, p. 24, emphasis in original). The preliminary survey carried out by Osborne and Seymour (1988) lends some support to this conclusion in that teachers reported that they rarely acted upon suggestions in their curricular materials to actively involve students in an issue of local concern. As stated earlier, the results of Chamberlin's study must be regarded as preliminary, but they do raise significant issues for further research in the area of improving students' sense of effectiveness.

Curricula, Policy, and Structure in Citizenship Education

A number of studies examined curricula, policies and/or educational structures in citizenship education (see Table 3). Masemann (1989) examined initiatives in citizenship education across the country. The data were collected from curricular and policy documents from departments of education, as well as from telephone interviews with department officials and school board representatives. In addition to providing an overview of general citizenship education practices and policies, which she summarizes as having "broad patterns of similarities across Canada" (p. 30), Masemann provides descriptions of model programs from six jurisdictions suggested by the Canadian Education Association and departmental personnel.

Masemann reports that in all educational jurisdictions, citizenship is a major goal of public education in general and the social studies curriculum in particular. Not only are curricular patterns similar, but "the main ideology that seems to run through citizenship education is the importance of citizen action and participation" (p. 29). Masemann also found a shift in focus over the past 20 years away from the mechanics of government to more emphasis on multiculturalism, bilingualism, regional accommodation, human rights, and global awareness. This represents a significant change from the study by Werner and his colleagues (1977), which also reported the results of a

review of curricular documents across the country examining the treatment of ethnic groups and multiculturalism. They wrote:

> Some social studies programs neither have explicitly stated rationales on multiculturalism (whether for integration, diversity, or awareness) nor display much evidence in the prescribed content and goals of even an implicit rationale. In such cases, the notion of multiculturalism does not appear to be an important organizing idea for the study of Canadian society (p. 46; see also Aoki, 1977).

The Masemann (1989) study is very useful because it provides an overview of official curricular policy for the entire country, and the model programs provide examples of a range of possibilities for citizenship education that encourage participation. The reliability of the findings is limited, however, by the fact that the researcher relied solely upon department documents and the views of departmental and school board officials, and attempted no assessment of the degree to which policies were actually carried out in classroom practice. Even the descriptions of innovative programs were based solely on information from these sources, and no on-site visits and evaluations were attempted.

Often the curriculum used in classrooms is not the same as that prescribed; for example, the study by Conley and Osborne (Conley, 1985; Conley & Osborne, 1983), which assessed the state of political education in Canada, reported that an eleventh-grade political science course in the Manitoba curriculum "appears to be one of the few political science courses available which makes an active attempt at developing political skills" (Conley & Osborne, 1983, p. 76). This looks fine on paper, but further investigation revealed that the course was "not offered in a single school in the province" (Conley, 1985, pp. 27-28).

The Osborne and Conley study largely supports Masemann's (1989) findings that citizenship education offerings across the country, in this case courses in political science, across the country are fairly similar with some local variations; for example, they found that in all provinces except Prince Edward Island, political science as a separate course was reserved for the last two years of high school, and therefore was unavailable to students who dropped out. This study is not as positive about citizenship education as the Masemann study, particularly with its emphasis on building skills for participatory citizenship. The more pessimistic outlook may be partly explained by the fact that Conley and Osborne looked beyond the curricular documents to issues such as courses offered, student enrollment and teacher training in political science. In the case of the latter, for

example, they found that only 18 percent of teachers teaching political science in the Maritime provinces had even a minor in political science in their own university training, and none had taken a teaching methods course in political science. Conley and Osborne conclude by raising questions about the effectiveness of the political science programs in actually integrating all elements that are described in the curricular documents. They wrote that rather than emphasizing student participation in their own learning and involvement in public issues, "for the most part political education in Canada is best described as traditional civics" (Conley & Osborne, 1983, p. 83).

Another study compared human rights education approaches in Canada and the United States (Tarrow, 1990). Drawing from constitutional documents, legislation, international agreements, and specific materials produced for human rights education in both countries, Tarrow concludes that while attention to human rights questions in schools is increasing,

> what does appear to be lacking is a cohesive, sequential program, based on a consistent philosophical rationale and integrating classroom tested material as well as related teacher training programs (p. 20).

Tarrow argues that human rights education is not seen as a separate subject to be added to the curriculum, but rather one that ought to be integrated into many areas. Consequently, human rights has had difficulty finding a curricular home and a group of educators to take responsibility for it. Tarrow also found that Canada was further ahead in implementing programs in human rights than the United States. She reported:

> It is clear that Canada's acceptance of the legal obligations that accompany ratification of international covenants have put in place an administrative structure more conducive to the institutionalization of human rights education than the structure operative in the United States (p. 20).

It must be pointed out that this study, as with the ones carried out by Masemann (1989) and Werner et al. (1977), included no analysis of actual school practice, and therefore is useful for comparison at the policy level but should not be taken as an indication of the level of human rights education in either Canada or the United States.

The study by Werner et al. (1977) is an example of a curricular documents survey that goes beyond a simple description of programs and policies. It attempts to uncover the hidden curriculum with regard to

the treatment of ethnic groups in social studies, and concludes that in most programs "the underlying value system is that of the dominant white (and even middle class) culture" (p. 17). The authors found that mainstream British and French cultural perspectives dominated most curricula and where other cultures were present they "are interpreted in terms of one or both of these dominant groups" (p. 55). This is one of a few critical studies of Canadian social studies curricula, and it is quite valuable in helping us consider how citizenship education can act to reproduce particular power relations in society, rather than to empower students for participation as the rhetoric often suggests it should (Aoki, 1977; Werner et al., 1977).

Studies by Troper (1978) as well as Cummins and Danesi (1990) examined the new emphasis on multiculturalism in the curriculum and concluded that it does not substantially improve the situation described by Werner and his colleagues. Troper's (1978) study sought to establish the emphasis on a British imperial identity in early Canadian social studies programs and the latter-day emphasis on multiculturalism in an ideological context. In it, Troper contends that the Loyalists, who formed the early core of English Canada, "shared a series of common political assumptions" (p. 14) with the revolutionaries of the American colonies. He argues that to foster an identity different from the Americans, English Canadian school systems "submerged any separate Canadian identity within a sea of loyalty to Britain and British institutions" (p. 16). Troper concurs with Tomkins (1983) in the assertion that the schools of English Canada in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries sought to impose Anglo-conformity (Troper, 1978, p. 25) on Aboriginals and non-British immigrants.

As the Empire waned after World War II, Canadian educators looked for a new icon around which to construct a national identity. Troper argues that this new icon was multiculturalism, and writes: "If multiculturalism is not a permanent solution to this classic Canadian dilemma, it may at least afford a temporary respite" (p. 25). For Troper, therefore, "the history curriculum remains less a reflection of root changes in Canadian society than an instrument for political socialization" (p. 26).

Cummins and Danesi (1990) examined public response to government-sponsored heritage language programs (both in and out of schools) and argue that "the current rhetoric of multiculturalism...is frequently at variance with the continuing underground reality of Anglo-conformity" (p. 13).[6] They cite research to show that Canadians of English and French background are supportive of "celebratory multiculturalism" (p. 15) that is manifest in things like "ethnic

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[6] Heritage languages are those other than French and English (Canada's official languages) that are spoken by the various ethnocultural groups in Canada.

festivals, community centers, etc." (p. 25), but that they were not supportive of more substantial cultural initiatives such as teaching heritage languages in regular school programs. The work of Aoki (1977) and Ijaz and Ijaz (1981) demonstrate that multicultural programs in schools are most often of the celebratory type focusing on food, dress, and music rather than on more substantial inter-cultural issues. Cummins and Danesi (1990) contend that this is evidence of a deep rooted and largely unexamined racism in Canadian society and write:

> while a superficial notion of multiculturalism has come to be associated with Canadian identity (at least outside of Quebec) as a value that sets us apart from our American neighbors, a more grounded notion of multiculturalism involving equal access to power and resources for all cultural groups has yet to take root in the Canadian psyche (p. 51).

The work of Gaskell, McLaren, and Novogrodsky (1989) and Brookes (1990) call into question the gendered nature of the curriculum. They argue that women's experience and knowledge have not been adequately represented and they call for a reëxamination of the entire curriculum which is more than "just asking that women be added to parts of the curriculum from which they have been excluded" (Gaskell et al., p. 22). Vickers (1987) also calls for just such a reexamination of citizenship education curricula, arguing that citizenship as a concept (either elitist or populist) has been a way of privileging forms of social organization that have oppressed women. Vickers contends that "patriarchal modes of maintaining group cohesion are so deeply based as to be nearly invisible" (p. 3) including nation states and the institutions that sustain them, the very institutions that more traditional conceptions of citizenship education would train students to work within. Similarly, Noddings (1992) calls for a rethinking of the whole emphasis of social studies and citizenship education in the United States to put "much more emphasis on what we once called private life as contrasted with public life" (p. 234). The knowledge and skills of the private sphere, of family membership and homemaking she argues, are as important to citizenship as skills of political organization or large scale social action, but have not been recognized as such.

Resnick (1990) has written about the elitist nature of Canadian political culture and, while this is not supported in curriculum documents or government policy pronouncements in the area of citizenship education, there is evidence that the structure of schools themselves supports the division of society along class lines. Osborne (1991) writes that "research has established quite conclusively that

26

middle-class and working-class students do not receive the same education" (p. 82). Curtis, Livingstone, and Smaller (1992) examine the process of streaming students by ability level in Ontario schools since the rise of public education in the mid-nineteenth century and argue that this process "is a *systemic political problem*" (p. 1, emphasis in original) that does violence to many students, especially those from working-class, single parent, and minority backgrounds by limiting rather than equalizing their opportunities. The authors describe both the overt streaming of secondary students into one of three streams—which ends any hope of the high school providing equality and which makes it "an agency of social selection" (p. 42) designed to serve the elites of capitalist society—and the more subtle, unofficial streaming of students in elementary schools. Curtis and his colleagues argue that the discriminatory nature of school structures are not uncontested and employ what they term a class power approach in examining the data. Such an approach recognizes the power of societal structures in reproducing social divisions but also "pays more attention than do the abstract structural accounts to the actual class agents involved in the production of discriminatory schooling structures and practices without imputing unconstrained power to elites in society" (p. 20).

The studies which are critical of the racist, sexist, and classist nature of Canadian curricula and schools propose ways of reshaping education "in the service of human freedom" (Simon, 1992, p. 4). These reform programs are given different names: Brookes (1990), for example, writes of a "critical pedagogy" (p. 26); Gaskell et al. (1989) of a "feminist approach to pedagogy" (p. 47); Simon (1992) of a "pedagogy of possibility" (p. 4); and Osborne (1990) of a "democratic socialist pedagogy" (p. 43). While there are differences in emphasis in each there are some common themes: including as content subjects that have previously been left out such as "discussions of women's suffrage, women's participation in the fur trade, and the changing organization of family life" (Gaskell et al., p. 42); teaching students "to question everything, and in particular, that which all of us have learned to think of as normal and natural practices" (Brookes, 1990, p. 28); and reorganizing the structures of schools and classrooms to make them more democratic by doing such things as involving parents and students in the management of schools, integrating intellectual and practical activities, providing a common curriculum accessible to all students, and employing dialogical teaching methods (Clandfield, 1989; Cummins & Danesi, 1990; Curtis et al., 1992; Osborne, 1991; Simon, 1992).

The studies by Gaskell et al. (1989) and Clandfield (1989) provide examples of where small steps in the direction of reform have been successfully taken. Gaskell and her colleagues report on initiatives by the Toronto Board of Education to address systemic gender discrimination in schools. Among other things the board has had a

staff person responsible for women's studies since 1975 and explicit policies on nonsexist language. The authors reported that a group of teachers meeting in 1988 to discuss the effect of these and other such

	Table 3 Studies of Curricula, Policies, and Structures	
Authors	**Curricula, Policies, and/or Structures Studied**	**Sources**
Aoki (1977); Werner et al. (1977);	Treatment of ethnic groups and multiculturalism in social studies curricula	Provincial curricular documents and ministry policy statements
Troper (1978)	Multicultural emphasis in the Ontario history curriculum	Recent policy initiatives in multiculturalism, secondary historical sources
Conley (1985); Conley & Osborne (1983)	Political education curricula in Canada	Provincial curricular documents, other studies, and enrollment statistics
Gaskell et al. (1989)	Systemic sexism in Canadian education	Research on the experience of females in schools
Clandfield (1989)	The work of a Quebec collective of teacher educators and teachers	Publications of the collective
Masemann (1989)	Citizenship education policies, curricula, and innovations in each of Canada's educational jurisdictions	Provincial documents, telephone interviews with provincial officials, and information from select school boards about innovative programs
Cummins & Danesi (1990)	Heritage language programs in public schools	Policy documents, journal and newspaper accounts, public opinion research
Tarrow (1990)	Human rights education curricula and approaches in the U.S. and Canada	Curricular documents, constitutional documents and legislation, international human rights documents, human rights education program documents, other research
Brookes (1990)	Critical pedagogy proposed by Paulo Freire	Freire's letter to American educators; Brookes experience teaching a course in critical pedagogy
Osborne (1990, 1991)	Pedagogy of citizenship education	Draws from work in critical, feminist, and socialist theory
Simon (1992)	General pedagogy	Draws from critical theory and his own experience as a teacher
Curtis et al. (1992)	The practice of streaming in Ontario schools	Class power theory and research on the various forms of streaming

initiatives, "were unanimous in their belief that sex-role stereotyping had diminished, that consciousness about the role and contributions of women had been raised, and that numerous sexist practices had been substantially dismantled" (p. 51). Clandfield (1989) reports on the

efforts of a collective of teacher educators and teachers in Quebec who have questioned long standing, unexamined practices in Quebec schools such as using standardized tests to categorize and group students according to ability, and emphasizing individual rather than group achievement. The collective has also developed alternative strategies to democratize education in Quebec.

The History of Citizenship Education in Canada

A number of studies examine the history of citizenship education in Canadian social studies (see Table 4). Tomkins (1983) provides an overview of citizenship education as practiced in the social studies curriculum. He traces the evolution of the curriculum from late in the nineteenth century, when citizenship education meant assimilating diverse groups into a common, essentially British culture, to more contemporary conceptions of citizenship education that emphasize "the development of intellectual or inquiry skills" (p. 18).

Table 4 Historical Studies		
Author	**Period covered**	**Focus of Study**
Tomkins (1974)	Late nineteenth century to 1974	National initiatives in citizenship education
Tomkins (1983)	Early nineteenth century to 1983	The social studies curriculum across Canada
Osborne (1987)	1960 to 1987	The status of history in the schools especially as compared to social studies
Curtis (1988)	1836 to 1871	The centralizing of public education in Ontario
McLeod (1989)	Mid-nineteenth century to present	The whole school's role in educating for citizenship
Gidney & Millar (1990)	Nineteenth century	The creation of modern secondary education in Ontario
Sheehan (1990)	1900 to 1945	The school programs of the IODE
Davis (1992)	1850 to 1990	The place and ideological function of history in Ontario's high school curriculum
Grant (1992)	1867 to present	The role of national lobby groups and the federal government in citizenship education

Several notable trends develop throughout the evolution of citizenship education in Canada. First, there is a recurring process of trying to arrive at a distinctive Canadian identity and Canadian materials for teaching towards it. In the mid-nineteenth century Canadian educators became concerned about the use of American books in Canadian classrooms and moved to replace them with the British Irish Readers. Eventually special Canadian editions of these readers were produced. The Dominion Education Association held a competition in 1892 to develop a Canadian history textbook to be used in schools across the country. The desire for homegrown materials could be seen clearly again in the establishment of the CSF in the 1970s. Tomkins (1983) noted the influence of the CSF on social studies curricula and wrote that "Canadian content has tended since 1975 to dominate the senior high school social studies" (p. 21). McLeod (1989) supports the idea that sorting out some sort of national identity has been an ongoing concern for Canadian educators.

Another trend evident in Tomkin's (1983) study is the tendency of western Canada, particularly the prairie provinces, to be much more inclined than central Canada to adopt social studies as an integrated study based on history, geography, and several social science disciplines. Ontario, particularly, has been reluctant to move away from exclusive concentration on history and geography. As stated earlier, Tomkins' (1983) study provides a valuable overview of history of the Canadian social studies curriculum. It does seem, however, to focus to a disproportionate degree on Ontario and Alberta. One element obviously missing is a discussion of the curriculum in the French schools of Quebec, which has been demonstrated in other studies (Hodgetts, 1968) to be significantly different from that of schools in English Canada.

The other historical studies of social studies curricula examined (Curtis, 1988; Davis, 1992; Gidney & Millar, 1990; Grant, 1992; McLeod, 1989; Osborne, 1987; Tomkins, 1974; Sheehan, 1990) augment and extend Tomkins' work, as they offer more detailed examinations of some of the themes covered in his overview and, in some cases, examine how the structure of modern schooling has been a force for citizenship education. Sheehan, for example, focuses on the first half of this century and specifically on the school programs of the International Order of Daughters of the Empire (IODE), a women's patriotic organization dedicated to keeping Canada's ties with the British empire strong. Her contention that part of the Canadian response to growing industrialization, urbanization, and non-British immigration at the beginning of this century was the increased infusion of material emphasizing Canada's British heritage into the social studies curriculum, supports Tomkins' similar conclusions. She wrote that "at the turn of the century, the use of the school system to promote the

British connection was not new in Canada, but it did gain momentum as the Empire reached its zenith" (Sheehan, 1990, p. 310). According to Sheehan, the IODE was very involved in this movement. This organization carried out its objectives by providing books and other curricular support materials, by sponsoring essay contests on patriotic themes, and by organizing school-based celebrations such as the yearly Empire Day and monthly patriotic assemblies.

Studies of the influence of groups like the IODE on school practice in general and the social studies curriculum in particular are important. Anderson (1983) has pointed out that many special interest groups try to get their message into schools, and the social studies curriculum is often the vehicle used to achieve this end. He contends that it is important for social studies educators to be aware of these efforts so they can better evaluate materials and programs proposed to them by interest groups.

Grant's (1992) study follows up this issue, and notes that the federal government's long standing interest in citizenship education is limited because the constitution grants provincial governments control over education. Therefore, the federal government has had "to work indirectly to use the schools as the agents of the nation-state and to employ the tactics of pressure groups, interest groups, or lobbies to advance the interests of the state" (pp. 5-6). Such efforts include attempts to convince ministers of education to adopt particular policies or practices, as well as efforts to "directly affect the materials of instruction and/or the vehicles of instruction—the teachers" (p. 6). Tomkins' (1974) study looks at how other organizations such as the Canadian Education Association and the CSF have often been allies of the federal government in seeking national standards and a national curriculum in citizenship education.

Osborne (1987) examines developments in the teaching of history in the schools since 1960. While this study also supports and provides further insight into the trends that Tomkins (1983) identifies, it has a slightly different focus. Osborne wrote that this study

> examines not so much the content of school history programs, since this has been done by the Council of Ministers of Education, but rather the principles and the arguments that have influenced the selection of content and the design of courses (Osborne, 1987, p. 107).

In other words, Osborne traces the dominant movements in curricular theory in modern social studies.

Although this is a Canadian study, Osborne notes that the ideas that proved to have critical influence on curricular development from 1960 to the late 1980s often had their origins in the United States. The

structure of the discipline movement developed largely around the ideas of Harvard psychologist Jerome Bruner is one example. Bruner proposed that any academic discipline could be broken down into its component parts, or basic structures, and that these structures could be taught to even very young children. His ideas influenced Canadian social studies, especially through curricular materials developed by Edwin Fenton and his colleagues at Carnegie Mellon University which were used in several provinces. Canadian social studies again followed the American lead by implementing programs in values education in the mid-seventies, with Alberta taking the lead by adopting values clarification as the basis of the social studies curriculum. This orientation moved away from history as the core of social studies to more concentration on personal and public issues.

Osborne concludes by arguing that in recent years many of the trends of the sixties and seventies, such as the development of Canadian curricular materials by the CSF, the emphasis on inquiry approaches to learning, and the inclusion of values education in the curriculum, have produced a Canadian social studies which is most often takes the form of a multidisciplinary study of Canadian issues. This multidisciplinary approach "has emerged as the strongest challenge to history's place in the schools" (p. 121). Davis (1992) reports that in Ontario, while history once formed the core of civic education, "only fragments of history appear to remain" in the curriculum and it "is no longer considered important enough for a major place in compulsory liberal arts education" (p. 6).

McLeod (1989) argues that citizenship education in modern, ethnically and socially diverse nation-states involves far more than courses in social studies and civics. He writes that to nineteenth-century advocates of nation-states, "schools were the logical institutions to teach the requisite culture; the schools would maintain or create the cultural uniformity and conformity—symbolically, attitudinally, and institutionally or behaviourally" (p. 6). The work of Curtis (1988) and Gidney and Millar (1990) show that for advocates of mass public schooling in Ontario in the nineteenth century "education was centrally concerned with the making of political subjects, with *subjectification*" and that these subjects were to be "made after the image of an easily governed population" (Curtis, 1988, p. 102, emphasis in original).

Both of these studies point out that early in the nineteenth century there was no state monopoly in the provision of education; rather "the market, the state, the churches, and families themselves were all engaged in the provision of Upper Canadian Education," and this "produced a system that was characterized by a high degree of institutional variety along with great diversity in the experience of

education itself" (Gidney & Millar, 1990, p. 32).[7] In order for education to be effective in helping to construct a relatively homogeneous state all aspects of this educational marketplace had to be reigned in and controlled from the center. This centralizing effort was contested by parents, students, and religious organizations and did not go forward unhindered but, nevertheless, "by the 1880s in Ontario, education had become so completely identified with state schooling that even those who had lived an alternative reality came to relive their experience in new social categories" (Curtis, 1988, p. 367). Curtis (1988) argues that this "educational practice contributed to the construction of bourgeois hegemony by normalizing particular forms of character and comportment" (p. 371); a process that some would contend continues in schools today (Brookes, 1990; Cummins & Danesi, 1990; Curtis et al., 1992; Gaskell et al., 1989; Osborne, 1990, 1991; Troper, 1978).

Summary

The relatively small number of studies in each category and the diverse nature of those studies make it difficult to come to any firm conclusions about research in citizenship education in Canada. Some tentative conclusions, however, can be drawn from this examination.

As reviews of the field have shown (Jenness, 1990; Marker & Mehlinger, 1992), citizenship education is clearly seen as a central focus for the social studies curriculum in Canada as well as in the United States (Davis, 1992; Masemann, 1989; Osborne, 1987; Tomkins, 1983; Troper, 1978). Over the years, the curriculum in citizenship education has moved away from the transmission of an essentially British culture to the recognition of the multicultural, pluralistic nature of Canada and a focus on the skills and attitudes necessary to develop active, participating citizens (Conley & Osborne, 1983; Masemann, 1989; McLeod, 1989; Tarrow, 1990; Tomkins, 1983). Several of the studies, however, (Conley & Osborne, 1983; Hodgetts, 1968; Osborne & Seymour, 1988) indicate that despite curricula emphasizing issues exploration and active student participation, the majority of teachers continue to teach in very traditional ways emphasizing static content and avoiding student participation in community issues. While no direct link has been established from the research on teaching methods and student attitudes toward citizenship, the studies by Osborne and Seymour (1988) and Chamberlin (1991) indicate that students do not think about citizenship in activist terms.

Evidence from a number of studies (Brookes, 1990; Cummins & Danesi, 1990; Curtis, 1988; Curtis et al., 1992; Gaskell et al., 1989; Osborne, 1990, 1991; Troper, 1978; Simon, 1992) indicates that the

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[7] Upper Canada was the name of Ontario at the time.

Osborne, 1990, 1991; Troper, 1978; Simon, 1992) indicates that the structure of schools and classrooms do not support the curricular emphasis on education for participatory citizenship for all individuals. These studies indicate that the way that education is practised in Canada continues to divide students by gender, race, and class and provide them with unequal opportunities to become participating citizens.

In terms of student attitudes, the research indicates moderate support for human rights in Canada, although not at a level that researchers feel is adequate (Curtis, 1981; Kirkwood et al., 1987; Ungerleider, 1990). There is some evidence that Canadian students tend to identify less with the nation than they do with their province or region (Hodgetts, 1968; Tomkins, 1977), but these studies are rather old and were largely conducted before the substantial increase in Canadian content in the curriculum in the 1970s and 1980s (Osborne, 1987; Tomkins, 1983).

Evidence in some studies (Belovari et al., 1976; Hodgetts, 1968) that Canadian students are woefully ignorant about their own country's history and political institutions has been challenged by the results of more recent work (Bowd, 1978; Kirkwood & Kirkwood et al., 1987). It is impossible to draw any definitive conclusions, however, from these few studies and more work certainly should be done in this area.

Suggestions for Future Research

The scarcity of research in almost all of the areas reviewed here suggests that there is a great need for further research in citizenship education within the social studies in Canada. The suggestions provided here are not offered in any order of priority, and should only be regarded as a starting point. Further reviews of research would be very helpful. As mentioned earlier, there are areas outside of social studies where work on citizenship education is being conducted. Citizenship education has played a central role in the adult education movement in Canada for example (Selman, 1991), and a review of the research in this area could prove valuable to social studies educators. An update on Tomkins' (1977) review of the research in the area of political socialization would also be helpful, as would reviews of the research in citizenship education that is being carried out in English as a second language programs for immigrants.

In terms of setting an agenda for further research in citizenship education in Canada, three factors might be considered: research from various paradigms, specific questions for study, quality of the research conducted. Popkewitz (1986) notes that it does not require much in-depth investigation to identify different forms of research in social education. He writes:

A casual glance at the research in social studies education finds a number of different styles of discourse. By styles of discourse, I mean ways in which people talk about their purposes, procedures, and findings of study (p. 13).

Some authors, like Preissle-Goetz and LeCompte (1991), discuss two basic research paradigms in social education, commonly referred to as quantitative and qualitative, while others (Popkewitz, 1986; van Manen, 1975) add a third paradigm, that of critical research. The recently published *Handbook of Research on Social Studies Teaching and Learning* (Shaver, 1991) includes chapters on quantitative, qualitative, and critical research. Although there is wide acceptance in the social studies research community for different forms of research, quantitative studies in the United States have dominated the field for most of this century (Fraenkel, 1987; Fraenkel & Wallen, 1991; Popkewitz, 1986; Preissle-Goetz & LeCompte, 1991). Most of the research reviewed here includes surveys, preexperiments, or quasi-experiments, indicating the dominance of the quantitative paradigm in Canada as well (Dhand, 1984, 1988).

The historical studies reviewed, while quite helpful, do not provide a complete record of the history of citizenship education in Canada. Studies of particular time spans, curricular trends, and interest groups not included here, would be helpful. Lybarger (1991), who argues that similar gaps exist in the record of U.S. social studies, provides excellent suggestions for the directions that historical research in social studies might take.

The search for studies to include in this review revealed no ethnographic studies into the practice of citizenship education in Canada. Preissle-Goetz and LeCompte (1991) argue that this type of research is growing in popularity and would serve to complement other types of research. Cherryholmes (1991) contends that the lack of qualitative research has led to the neglect of important questions; for example, he wrote that "the influence of gender, ethnicity, race, and class on social studies education has yet to be explored in detail" (p. 49). It is essential that studies of this type be added to the body of research in citizenship education.

Another limitation of the body of research reviewed here is the failure to consider the context in which citizenship education takes place. Wexler and his colleagues (1991) in their examination of the history of citizenship education in the United States, note that the form citizenship education takes often has more to do with the social context in which it exists than with the theoretical views posited around curricular content and classroom participation. Giroux (1988) and Cherryholmes (1991) argue that practitioners and researchers in social studies often appear oblivious to this social context:

> social studies education is pushed and pulled by social and economic forces external to professional education, whereas the discourse of social studies education is conceptualized by its practitioners as if it were an autonomous exercise (Cherryholmes, 1991, p. 51).

This lack of consideration of the social context in which social studies education takes place, these authors argue, has often rendered researchers ineffective in terms of using the results of their research to effect any meaningful change to social studies education. While several of the studies reviewed here examined how the structure of schooling as a whole affects the formation of students as citizens, none focused particularly on how that context affects the teaching and learning of social studies, the subject charged with special responsibilities in citizenship education. McNeil's (1986) examination of how the larger school context shaped the practice of social studies teaching and learning in a number of American high schools is a good example of critical research that can add to our knowledge about the hidden ways in which social studies curricula and/or instruction might operate to enhance or counter the development of civic competence.

In terms of identifying questions for study, it is especially important to focus on issues of national significance. Because of Canada's size, diverse population, and provincial education system, national studies are difficult to conduct. Marker and Mehlinger (1992) indicate that several factors have led to the lack of such large-scale studies in the United States as well, and efforts need to be made, possibly by combining the work of various small projects, to do nation-wide research. Dhand (1988) argues that this kind of "interrelated research" (p. 100) would be valuable in Canada as well. Such studies should seek to combine the examination of theory, policy, and practice in citizenship education to the greatest extent possible. Fraenkel (1987) suggests questions around which more research needs to be done in social studies, as do many of the authors in the 1991 handbook of social studies research (Shaver, 1991). One issue that could be studied from a number of different approaches is the unique quality of Canadian citizenship compared to citizenship in other Western democracies. The question then follows: What structures, materials, and instructional approaches will help to develop those unique features in students?

It is not enough that more research be done in the area of citizenship education in Canada: it must be better quality research. Fraenkel and Wallen (1991) argue that quantitative research in social studies in the United States "continues to be, regrettably, less than what one might hope for" (p. 79). Some of the major problems are summarized as trivial research questions, poor definition of concepts, insufficient attention to reliability and validity of data, poor

understanding and use of statistics, scant replication of studies, and nonexistent external validity. Similar sentiments were expressed almost 30 years ago by Oliver and Shaver (1966), who found that work in this area was characterized thus: "the use of limited models, inadequacies in research design, and the variety of populations sampled have resulted in fragmented and to a large extent, noncumulative findings" (p. 264).

All of these problems plague Canadian research in citizenship education. One specific finding is the nonreplication of studies. The quasi-experimental studies of instructional programs carried out by Curtis and Shaver (1980) and Osborne and Seymour (1988) both offer encouraging preliminary results with regard to issues-based teaching for effective citizenship. These are the only studies of their kind which were found, however, and therefore the degree to which their results can be generalized is limited. Replications of these studies with other populations of students in other areas would be very valuable in determining whether the relatively positive results of the original studies are generalizable to other populations of teachers and students.

If citizenship education is central to Canadian social studies and if it is to be improved, much more research needs to be done. This research needs to employ the full spectrum of methods and orientations available, to focus on important questions on the specific nature of Canadian citizenship, and to pay close attention to concerns about quality. Davis (1992) writes of the "technologizing of education today" (p. 358) which has diverted attention in education away from anything that does not have readily apparent utilitarian value for serving economic interests. Similarly, the Australian Senate in a report on the state of citizenship education in that country worried that the current overemphasis on the technical aspects of education at the expense of quality citizenship education will produce a generation of "skilled barbarians" (Senate Standing Committee, 1989). Social studies educators who believe in the power of their subject to help develop capable, informed, and participating citizens need to develop a body of research and theory that will demonstrate that power in a compelling way.

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Author

ALAN SEARS is Associate Professor in the Faculty of Education at the University of New Brunswick, Fredericton, N. B., Canada E3B 6E3.

SECONDARY TEACHERS' REACTIONS TO THE NEW SOCIAL STUDIES

Lynn R. Nelson
University of Maine

Frederick D. Drake
Illinois State University

Abstract

In this article, the authors examine the social and institutional factors that shaped the beliefs and actions of one group of teachers in the period following World War II. Interviews were conducted with 29 veteran secondary social studies teachers to collect and examine their life stories. These stories illustrate the magnitude of separation that exists between the concerns of theorists and the issues that are important to teachers. Studies by McNeil (1988) and Rosenholtz (1989) have established the importance of the school culture as a primary factor affecting the decisions made by teachers; our research seeks to elaborate on this position. We focus on the perceptions of veteran social studies teachers regarding their field of study, and then place these beliefs and actions within the historical context of the period.

Introduction

In recent years, numerous curricular reforms have generated considerable interest within the social studies. Most research has focused on the work of university-level social studies educators (Hertzberg, 1981; Jenness, 1990; Saxe, 1991; Stanley, 1992) and ethnographic studies of classroom teachers (McNeil, 1988; Evans, 1988; Cornett, 1990; Johnston, 1990). This study focuses on secondary social studies teachers who began their careers following the second World War and the series of political, social, and economic events that had

the potential to affect their teaching: the McCarthy era, Sputnik, the Vietnam War, and the civil rights movement, all of which affected much of the change that occurred during their tenure. Additionally, social change directly affected teachers through calls for educational reform that echoed throughout their careers: the basic education movement; the emphasis on science, mathematics, and foreign languages; new social studies curricular materials; career education; and values clarification programs.

In this study, we examine the decisions these teachers made regarding curricular and instructional issues and the factors that were important to these teachers as they considered their courses of action. Twenty-nine veteran high school social studies teachers were interviewed. While the interviews ranged across a variety of issues, the interviewees' reactions to the new social studies curricular programs of the 1960s and 1970s were a primary concern of this study.

New social studies projects, supported primarily by the federal government, numbered in excess of 50 by 1967. The majority of these projects reflected a discipline-based organization for the subject (Hertzberg, 1981). Numerous projects spanning a variety of academic disciplines and involving well-respected scholars as curriculum writers had the potential to alter content and teaching methods used by secondary social studies teachers.

Lawrence Senesh, an economist from Purdue University, and Edwin Fenton, a historian from Carnegie Mellon, initiated the New Social Studies (NSS) movement in the 1950s and as such, they were forerunners for what would become the major impetus of the NSS movement: student learning focused on an academic discipline such as economics or history. The inception of the NSS movement has been aptly described by John Haas (1977) and Hazel Hertzberg (1981) as a discipline-based movement of the 1960s that emphasized knowledge as opposed to the student and society-centered curricular proposals of the progressives. NSS constructs stressed the structure of a discipline as defined by anthropologists, economists, geographers, political scientists, sociologists, and of course historians; the movement also emphasized inquiry as a method for teaching content (Hertzberg, 1981).

Not all theorists and teachers, however, subscribed to a discipline-based curriculum, and two additional reforms played a role. One alternative was a problem/processes approach as elaborated by Maurice Hunt, Lawrence Metcalf, Shirley Engle, Byron Massialas, Benjamin Cox, H. Gordon Hullfish, and Phillip Smith (Haas, 1977). A second rationale was proposed by Donald Oliver, James Shaver, Harold Berlak, and Fred Newmann in the Harvard Social Studies Project, which prescribed a jurisprudential model stressing the analysis of public policy issues (Hertzberg, 1981).

Responding to the political challenge created by the launching of Sputnik and the challenges to current educational practices raised in the Woods Hole Conference and the Stanford and Syracuse University Conferences on social studies reform, the NSS movement created over 100 curricular projects; disseminated information, guides, and materials primarily through inservice education programs; and arranged for publication of project materials through textbook companies. As Hertzberg notes (1981), many of these projects were created by curriculum developers whose expertise resided in their understanding of an academic discipline; these individuals, however, frequently failed to appreciate teachers' desires to personalize curricular materials—to create instructional materials—or the power of the students' reactions to NSS materials in determining their acceptance by teachers.

Where the 1960s may be regarded as the cognitive decade (Haas, 1977), the 1970s emerged as the values decade. With the publication of Raths, Harmin, and Simon's book *Values and Teaching* (1966), coupled with civil rights and Vietnam War protests, values education assumed a central if not dominant role in social studies education.

Citing James Herndon's observations regarding curriculum, Cuban (1993, pp. 262-263) notes that although teachers often are affected by decisions beyond their control, they exercise a considerable degree of autonomy with respect to questions regarding learning tasks (instructional strategies), instructional tools (materials and media), and instructional topics. While university-level educators proposed reforms in social studies education, it was the classroom teacher who chose to incorporate, transform, or ignore NSS concepts. Using new math as an example, Sarason (1971) observed, however, that this curriculum proposal was instituted in school systems "without taking into account their structural and cultural characteristics" (p. 19).

While Sarason addressed issues regarding the overall concept of two cultures, Leming (1989) applied this concept specifically to the social studies, and cites Shaver's definition of culture as "a body of customary beliefs, values, and practices constituting a distinct complex of tradition for a group," suggesting that theorist and pragmatic cultures exist in the social studies. While university-based social studies educators have proposed either a discipline-based curriculum or theoretical models for citizenship education, decision making, and citizenship participation, secondary social studies teachers have raised questions regarding the applicability of reforms in real-world classroom settings. Teachers practice their craft in environments where administrators value teachers who have the ability to maintain order and socialize students. Through their work, McNeill (1988) and Rosenholtz (1989) have suggested the concept of the school culture as a primary factor that affects the decisions teachers make. We seek to elaborate upon this concept. First, we focus on the perceptions of veteran

social studies teachers, and then place the actions of these teachers within the context of the post World War II period.

The gulf that divides university theorists and classroom teachers compelled us to collect the life stories of veteran social studies teachers because our review of the research literature revealed that an extensive primary record had never been compiled. Capturing their experiences by means of recorded, life-story interviews and placing these life stories within the social and political context of a particular time frame (Goodson and Walker, 1991; Goodson, 1992), we provide an explanation of what social studies teachers actually did in the classroom, how they confronted the social issues of the 1950s-1970s, how they reacted to suggested educational reforms, and what their belief structures suggested about the teaching process.

Social studies is central to the cultural purpose of the public high school. Such classes afford high school students opportunities to understand and evaluate the society in which they live, and the high school classroom teacher as practitioner shapes the definition of the social studies for students. As reported by the former Bradley Commission on History in the Schools, reform efforts are likely to fail unless teachers are involved in curricular decisions (Gagnon, 1989, p. 40). And yet, Wiley and Race conclude an extensive review of the literature related to new social studies projects with the observation that very little is known about the impact of the new social studies (1977, p. 312).

To report our findings, we have divided this article into three parts. First, we describe the participants in the study and include a literature review that served as a basis for the questions asked in the interviews. We then present the collective life stories of the teachers interviewed, examining the changing social and school contexts where they worked, and their perspectives regarding the teaching of social studies. Finally, we present our conclusions and suggest some implications for future research.

The Study

The Participants

Over a period of three years, we conducted 29 interviews with high school social studies teachers from the states of Maine and Illinois. Twenty of these teachers were from Illinois, and nine were from Maine. These volunteers were selected from lists of prospects supplied to us by educators in these two states and by contacts with leaders in the respective state social studies councils. The interview process lasted from two to five hours, and (in most instances) was completed in one session. One interview, however, carried over to the

following day and in another case, the sessions were conducted one week apart.

In selecting interviewees, the overriding criterion used was that of career longevity. With several notable exceptions, most careers spanned a minimum of 25 years. Exceptions were made to include several teachers who had received exemplary honors and to include more women and an African American male in the study. Three teachers began their careers in the late 1940s; four teachers in the early 1950s; nine teachers entered prior to 1959; ten teachers started teaching between 1960 and 1965; and three participants became social studies teachers in the years 1966-1972. Five had been nominated for or had received state teaching awards, and three had been offered fellowships while pursuing their graduate degrees. All but three of the interviewees had a master's degree or advanced certificate. Five had taught in communities with populations of 50,000 or more; 13 worked in communities with populations of 10,000 to 50,000; and 11 worked in communities with populations of 1,000 or less. Table 1 summarizes the data regarding community size.

Twenty-two of the 29 interviewees were white males. After contacting over 60 secondary schools, we were able to locate only six women whose social studies careers began in the late 1940s, 1950s, or early 1960s. One female interviewee offered the following explanation for this phenomenon:

> You are not going to find many women who began when I did. Men were preferred because they were the primary breadwinners and they coached. I had to break in to teaching in the middle grades. I waited to become a high school social studies teacher.

Table 1 Size of the Communities in which the Subjects Taught		
Community Size	Maine	Illinois
Over 100,000	0	2
50,000-99,999	0	3
25,000-49,999	1	7
10,000-24,999	1	4
1,000-9,999	7	2
Less than 1,000	0	2

One interviewee, a black male, taught in a community of 50,000 or more. In our sample of rural and suburban teachers, few African Americans found employment as social studies teachers in the early post-World War II period. In fact, the single African American interviewed began his career in 1972, and was later named a state Teacher of the Year. All but three of the interviewees were married, and all but three had taught at their present high school since the 1960s. Table 2 summarizes the data regarding the beginning years of these teachers' careers. Table 3 summarizes the levels of education, ethnicity, and gender.

Table 2 Year Interviewees Began Teaching		
	Maine	Illinois
1948-1953	2	5
1954-1959	2	7
1960-1965	4	6
1966-1971	1	1
1972-1977	0	1

Over 80 questions provided the basis for the interviews, which were scripted to allow for digression and elaboration. Each discussion began with an opportunity for the interviewee to describe his or her entrance into the teaching profession. We then asked questions related to the following areas: the social context of their instruction (local, national, and international events influencing instruction); the school context of teaching (administrators, colleagues, parents, and students influencing instruction); the content of the social studies; the methods of instruction; and the interviewees' rationale for teaching the social studies, including the psychological learning theories they used to support instruction.

Questions concerning the interviewees' personal histories examined their reasons for entering the profession, their formal educational backgrounds, and the effects a teaching career had on their personal and family lives. Questions related to:

(1)   The social context of teaching, recalling the effects that events such as the McCarthy era, the Korean War, Sputnik, the civil rights movement, the Vietnam War, and the Middle East oil embargo had on instructional and curricular decisions;
(2)   The school context, probing changes and attitudes of administrators, students, parents, and colleagues during the interviewees' careers;

49

(3)　　The content of the social studies regarding the decisions to include or exclude particular knowledge, values, and skills;

(4)　　The methods of instruction, concerning why and how particular methods were used throughout the interviewees' careers;

5)　　The rationale for teaching, analyzing the interviewees' beliefs regarding what should be taught in social studies classes; and

(6)　　The learning theories, exploring the extent to which the interviewees used a psychological basis for their teaching.

Table 3
Characteristics of Interviewees

Level of Education		
	Maine	Illinois
Bachelor's	2	1
Master's	3	18
Certificate of Advanced Study	2	0
ABD	1	1
Doctorate	1	0
Ethnicity		
	Maine	Illinois
African American	0	1
Caucasian	9	19
Hispanic	0	0
Gender		
	Maine	Illinois
Female	1	5
Male	8	15

All of the interviews were recorded on tape. During and after each session, notes were taken by one or both of the researchers. The text of this study is the result of both researchers listening individually and jointly to the taped interviews.

The Literature Review
Existing studies establish the importance of the school culture in shaping teacher thoughts and actions (Sarason, 1971; McNeill, 1988; Rosenholtz, 1989; Leming, 1989; and Cuban, 1993). Despite numerous attempts to reform social studies teaching, the principal conclusion drawn from Cuban's (1984) history of teaching is the persistence of

teacher-centered methods of instruction. Cuban (1984) concluded that the norms of the school accounted for the predominance of teacher-centered methods. The numerous instructional management and human relations decisions made by teachers mitigated against changes in pedagogy that they perceived as complicating their role as instructors; for example, a social studies teacher, while recognizing the benefits of inquiry learning, may be reluctant to relinquish lecture as a strategy for classroom control for the benefits of inquiry. McNeil (1984) suggests that high school practitioners respond to administrative efficiency and "teach 'defensively,' choosing methods of presentation and evaluation that they hope will create as little student resistance as possible" (pp. 158-162). As we interviewed teachers, we wanted to know how the school culture affected their teaching.

Social studies as a curricular area originated as a current in the larger streams of educational and political progressivism. From the beginning of the progressive era, internal migration from rural to northern and western cities and the changing origin of immigrants to the United States (previously from northern and western Europe to eastern and southern Europe) posed perceived problems in urbanization, and the role of the nation in international disputes during and following World War I came under debate. It seems only logical then that social studies would have been seen by educators as a means of achieving social change and improvement.

In *Social Studies in Schools* (1991), David Warren Saxe traced the origins of the social studies and examined the scope of alternatives in organizing and finding a purpose for the field. In particular, he analyzed the debate that occurred between history-centered theorists and so-called social studies insurgents during the progressive era.

Although Saxe's work analyzed the progressive era, time has not diminished the importance of this debate. University theorists have an abiding interest in the discussion of the tensions and issues regarding the purposes of education and the social studies (Engle, 1960; Evans, 1989; Ravitch, 1989); however, as important as philosophical issues are to university educators, they may not affect how most social studies teachers make decisions in their classrooms. Given this intellectual origin, it is hardly surprising that social studies professionals have at various times been attracted to ideals of social amelioration, social reconstruction, and defense of democracy.

Berlak (1977) was also interested in issues regarding the range of alternatives in organizing and establishing a goal for social studies instruction. Given this range, did social studies teachers organize their classrooms to provide continuity to the existing order or to emphasize the value of social change? The social studies possesses a rich heritage of social reconstructionist thought (Stanley, 1992), yet the question remains: To what degree did secondary social studies teachers in the

three decades following World War II embrace the values of social continuity and social change as purposes for their instruction?

Our interviews addressed an even broader question that faces theorists: To what degree do social studies teachers possess an articulated rationale? Newmann (1977) and Evans (1988, 1990) emphasize the importance of an articulated rationale as a necessary foundation for quality instruction, and Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977) created an appropriate framework for the analysis of mainstream social studies traditions. By dividing the field into three traditions, Barr, Barth, and Shermis (1977) established a system to clarify the interviewees' purposes: the reflective inquiry tradition represents the progressive ideals of social studies instruction; citizenship transmission embodies an older set of ideals that emphasize the transmission of traditional cultural values across generation lines; and the social science tradition represents the academic disciplines, whose purposes are consonant with discipline-based and inquiry goals of the NSS movement of the 1960s and 1970s.

These three traditions approximate the perennial tensions between social continuity and change. Their tradition of citizenship transmission holds that cultural continuity is the primary purpose of the social studies, while reflective inquiry stresses the ability of individuals to work for social change. The social science tradition (which includes history) stresses the academic disciplines as the means to organize the social studies curriculum. These traditions provided a framework for a number of questions we asked the interviewees.

The authors of several studies (Bestor, 1953; Conant, 1959; Hertzberg, 1981; Spring, 1989; Tyack, 1974, Tyack & Hansot, 1982) address the relationship between the political and social climate of the period 1950-1980 and the educational reforms that occurred in the public schools. Their work also provided a backdrop for the interviews. Hertzberg (1981), for example, concluded that the NSS movement of the 1960s reflected the demands of the society for a more rigorous, discipline-based social studies (the social science tradition) in response to competition in the international community. The new social studies projects during this time emphasized a discipline-based approach and while these projects were being written, the Vietnam War and the civil rights movement deflected reform efforts toward a "social problems-self realization" curriculum (Haas, 1977, p. 74; Hertzberg, 1981, p. 116-117).

Researchers have also demonstrated the importance of the school environment in shaping the ideas and practices of teachers. The expectations of students, colleagues, administrators, and parents regarding the content and teaching-learning methods that are encountered in classrooms have a powerful effect on the instructional decisions made by teachers. Hertzberg (1981) described the student

boredom that often results from the textbook-based, teacher-dominated strategies characterizing much of social studies instruction. Goodlad (1984) indicated that high school students perceive social studies to be of lesser importance than English and mathematics and believe that the subject will be of little use to them in their future, and McNeill (1988) found that teachers often sacrifice intellectual outcomes to create efficiency in classroom management.

In several studies, the authors focus on the decisions of teachers regarding the content chosen and the methods used for instruction. McNeil (1988), Apple (1979), Mehlinger (1981), and Hertzberg (1981) raised concerns regarding the role of controversial issues in the high school classroom. These authors suggest that such issues are either omitted from class discussions altogether or, as Mehlinger posits, are limited to a zone of tolerance described as boundaries of discussion determined by the norms of the community. Similarly, Fancett and Hawke (1982) indicate that teachers are likely either to avoid value issues, or inculcate values depending upon the circumstances. In observing classrooms, Goodlad (1984) found that student involvement in value or moral judgments is almost nonexistent. "Particularly lacking in our data," he asserts, "is anything to suggest the deliberate involvement of students in making moral judgments and in the understanding of the difference between these and decisions based upon scientific fact" (p. 242). Clearly, the literature addresses the controversy concerning a rationale for social studies instruction, the methods of instruction used by classroom teachers, and the importance of the school culture in mediating the influence of those individuals who sought to change the social studies curriculum and the instructional strategies of the post-World War II period. As the basis for interviews, we incorporated some of the issues raised in the historical, theoretical, and ethnographic studies.

Collective Life Stories of Teachers Interviewed

Just as Charles Beard provided the metaphor for defining the social studies as a seamless web, and Barr, Barth, and Shermis provided a meaningful pattern of the social studies through the three traditions of citizenship transmission, social science disciplines, and reflective inquiry, so too we attempt to make sense of the tapestry that 29 veteran teachers presented in their oral history interviews. Although varying in achievement in high school and at the university, most of the teachers we interviewed enjoyed academic success. Career aspirations varied. Sixteen interviewees initially pursued goals in fields such as medicine, engineering, or university teaching, but later changed their goals as a result of personal interests, abilities, and resources. Ten of the interviewees wanted to be high school social

studies teachers when they began their university education. A teacher from central Illinois made a comment that represented the views of many of the interviewees when he said, "I can't remember when I didn't think I'd be a teacher. I never wavered for a moment."

We found no clear-cut relationship between the desires of the interviewees to become social studies teachers and the characteristics of their own high school teachers. Some had high school instructors whom they regarded as excellent; others had teachers whom they felt lacked adequate skills and abilities; for example, a teacher from Maine, whose own teaching career began in the late 1940s, observed that her high school United States history teacher was a model of negative instruction. That teacher inspired her to try and find a better way of teaching.

More important to most interviewees was their relationship to their university instructors, especially their professors in academic disciplines such as history or geography. Many of the participants stated that several of their university professors were inspiring and caused them to learn the facts and apply them. Professors in an academic discipline had a purpose for instruction and "caused [us] to think," stated one veteran teacher. Another interviewee observed, "I had a history professor who was a classic teacher, [but] not in the conservative sense. He was able to turn a lecture into a seminar experience."

During the early years of their teaching careers, conferences with department chairs and other school personnel had a meaningful impact on the interviewees' teaching strategies and belief systems. Their link with the university was with professors associated with an academic discipline, primarily history, and social studies theorists had little influence on their beliefs and practices.

The end of World War II compounded domestic and international challenges as the United States and the Soviet Union emerged as bipolar powers with competing ideological systems. We anticipated that the threat of nuclear weapons, the Korean War, and the atmosphere of the McCarthy era had great influence on the interviewees' lives in and out of the classroom. While many of these teachers acknowledged that they had signed disclaimers to membership in allegedly subversive organizations during the 1950s and 1960s, few said they objected to this practice. As one interviewee from Illinois remembered, "The McCarthy era did not so much affect my teaching, but of course it did lead to school teachers in Illinois having to take a loyalty oath. I refused to sign it until they withheld my first paycheck." He was told to report to the Board of Education office whereupon a secretary reprimanded him. "Under protest," he stated, "I signed it." While the interviewees did not experience overt threats, they were made to feel uncomfortable. One teacher from Maine recalled

an event in the early 1950s when a colleague remarked that her willingness to include the Soviet economy in a comparative economics class left her suspect as sympathetic to communism. In Illinois, part of a curriculum guide describing the Soviet economy was redlined by an administrator who attached a note to the effect that there were no positive attributes in the Soviet system.

Given the importance of the nuclear issue during the late 1940s and the 1950s, one might expect the interviewees to discuss the nuclear threat to U.S. security and world peace with their students. Boyer has asserted that journals of the late 1940s encouraged the education community to address the atomic age, and has noted that many authors called upon social scientists to lead a crusade to organize society in preparation for the peaceful use of atomic energy (1985, pp. 166-177). The three interviewees who taught during the 1940s, as well as the 11 others who taught in the 1950s, did not respond to the call for including nuclear issues in their instruction. In fact, when they were asked how they taught nuclear issues, the interviewees indicated that they did not discuss the topic with their students. Other issues of vital importance, such as the Soviet atomic detonation in 1949, the United States and Soviet decisions to develop thermonuclear weapons, and President Eisenhower's Atoms for Peace proposal were not considered to be important topics for instruction. Similarly, when we asked these teachers about the Korean War, they replied that the war had little impact on them as social studies teachers other than that their careers may have been interrupted by military service.

The Vietnam period, on the other hand, provided a major challenge for the interviewees. By the end of the 1960s, the nation was divided in reaction to American military involvement in that war (Hertzberg, 1981, pp. 121-122). Most of our participants felt uncomfortable teaching about Vietnam because professional historians had not articulated a clear interpretation. The lack of a convincing and authoritative interpretation of U.S. involvement caused most of the interviewees to feel uncomfortable with the topic throughout the 1960s and 1970s. One compared the Vietnam experience to the Korean conflict:

> Korea was not as unpopular. But no one knew why we were in Vietnam....Teachers had a much tougher time during the Vietnam War convincing students that it was the patriotic thing to do. And I think an awful lot of teachers tried to do that because it was the only approach they could use to justify it....Teachers tried to put the best face on it we could.

Another interviewee observed, "The Vietnam War caused me to doubt myself. There was a whole bunch of internal conflict, almost to

the point where I couldn't mention it in class." Still another interviewee said he avoided teaching about Vietnam until the late 1980s, because "it was just too painful."

The self-doubts felt by many American citizens during the Vietnam War were compounded in the minds of the interviewees; they lived dual roles as citizens and social studies teachers. As citizens, they were able to hold the ambiguities they felt about the Vietnam War to themselves by remaining noncommittal regarding the purposes of U. S. involvement. As social studies teachers, most did not trust their understanding of the war, or they did not believe it appropriate to express their beliefs. In either case, they postponed discussion of the topic until experts had written their interpretations of the war, and a new generation of students who were less emotionally involved with the issue sat in their classrooms.

The civil rights movement also had an impact on the interviewees. They accepted the struggle for equality among races, ethnic groups, and gender; however, local manifestations, such as the behavior and attitudes of students, were disconcerting. "Civil rights and Vietnam were mismanaged," opined one interviewee. "The mismanagement allowed the young and those who did not know anything to join the bandwagon in opposition....Students started confronting teachers....Riots ended education."

These teachers perceived student understanding of the civil rights movement and the Vietnam War as an expression of demands. Students were thought to hold a crude interpretation of the meaning of rights; a Rousseau-like romantic view existed that schools were illegitimate. Many of these interviewees felt threatened, as students questioned the right of the teacher to exercise judgment regarding the content, method of instruction, or classroom rules. Students appeared to redirect social dissatisfaction aimed at United States institutions and policies in general to the institution with which they had daily contact—the school. The interviewees faced a cacophony of demands, and many felt they were under siege. Courses had to be relevant. One interviewee from a small town recalled:

> Kids were in control. We were hanging on by our fingertips. There were drugs, and there was a questioning of authority, a negative spinoff of the civil rights movement, challenging the teacher's right to do anything. Children were determined to be rebellious. There was a swing away from relations [between teachers and students] that was needed. The 1970s were devastating and the pendulum has not swung back. We tried almost anything anyone could come up with. We rearranged the cafeteria, assigned big

> brothers, rearranged schedules, did away with homeroom.
> We made all kinds of changes.

With disgust another interviewee observed:

> We grabbed at every straw and bill of goods. Everything I
> had worked for went down the tube. Everything was our
> [the teacher's] fault. That was the end of education.

Still another of the interviewees remarked:

> The early to mid-1970s were terrible....Drugs and attitudes
> [led to] no respect. That was the hardest teaching I have
> ever done.

The insecurity and frustrations the interviewees experienced did not commence with the Vietnam War and the civil rights movement. In 1957, the Soviet Union's launch of Sputnik set off a wave of concern about education in the United States (Haas, 1977). Federal and private funds supported new curriculum projects for the social studies (the NSS movement), which paled in comparison to the economic support for projects in science and mathematics (Spring, 1989), and popular conceptions of the social studies contributed to its lack of status in the curriculum. Spring (1989) described the deliberations of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare as the Congress prepared to establish funding priorities for the National Defense Education Act (NDEA) of 1958. He noted the important testimony of M. H. Trytten, a well-known scientist, as supporting "greater stress on science, languages, and mathematics" while stating his opinion that educators' concern with social problems undermined the intellectual purposes of education (p. 75). Citing Charles Keller's observations in a 1961 *Saturday Review* article, Haas (1977) reported that the director of the John Hays Fellows program had determined that the decline of the social studies was due in part to the fact that social studies was not a subject.

For these reasons, the social studies failed to compete with mathematics and science (that could help us win the Cold War); languages (that could win the hearts and minds of people in developing countries); and vocational education (that could place people in the work force). In other words, the study of mathematics and science was valued as vital to security of the nation; social studies was not.

Sputnik, the civil rights movement, and the Vietnam War also combined to threaten the status of these teachers by impairing their self-definition and their daily interactions with students. While some university-based social studies educators (Engle, 1960; Hunt & Metcalf, 1968) might view these events as opportunities for inquiry, problem

solving, or values clarification, this view was not shared by the majority of the teachers we interviewed. The interviewees felt that changes in student behavior challenged the authority of the teacher and the importance of their subject, and the majority of the teachers perceived the events of the 1960s and 1970s as challenges, not opportunities.

From its inception in the progressive era to the present, social studies has inspired a debate among theorists regarding the rationale for the subject in schools (Hertzberg, 1981; Evans, 1989; Ravitch, 1989). At issue is the purpose of the social studies curriculum. Is the primary purpose of social studies the development of good citizens? Does a good citizen engage in cultural continuity and social reconstruction? Does a good citizen conform to the needs of society as defined by others, or work to promote greater justice in the society? To produce good citizens, should the curriculum be organized around the academic disciplines (especially history), or should a social problems approach be used?

These perennial debates are illustrated by the positions of Diane Ravitch and Shirley Engle, whose views can be traced to Henry Johnson and John Dewey, respectively. Ravitch built upon a history-centered curriculum as advocated by Henry Johnson in the early decades of the twentieth century, and criticized the utilitarianism of the progressive period that originally permeated history and continues to the present (Johnson, 1927; Ravitch, 1985). Only when history can detach itself from the remnants of social efficiency, Ravitch contends, will history "regain its rightful place in the schools" (1985, pp. 125, 130-131). For Engle, the social studies should focus on decision making that involves a synthesis of academic disciplines as well as values (1960). While Ravitch views history itself as interdisciplinary (1985, p. 132), Engle represents numerous theorists (Harold and Earle Rugg, Maurice Hunt, Lawrence Metcalf) whose works are grounded upon the ideas of John Dewey. Essentially, Engle perceives the social studies as focusing on good citizenship, as marked by social criticism and social conformity, which are achieved by involving students in reflective thinking and decision making (Engle & Ochoa, 1988).

The beliefs that the interviewees carried with them from their undergraduate education in the late 1940s, 1950s, and early 1960s formed the basis for the assumptions they made about teaching; most of them fondly recalled courses in their academic disciplines. These courses were described as rigorous, challenging, and rewarding. Furthermore, those teachers who had completed graduate degrees in education often identified undergraduate and graduate courses in history and the social sciences as having the greatest impact on their classroom practices. One interviewee typified these views with this comment:

> I enjoyed most of my history courses and liberal arts experience. Reluctantly, I took education courses. In these classes (referring to educational psychology and secondary education), I cried for the trees that made those books.

The majority of the participants believed their possession of subject matter expertise enabled them to be creative in the classroom, and some spent hours developing courses that satisfied them and their students as well.

The interviewees said little about their rationale for teaching social studies; instead they mentioned subject matter and the need to control students and maintain their interest. The majority focused their discussion on their ability to maintain classroom control and to demonstrate their subject matter expertise. A typical response when asked about a rationale for teaching social studies was:

> I do not want my students to hate history. I want my students to have a good experience in history, and I want them to know that I know the subject. I want my students to know history and like it.

Another interviewee remarked curtly, "We don't talk philosophy. We support each other in everyday hassles. You need someone to help and bitch at."

The majority of our interviewees emphasized discipline-based expertise. The manner in which they organized their courses, however, often resulted in little student inquiry and they themselves interpreted the discipline for their students. Faced with the complex responsibilities of elaborating a purpose for instruction, managing diverse groups of students, planning lessons grounded in learning theory, and carrying out numerous administrative tasks, the participants sought refuge in their knowledge of subject matter. "History, the more you know, the more interesting you can make it. You can stop, tell a story, and make it interesting," said a teacher from Maine.

With only a few exceptions, these teachers discounted the value of psychological learning theory. Educational psychology courses represented a certification requirement, and were seen as having been of little use to them in designing their lessons and instructional units. One interviewee from Illinois, a leader in campus activities who had received an outstanding senior award, had graduated at the top of her class, and been recognized during her teaching career as a master teacher, regarded her education courses as *not very good*; and *stupid*. Although she remembered her content courses at the university as excellent, her education courses had little meaning for her. "I had an innate sense of teaching," she recalled, "and observed a master teacher

at work during student teaching." It was the experience with a master teacher with whom she worked during her student teaching days in 1960 that provided her with a direction for conducting her own classes. The mentor teacher in the student teaching experience assisted with defining and shaping the role of the future teacher in the school.

When asked to define their role in the school system, many interviewees identified themselves with a particular discipline (e.g., history, economics, or sociology teachers) or as coaches or sponsors of social studies trips. As one interviewee stated adamantly, "The trips I've organized to Washington, D.C., are the best things I've done in education." Only two of the interviewees referred to themselves as social studies teachers, and identification as such was avoided. Social studies per se was regarded as an illegitimate and demeaning label. A typical comment was:

> I do not even like the name social studies department. I want to be known as a history teacher. When I retire I will try to be a historian.

A vast majority of these teachers maintained their belief in the importance of discipline-based content and labeled threats to this form of instructional organization as fads. This belief is hardly surprising given the nature of the inservice education that they received. One of the interviewees expressed the belief that inservice programs assumed that all teachers were *equally wretched*, and reminded him of *self-help programs that appeared on late night television;* good content in history would have been preferable. Inservice education, to most of the interviewees, consisted of episodic, disjointed presentations by experts. Often these presentations were made to the faculty as a whole on topics of general interest rather than about the teaching of social studies. The most common characteristic of these inservice programs was that they "lasted less than one day and usually dealt with the current hot [education] topic that had caught the attention" of their administrator or curriculum director. The interviewees found it difficult to separate the social studies reform efforts and materials from the succession of multiple panaceas, and to solve the problems of control and relevance, such as mini-courses, counseling sessions, and values clarification lessons, with which they were bombarded in the classroom.

By the 1970s, many of the interviewees began to develop a siege mentality that was reinforced as administrators recommended generic solutions with little thought to the effect on the traditional curriculum. "Show me some good books and not generalized stuff," commented one interviewee. Another opined that:

> administrators chose inservice presenters in the hope that
> they would be invited to do inservice in the presenter's
> district in return. Our assistant superintendent is a classic
> self-promoter. He brought in a girl [sic] out of California's
> hot tub culture to talk about writing. A few months later, he
> was in California doing presentations.

These presenters challenged the traditional content and style that the interviewees valued; and most of them coped with these calls for change with either indifference or cynicism.

Proponents of the new social studies curriculum failed to appreciate that most classroom teachers held a traditional view of the social studies that they would (or could) not abandon. In a 1965 article concerning NSS reforms, James Becker warned "that educational change does take place, but...it seldom moves far ahead of public attitudes and...teacher competence and availability of materials are further inhibiting factors" (Haas, 1977, p. 43; Hertzberg, 1981, p. 116). NSS teacher inservice programs, supported by the National Science Foundation and the National Defense Education Act, began in the mid-1960s and continued into the 1970s; however, the number of institutes declined substantially in the 1970s. According to Haas, program leaders altered the emphasis of their summer institutes. At first, NSS movement leaders stressed improvement of teachers' understanding of the structure of knowledge in the academic disciplines, spending only one tenth to one fourth of institute time on teaching methodology. With experience, however, program leaders recognized a need to devote more time to teaching methodology (primarily inquiry) so that teachers could utilize project materials more effectively and be consonant with the original intentions of curriculum developers (1977).

In spite of NSS attempts to influence teachers, its effect was minimal and tended to be confined to those who participated in institute programs. Hass (1977) estimates "that perhaps five percent of social studies classrooms in the United States were affected by the NSS, and that the greatest impact was on selected suburban schools" (p. 79). Peet (1984) speculates that a teacher may have felt "like some sort of simpleton as a result of supposedly smarter and brighter experts determining his curriculum" (p. 289).

When challenged to make changes in content and method of instruction, interviewees trusted their past experience and own expertise in content. One interviewee recalled:

> Very few people who started in my era [1949] were
> generalists. They were historians first. If they were
> anything else, they were government specialists. Even
> though geography had a place, it wasn't long before

geography disappeared. No one [students] had to take it.
As Greek and Latin went out the window, ancient
civilizations went.

These teachers did believe that they were well prepared to teach
history and government courses. Most who taught during the 1950s and
1960s viewed themselves as historians and did not want to venture too
far into other academic disciplines. Interestingly, history institutes
were funded later than those in anthropology, economics, geography,
political science, and sociology (Haas, 1977). This fact may have
limited the interviewees' enthusiasm for adopting the new social
studies materials.

Curricular innovations of the 1960s, such as the discipline-based
High School Geography Project or the Amherst History Project, as well
as nondiscipline-based reforms, such as the emphasis on decision
making, values clarification, moral development, or more recently
cooperative learning, were evaluated by these teachers in terms of how
well they enhanced traditional subject matter. "I still have the
Amherst Project around," said a teacher from Illinois. "Its strength was
that it was basically inquiry with primary documents. I saw the value
of kids reading. It got them into the events."

The most graphic description of adopting an inquiry approach
was related by an interviewee who was a social studies teacher and a
football coach. To prepare for the upcoming football season, the
administration sent him to the University of Arkansas to work with
and observe college coaching strategies in order to improve the football
program at his high school. When it came time to incorporate inquiry
strategies in history, he was told to attend a department meeting
concerning the adoption of inquiry techniques. Here, he stated that he
was opposed to inquiry; however, he was appointed by the department
chair and an administrator to pilot some of the inquiry techniques.
Without any instruction in these techniques and without any
understanding of the reasons underlying the inquiry approach, he
developed and used an idiosyncratic method of teaching inquiry for the
next five years, whereupon the administration decided to abandon
inquiry as part of the social studies curriculum. Reflecting on his
experiences, the teacher observed, "Just as I got good at it, they told me
to quit!" Moreover, he lamented that the first three years may have
been injurious to the students in his classes because he was
experimenting with a method with which he had no background or
training.

Another interviewee reacted to questions about the inquiry
movement in social studies education and inservice training:

> Inquiry was big for a time. I never got involved in it. I could not figure out what to do with it, to tell you the truth. It was my perspective that they wanted to teach a concept before the students had any facts to support it.

This teacher had no inservice education in the inquiry approach even though he had expressed his belief that a critical mass of knowledge was a prerequisite to inquiry. The lack of courses and workshops led to his confusion regarding these techniques, and his knowledge of the methodologies was therefore ephemeral.

Some interviewees modified the new social studies projects materials to fit their needs, often implementing them without any training in their use. As one of the interviewees commented:

> I saw them and scarfed them up. I had no idea how the author intended them to be used. I liked it [Amherst Project] but did not know how it was to be used. I used it as a supplement to my course. It was a sheer accident that I found it. I did not get it from a college course, a colleague, or a conference.

The interviewee repertoire of teaching methods remained remarkably stable given the educational reform movements of the 1950s through the 1980s. If the reform projects had been implemented, there might have been more student-centered classrooms, multimedia instruction, inquiry within and across academic disciplines, as well as an analysis of values and public policy issues. Instead, the teaching methods the interviewees used in the 1980s were remarkably similar to those used in the 1940s and 1950s. The belief expressed time and again among these teachers was that a teacher's style developed as a result of the interaction between teacher and students, and that it is by nature idiosyncratic; what worked for one teacher and set of students might not work in another situation. Lectures and teacher-led discussions continued to predominate in their classes. They provided a way for the interviewees to prove they knew their subject. Teachers who adopted discovery or inquiry methods were considered innovative yet were held suspect. Those who engaged in inquiry were considered lazy. One interviewee remarked about inquiry teachers (who he thought were few in number) that they "had students find the answers because they did not know them themselves." Another interviewee commented, "Those who call themselves facilitators are looking for an easy way to teach. They do not know their subject." Another who disdained the use of lecture, felt compelled to "give out information to prove I could teach. Students believed that was teaching. I had to let students know I could give them information."

Social studies theorists cannot underestimate the importance of students' viewpoint in determining teaching methods. Haas (1977) cited Sanders and Tanck's appraisal of NSS project materials:

> [Even though the projects] invite students to inquire into a body of evidence...with increasing frequency the feedback...from teachers who are using these materials in their classes is that a noticeable portion of students are turning the invitations down cold or are at best reluctant guests at the banquet tables of inquiry and discovery" (p. 71).

Another of the interviewees remarked:

> The literature told me to have student-centered classes. But my students said, "Your job is to teach." [But] I don't lecture. I tell stories. I make some interpretations that the text doesn't have.

The interviewees made no theoretical link between the selection of particular teaching methods and the content of a lesson, and methods were not learned in education classes. As one observed:

> I was uncomfortable staying behind the desk. The only way you could keep the students involved and maintain a high level of interest was to be in their midst. In order to maintain interest, you had to maintain eye contact. I don't think anyone ever taught me the techniques. I developed the methods I used in order to be comfortable in the classroom. My colleagues developed their own styles.

Despite the new social studies, history (especially United States history) maintained its position as the backbone of the social studies curriculum. And yet for many of our interviewees, history seemed to be under continuous assault. Several interviewees feared that world history would disappear as geography had a decade earlier. Advocates of discipline-based social studies, values clarification, moral development, and the use of mini-courses, simulations, and programmed instruction pressured the interviewees to adopt their ideas. Still, when asked to define their role in the school, a majority responded that they were history teachers. Most of the interviewees felt more prepared to be sources of historical content rather than sources of knowledge in the social science disciplines. Furthermore, they felt more comfortable organizing and providing information than engaging students in historical and social science inquiry; thus, even though

historical content and coverage were believed to be very valuable, these teachers felt a constant need to justify and defend their teaching in the face of demands by some educators and members of the public to teach to student interests, to stress inquiry techniques, and/or to abandon history for subjects of greater vocational relevance.

Curricular reformers proposed alternative ways to teach the social studies: use of primary sources, thematic organization, and controversial issues (Haas, 1977; Hertzberg, 1981). Most of our interviewees persisted, however, in organizing their courses chronologically around a textbook; for example, controversial issues, which had been the hue and cry of reformers throughout the twentieth century (John Dewey; Harold and Earle Rugg; H. Gordon Hullfish & Phillip G. Smith; Maurice Hunt & Lawrence Metcalf; Byron Massialas & Benjamin Cox) were avoided by the interviewees who believed they were peripheral to their discipline-based courses. Many admitted that although they were not constrained by their administrator in dealing with controversial issues of the past, they frequently avoided contemporary controversial topics, especially of a local nature. Teachers in Maine felt free to discuss civil rights issues as they pertained to the south, but they did not discuss issues involving labor and pollution in their surrounding communities. When issues were introduced, discussions were often confined to a current events period where no written assignments were sent home. "Controversial issues didn't bother me," said one teacher from central Illinois. When asked if controversial issues were part of her formal planning, she stated: "You didn't have it in a lesson plan." A teacher from Maine commented:

> I will not instigate an issue. If it does come up, let's debate it. These debates never had a winner. Both sides were given a hearing. We did have a humanities teacher who brought up topics that upset parents. There were times when I might have sleepless nights when I was wondering whether or not I might receive a phone call.

Social studies critics in the 1970s, both conservative and liberal (Hertzberg, 1981; Sizer, 1984) contributed to the insecurity of social studies teachers. Some liberal critics argued that the social studies was too fact oriented and failed to teach students critical thinking skills. Some conservative critics attacked global education and argued there was a lack of patriotism in students and of knowledge about United States history. The interviewees felt there was a need to protect themselves from accusations in the local media. The Guardians of Education in Maine (GEM), for example, were characterized by one interviewee as believing that:

> Our students do not know enough about the history of the
> United States; our students do not honor the flag enough;
> and students are not patriotic. [They] wanted us to teach
> the values of the United States....This group, although
> small, had the attention of the media. Teachers had to
> protect themselves against charges by GEM in the *Bangor
> Daily News*.

These teachers perceived critics as voicing threats to their
ability to control their classes and develop lessons that they thought
would have meaningful experiences for their students. Many avoided
controversial topics. Some lowered standards. According to one Illinois
teacher, "Those who got attention were the lowest dregs of the student
body. We catered to these kids who got attention, and it's still that
way. The advanced students got little attention." This adjustment, he
felt, placated students, parents, and administrators who wanted success
and recognition in terms of higher grades for students "even when they
weren't earned," as this teacher from Illinois remarked. Still others
viewed team teaching or the building of stronger departments as a way
to seek support. A small minority used the new social studies methods
and were acquainted with the rationale for these programs. They
involved their students in local history projects and engaged them in
participatory activities; for example, one Illinois teacher engaged
students in local history so her students could "gain recognition,
achieve, and get out of a little town." Her students earned statewide
recognition for articles in student journals of history. It is interesting to
note that this same teacher had no knowledge of new social studies
project materials.

Four of the interviewees did not conform to the pattern of
responses given by the others. This minority did share some common
beliefs with the majority: that the public, administrators, and students
did not consider the social studies to be as important as other subjects,
and that teaching about the Vietnam War made them uneasy; for
example, one interviewee described her hesitation to teach about
Vietnam:

> There was something different. I don't know anyone who
> used Vietnam as an instructional unit up front. Most of us
> who did anything with it did it coincidentally. We did it
> on the side. We would talk with students before and after
> class. We were scared of it....We did not understand it. It
> was hard to get at the truth. Why were we there?

Another interviewee summarized the impact of the Vietnam War with
this comment:

It caused irrational thinking....The war made me choose
sides in class. It prevented me from being reflective.

Still another teacher recalled that a slide presentation he and
his colleagues created on the war and U.S. foreign policy "nearly led to
a riot." Five hundred students and parents had been invited to watch a
slide program critical of American foreign policy. The audience
protested against the questioning of American involvement in
twentieth-century wars. As a result, a department chair intervened in
the middle of the presentation and prohibited further viewing of the
program.

Several traits made this minority of the interviewees unique.
They shared a commitment to issues-centered instruction as a means to
teach decision-making skills, and they emphasized inquiry and social
participation skills to a much greater degree. Two of the four teachers
chose social studies education as their field of study, and participated
in a graduate program that emphasized the use of reflective inquiry as
a teaching method. One completed a doctorate in education and the
other completed all but the dissertation. Upon completion of their
graduate education program, both committed themselves to the
secondary classroom and had a missionary zeal to teach and reform the
social studies according to the tenets of reflective inquiry theory.
Although both teachers conducted student-centered classes, neither
organized their teaching solely around the immediate interests of
students. "I did take a look at the time and try to figure out what the
students needed," said one. The other remarked, "I look at every day as
a way to solve a problem."

In addition, these educators perceived themselves to be social
studies teachers. As one commented:

Most teachers are not scholars....I am a social studies
teacher. Discussions in my class are for the purpose of
solving problems. I don't see my teaching as a preparation
for college. My goal is different. I always focus on value
issues. Reflective inquiry is satisfying when done well.

This teacher also commented that to maintain a reflective inquiry
approach, a teacher "must be armed and shielded with a philosophy
to stay with it." To achieve their purposes, these teachers invested
energy and time into their classroom activities. They organized
schoolwide assemblies and teach-ins, participated in K-12 curricular
reforms, involved members of the community in their classrooms, and
built a consistent rationale into their social studies departments. One
shared belief of these teachers was the futility of trying to learn all of

the content. "Covering material," said an interviewee, "is a subversive idea to reflective thinking."

Conclusions and Implications for Future Research

It is important to remember that the conclusions we offer in this study are based on a small sample of volunteer teachers. The sample in the main represents white male teachers who spent their careers in rural or suburban high schools. Given this limitation, we offer the following hypotheses:

First, there are separate cultures in the social studies, and a gulf or schism separates the interviewees from university professors and curriculum developers. This is hardly new or surprising in light of the results of ethnographic studies (McNeil, 1988; Evans, 1990); however, the forceful manner in which a number of the interviewees separated themselves from social studies and education needs to be noted and explored in the future. Social studies educators have argued from its inception in the progressive period that the subject should make a difference in the lives of students. What students learn in class should contribute to their ability to make informed decisions and participate as citizens in American society. A minority of the interviewees, the reflective inquirers, grounded their classroom practices in knowledge obtained in university classes. It appears to be a cruel irony that a field which justifies its existence in part on its ability to enrich the lives of students had little impact on the lives of the majority of teachers who participated in this study.

The majority of the interviewees continued to draw upon the knowledge and methods they learned in history or social science courses as undergraduates or graduate students. With the exception of the participants we have labeled as reflective inquirers, education courses were not deemed to be valuable, and our conversations indicated that questions concerning the nature of citizenship, learning, or the relationship between purposes and methods of instruction were of marginal concern. The inservice education that these teachers received reinforced their opinions of education courses. Even during the height of new social studies workshops in the late 1960s and early 1970s, these teachers' inservice programs were general in nature, an activity that involved many teachers across departments not specific to the social studies. By the 1970s, many of these teachers had come to view these programs as a parade of fads.

Second, the Vietnam War and the civil rights movement affected the interviewees' relations with their students and the content and methods that they included in their classes. The interviewees perceived the civil rights movement as difficult to teach and believed, moreover, that student-teacher relationships were strained when

students became critical of authorities. Interviewees adopted several strategies to cope with controversial issues. Quite consistent with their deference to authorities within the disciplines, many of these teachers postponed discussion of an event such as Vietnam pending expert interpretation. Other participants would discuss these events "if students brought them up," but made no reading or writing assignments. In this way an issue could be discussed without arousing criticism from others, such as the members of the Guardians of Education in Maine, who might object to inclusion of the issue in the curriculum. The third tactic used to ward off possible community objection to an issue was to discuss those issues that were geographically removed from the community; for example, several Maine teachers had no trouble including the desegregation of schools and other public facilities in their instruction, but they did not discuss the strike at the local paper mill, a factory that employed a significant proportion of the parents of the students in these classes, and a subject that probably held a great deal of significance for the students.

Third, to varying degrees the new social studies had an impact on the teachers we interviewed. Hass (1977) notes that only five percent of the social studies classrooms of the 1960s were influenced by the NSS movement, and these were largely in suburban schools. Three fourths of the interviewees in this study knew about the new social studies at one time or another. Most of the interviewees were familiar with NSS projects and liked certain aspects of the projects (for example, the primary source material used in the Amherst project); however, the value of these materials was measured in light of these interviewees' prior experiences in universities and the cultural norms of the high school. Participants could appreciate the content of NSS materials much as they valued the content of their undergraduate history courses, while rejecting the inquiry methods of these materials—skills that their education had omitted.

NSS proponents failed to recognize the definition of good teaching that was held by high school teachers and their students. Interviewees felt compelled to demonstrate their knowledge of the subject through lecturing and by leading discussions. Participants noted that teachers who used inquiry methods were suspected of not knowing their subject, and high school students expected good teachers to organize and dispense knowledge to them.

The civil rights movement and the Vietnam war extinguished the flame of the new social studies in high schools. As Hertzberg (1981) noted, the NSS was a response to the social concerns of the 1950s. Student demands for relevance accompanied by administrative decisions to institute minicourses or elective courses for the subjects valued by interviewees were perceived as threats. Several of these teachers had witnessed the decline in importance of geography and

world history throughout the 1950s and early 1960s. The majority of the interviewees perceived the new mathematics, new science, and new social studies curricula as elevating the status of mathematics and science compared to the social studies. Even vocational subjects attained higher status in the minds of the public, administrators, and colleagues.

In the early 1970s, when new social studies materials were ready for dissemination and adoption, the majority of teachers we interviewed yearned for stability, not change. Their status, which for many centered on their knowledge of history, was already diminished by an emphasis on mathematics, science, and vocational training, and was further threatened by the inquiry methods associated with the NSS projects. Interviewees, influenced by their school culture, responded with the selective incorporation of NSS content into their traditional teacher centered strategies.

In closing, we wish to express our gratitude to the men and women who shared so many hours of their time with us. Not only did they answer our questions honestly and at length, but the issues they raised offer many hypotheses for additional research.

Appendix
Interview Schedule

I. Personal History
   A. Did experiences you had as an elementary or high school student influence your decision to become a teacher?
   B. Describe your student teaching experience.
   C. Did you ever consider leaving teaching for another career?

II. Social Context of Instruction
   A. To what degree, if any, did the McCarthy era influence your teaching?
   B. In what ways, if any, did the launching of Sputnik have an impact on your teaching?
   C. To what degree, if any, did the Vietnam war influence your teaching?

III. School Context
   A. During your career, in what ways, if any, have relationships between teachers, administrators, students, and parents changed?
   B. Over the course of your career, what changes, if any, have you detected in your colleagues' attitudes toward social studies?
   C. How have your colleagues influenced your teaching?

IV. Content of Social Studies
   A. How did you determine the content of the courses you taught?
   B. What role did values play in the content of your courses?
   C. In the 1960s, a number of new social studies curriculum projects were introduced. Did you use any of these projects?

V. Methods of Instruction
   A. Briefly describe how you taught social studies. Did your methods differ for various ages, ability groups, etc.?
   B. How did your teaching methods change over the course of your career?
   C. Many social studies teachers tried a variety of inquiry methods in the 1960s and 1970s. Did you use any of these techniques?

VI. Rationale for Social Studies
   A. What do you believe should be the purposes(s) for social studies in the high school curriculum?
   B. To what degree were you free to define your purposes and to select materials and teaching methods that were consistent with these purposes?
   C. Many social studies educators express the belief that good citizenship should be the goal of social studies instruction. Do you agree or disagree with this position?

VII. Learning Theories
   A. To what degree did you incorporate psychological learning theories into your methods of instruction?
   B. As an undergraduate student, how were learning theories dealt with in your program?
   C. To what degree did your colleagues and administrators value the use of learning theories as a basis for instruction?

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Authors

LYNN R. NELSON is Assistant Professor of Education, University of Maine, Orono, ME 04469-5766.

FREDERICK D. DRAKE is Coordinator of Student Teaching in History and the Social Sciences, Department of History, Illinois State University, Normal, IL 61790-4420.

CONCEPTUAL CHANGE IN ELEMENTARY SOCIAL STUDIES: A CASE STUDY OF FOURTH GRADERS' UNDERSTANDING OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Rahima C. Wade
University of Iowa

Abstract
Students in social studies classrooms often develop misconceptions about important concepts. This study focused on understanding the conceptual change processes of 17 fourth-grade students as they attempted to make sense of the abstract concept of human rights. The limitations and successes in students learning are discussed within the framework of conceptual change and motivation research. Findings point to the influence of students' personal agendas, prior knowledge, motivation, and contextual factors on their conceptual development and the importance of encouraging students to publicly reexamine their existing views in light of new information.

Introduction

Freedom, democracy, justice, human rights—these are just a few of the abstract concepts social studies educators and students must grapple with in their attempts to make sense of the social world. Are students developing accurate ideas about these important concepts or do they bring misconceptions to social studies classrooms that impede our teaching efforts? How do we, as social studies educators, assist students in examining, questioning, and perhaps changing their views?

Informed by recent developments in conceptual change and motivation research, this study revisits qualitative case study data in order to develop a deeper understanding of the evolution of students' conceptions of human rights. The article begins with a discussion of a

conceptual change model informed by cognitive, motivational, and environmental factors and the need for studies of conceptual change in social studies education. Next, a rationale for the importance of human rights as a conceptual focus for social studies instruction at the elementary level is presented. The remainder of the article describes the limitations and successes of a researcher and a teacher's attempts to assist 17 fourth graders in understanding the abstract concept of human rights.

Conceptual Change

The conceptual change model of learning as described by Posner and his colleagues (Gertzog, 1982; Hewson & Hewson, 1984; Posner, Strike, Hewson, & Gertzog, 1982; Strike & Posner, 1992) is founded on a constructivist view of learning, one which recognizes that learners actively create their own meanings of the world, based on their prior knowledge, experiences, interests, motivation, and values (Blumenfeld, Mergendoller, & Swartout, 1987; Brown, Collins, & Duguid, 1989; Hewson & Hewson, 1984; Pintrich, Marx, & Boyle, 1993; Roth, 1990). Understanding is seen as a function of knowledge construction and transformation, not merely the accumulation of additional information (Blumenfeld, 1992; Hewson & Hewson, 1984; Torney-Purta, 1991). Prior knowledge is not just bits and pieces of memory, but is organized into memory clusters referred to as schemata, cognitive structures, or conceptual networks (Roth, 1990; Torney-Purta, 1991). "Because knowledge schemata are personal and individual and each learner generates links between new and old for him—or herself, it is not surprising to find that different learners construct alternative conceptions of the same phenomena" (Hewson & Hewson, 1984, p. 5).

If students can use their existing concepts to deal with new information, they can assimilate this information relatively easily (Posner et al., 1982; Roth, 1990). Unfortunately, students' existing conceptions frequently constitute a barrier to effective learning (Hewson & Hewson, 1984; Pintrich, et al., 1993). When learners come to school with misconceptions or alternative frameworks, their schemata must be taken apart and rearranged in order to integrate new concepts appropriately (Posner et al., 1982; Roth, 1990). In the face of conflicting information, students may tend to rely on strongly held patterns of thinking based on their prior knowledge and experiences (Roth, 1990). In other cases, the conflict may go unnoticed, it may be accepted as a paradox, or one of the understandings can be ignored or given up (Hewson & Hewson, 1984; Posner et al., 1984). In addition, students may simply add these facts to their memory as isolated bits of information and feed them back on a test without any in-depth understanding (Roth, 1990). Posner et al. (1982) asserted that students' willingness to reorganize existing knowledge or

replace an older idea with a new concept depends on the teacher's ability to present the new information so that the students will be dissatisfied with their former ideas and see the new idea as intelligible, plausible, and fruitful in their attempts to make sense of the world.

How do we know if students have accurately learned a new concept? Students must be able to integrate their personal understanding with their ideas about the concept and they must be able to apply this understanding to explain or describe the world around them (Lee & Anderson, 1993; Nolen, 1988). "Deep, rather than superficial, learning is presumed to occur when learners have the opportunity to grapple with authentic and complex problems, under conditions that approximate everyday learning, in that they use cognitive tools, multiple sources of information, and other individuals as resources" (Blumenfeld, 1992, p. 277).

Some educators assert that we cannot fully understand conceptual change solely through the cognitive processes described above, but that we must also consider motivational and contextual factors (Blumenfeld, 1992; Brophy, 1987; Lee & Anderson, 1993; Pintrich et al., 1993). "In particular, cognition-only models of student learning do not adequately explain why students who seem to have the requisite prior conceptual knowledge do not activate this knowledge for many school tasks" (Pintrich, et al., 1993, p. 167).

Some researchers have examined the relationship between students' goals for learning and their cognitive engagement (Meece, Blumenfeld, & Hoyle, 1988). Three types of goals are frequently discussed in the literature (Ames, 1992; Meece, 1991; Meece et al., 1988). Students with a task-mastery orientation are intrinsically motivated to learn subject matter. Students with an ego or social orientation are primarily focused on seeking to please the teacher. The third goal orientation, work-avoidant, involves trying to complete one's schoolwork with as little effort as possible.

Motivation can be influenced by individual differences in self-perception, affect, values, interests, and by demands and constraints of learning situations (Ames, 1992; Meece, et al., 1988). Studies have found that students with high perceived ability tend to be more task-mastery oriented than their peers (Meece, 1991; Pintrich & DeGroot, 1990) and that this orientation leads to deeper cognitive processing (Pintrich, et al., 1993).

Perceived ability is not the only determinant of task-mastery orientation, however, motivation research also points to the critical role of classroom environment factors on students' individual goal orientations and cognition (Pintrich, et al., 1993). The nature of the tasks, the ways students are evaluated and recognized, and the teacher's use of authority have all been found to influence goal orientation (Ames, 1992). Students' interests, self-efficacy beliefs, and views about perceived

control of their learning are also relevant in attempts to understand the internal and classroom factors effecting motivation and cognition (Pintrich et al., 1993).

Factors found to positively influence students' task-mastery orientation are cooperative learning (Ames & Ames, 1984; Johnson & Johnson, 1985; Meece, 1991), teacher enthusiasm (Brophy, 1987), lack of emphasis on grades and competition (Ames, 1992; Meece, 1991), and student choice (Ames, 1992). Pintrich et al. (1993) concluded that classroom contextual factors "can influence students' motivation and cognition and can either facilitate or hinder the potential for conceptual change" (p. 178).

A number of educators have advocated the need for research on conceptual change that incorporates both motivational and cognitive factors (Brown, 1988; Blumenfeld, 1992; Lee & Anderson, 1993; Pintrich et al., 1993; Strike & Posner, 1992). Roth (1990) asserts that both documentation of examples of successful teaching for conceptual change in classrooms and better understandings of cases where attempts at conceptual change instruction go wrong can provide valuable information. In this article, I take a comprehensive look at both student success and failure with conceptual change in the social studies.

Conceptual Change in the Social Studies

In a previous issue of *Theory and Research in Social Education*, Torney-Purta (1991) entreated the social studies community to take advantage of the revolution in cognitive psychology research and theory development to improve the effectiveness of social studies instruction. A number of studies revealing students' conceptual difficulties within the social studies were cited. For example, McKeown and Beck (1991) observed fifth-grade students' misunderstanding the phrase *taxation without representation* after instruction and they noted students' inability to distinguish between the Constitution and Bill of Rights in any meaningful way. Berti and Bombi (1988) identified misconceptions held by young children about economics that were very resistant to change, such as the belief that banks have no right to make a profit from lending people money. Citing other relevant research in science, math, and social studies education, Torney-Purta (1991) concluded:

> There is every reason to believe that students also carry misconceptions or inadequate schemata into (and out of) their social studies classrooms....The presentation of "correct" facts in social sciences and history is no more likely to dislodge misconceptions than it is in science (p. 194).

A review of research studies reported in *TRSE* from January 1980 through September 1993 revealed that, indeed, the social studies field has not kept pace with the changes in cognitive science and motivation research (Wade, 1993). Of the 18 studies related to conceptual understanding published during this time period, eight consisted of experiments on the effects of instruction on concept acquisition with no attention to the misconceptions or prior knowledge students bring to the classroom . All 10 of the articles on concept learning from 1980 through 1987 refer to Piaget's cognitive developmental theory or to information processing. Both of these theories largely ignore the influence of students' prior knowledge and experience, their motivations for learning, and the influence of the classroom environment on conceptual understanding.

More recently, a few authors have drawn attention to the constructivist view of learning in discussions of critical thinking instruction (Brandhorst, 1989; VanSickle & Hoge, 1991) and teaching history to children (Booth, 1993; Levstik & Pappas, 1992; Seefeldt, 1993). One study examined changes in students' conceptual understanding of history (Brophy, VanSledright, & Bredin, 1992). While the authors point out a number of misconceptions students had prior to instruction and some that they maintained following instruction, the study fails to explore these findings in depth within the framework of conceptual change.

The findings of this select review point to the need for qualitative classroom-based research focused on an in-depth analysis of students' conceptual understanding in the social studies. This study seeks to help fill the gap in social studies conceptual change research through a focus on an abstract and important social studies concept: human rights.

Human Rights: A Key Concept for Elementary Social Studies

Human rights are fundamental to our nature and universally claimed as vital to every person's health and well-being; thus, it is essential that students are educated about their rights and their responsibilities to uphold others' rights. The exploration of the meaning and importance of human rights in the social studies curriculum is essential for students' understanding of domestic and international events and their ability to engage in informed efforts to work for their own and others' rights (Ball & Tekach-Ball, 1987).

Human rights education shares common goals with other contemporary social studies movements—in particular global, multicultural, democratic, and civic education—whose underlying foundation is the equality and dignity of every human being, regardless of race, ethnicity, sex, age, religion, and physical ability. Human rights education can help students develop an appreciation for our common

humanity (Hahn, 1985). The inclusion of human rights instruction in the curriculum "can serve as the unifying factor which cuts across current efforts to produce informed and active citizens of their communities, their nations, and an interdependent world" (Tarrow, 1991, p. 12).

The middle childhood years are considered by some human rights educators to be a critical or optimal period for the development of attitudes toward global issues in general and human rights in particular (Schmidt-Sinns, 1980; Torney, 1980) as well as an important time for the development of school-related competence and conceptual understanding (Meece, 1991; Meece et al., 1988). A number of studies have indicated that the middle childhood period is a time of decreased concern for conformity and more positive attitudes toward different others than are present in adolescence (Strassberg & Wiggen, 1973; Torney, 1980; Torney-Purta, 1982). Branson and Torney-Purta (1982) contended that international human rights education can contribute to dissipating elementary students' egocentric and ethnocentric views of rights and other peoples.

A major problem exists, however, in teaching about the concept of human rights in the elementary school. Teachers see the topic of human rights as abstract, complex, and difficult to relate to the real life situations of students (Conley, 1984; Heater, 1984; Lister, 1984; Molnar, 1986). Indeed, some studies have shown that upper elementary students do not understand the concept of human rights or are uninformed about human rights issues, despite a concern for rights in their own lives (Canadian Human Rights Foundation, 1989; Hahn, 1985; Starkey, 1986; Torney-Purta, 1982). For example, Torney and Brice (cited in Torney-Purta, 1982) found that while almost all of the nine to thirteen-year-olds they surveyed expressed a deeply held belief that human beings have certain rights by virtue of being human, most children were unable to respond when asked for a definition of human rights.

Both Torney-Purta (1982) and Heater (1984) cautioned the human rights educator to be careful with how human rights concepts are presented to elementary school children, most of whom are concrete thinkers. For example, a fourth grader might interpret the word *free* to mean "without payment" or the word *equal* to mean "numerically balanced" (Starkey, 1986; Torney-Purta, 1982); thus, it is especially important at the elementary level to integrate the study of human rights with concrete experiences in students' lives (Lister, 1984; Torney-Purta, 1984).

This study is a retrospective analysis of part of an ethnographic classroom action research study on human rights instruction in a fourth grade classroom. Using the framework of conceptual change as outlined previously, I reanalyzed some of the findings from my doctoral dissertation (Wade, 1992) to develop a deeper understanding of why students did or did not develop accurate ideas about human rights

following a month-long unit of instruction. The focus of this analysis was to determine the cognitive, motivational, and contextual factors influencing the changes in students' understandings of human rights.

Methods

The Students

The research for my dissertation was conducted in a fourth-grade classroom in a public school in rural New Hampshire from October of 1990 through June of 1991. There were nine girls and eight boys in the class, ranging in age from nine to 11 years. Cultural diversity in the school and the community was limited. In this classroom, all of the students were white. About half of the students came from single-parent families.

The teacher in this classroom, Sarah Conley, had taught for 10 years at the kindergarten through second grade levels at various public schools in New England. The year this research was conducted was Sarah's first year teaching fourth grade and her first year in this particular school. Sarah is white and was 38 years old at the time of the data collection.

Teacher-Researcher Collaboration

I entered Sarah's classroom in October of 1990 and assisted her as a participant observer until January of 1991. In January, I began to take a more active role in the classroom by working with Sarah and the students to develop the democratic classroom practices, an important part of the human rights curriculum. I continued to be active in the classroom, teaching a month long unit on human rights and working with students on social action projects throughout the remainder of the school year.

When the researcher plays as integral a role as I did in this study, examination of one's biases and assumptions throughout the data collection and analysis phases of the research is critical (Peshkin, 1988). In addition to keeping notes on my values, perceptions, and possible interpretations, the design features described in the following section of this article assisted me in controlling my subjectivity.

Data Collection Procedures

The data set for this study consisted of field notes of classroom and school observations; conversational interviews with Sarah, special subject teachers and the students; audiotaped classroom events; and my logs. Throughout, I kept two logs, one on my field observations and the other on interpersonal communications with Sarah and the principal. The data collection activities in this study are summarized in Table 1.

Data Analysis

The general approach, described by Patton (1980) and others as inductive analysis, involved identifying patterns, themes, and categories of analysis during and after, rather than prior to, data collection. A number of the tactics for generating meaning discussed by Miles and Huberman (1984) were used in analyzing the data. These included count-

Table 1 Data Collection Activities	
Activities	**Number**
School visit days	75
Hours at school site	227
Pages in observation log	490
Pages in interpersonal log	41
Pages of tape transcript	396
Observations	**Number**
In the classroom	72
Music class	5
Physical education class	5
Library class	5
Recess	4
Lunchroom	3
Art class	3
Yard sale	1
Interviews	**Number**
With the students	26
With Sarah	16
With other teachers	4
Taped classroom events	**Number**
Class council	9
Class meetings	17
Class discussions	33

ing occurrences of key events, recognizing patterns in the data, clustering events with similar patterns or characteristics, and splitting variables.

Attempts to confirm the study's conclusions involved examining for researcher effects, looking for negative evidence and rival explanations, and getting feedback from informants (Miles & Huberman, 1984; Patton, 1980).

The trustworthiness of the dissertation study was established through three design features. First, multiple sources of evidence were collected through observations, interviews, and taped classroom events. The study's validity was also grounded in my sustained engagement in the field as I was present in the classroom during different times and days of the week for more than eight months of the school year. Finally, investigator triangulation took place as Sarah and I both gathered data and discussed our findings at regular intervals, at least once (and often two or three times) a week.

The Human Rights Curriculum

The human rights curriculum included three types of experiences. First, students were involved in weekly class meetings to address issues of rights and responsibilities in our classroom life. Second, Sarah and I taught a month-long unit on human rights during March 1991, described in greater detail below. Finally, from April through June 1991, the students worked on social action projects to support others' rights. This article focuses on the human rights unit and students' changes in conceptual understanding following this instruction.

The human rights unit was initiated with the construction of a bulletin board depicting a simplified version of the *Declaration of the Rights of the Child* (United Nations, 1959). The classroom teacher and I thought that the students would more readily relate to a conception of rights that was relevant to children; thus, we defined human rights as the entitlements to health, safety, love, education, shelter, food, and acceptance that should be afforded to all children, regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, religion, or physical ability. These rights were constantly referred to throughout the unit and often formed the basis of art, writing, and drama activities.

The unit activities incorporated a wide range of teaching strategies important in human rights education including discussion (Lister, 1984; Reid, n.d.), cooperative learning (Kehoe, 1980), role play and simulations (Hahn, 1985; Heater, 1984; Kehoe, 1983; Lister, 1984, Torney-Purta, 1984), and stories and books about human rights issues (Branson, 1982; Fassler & Janis, 1985). In addition, a special emphasis was placed on making human rights concrete and identifiable in students' lives (Starkey, 1986; Torney-Purta, 1984) through the writing of personal stories, addressing issues of rights and responsibilities in class meetings, and art and drama activities focused on rights of importance to the students.

Findings

In this section, I describe the evolution of the students' understanding of human rights. Following a discussion of their ongoing concerns with rights and fairness, I describe the students' initial definitions of human rights, their reactions to some of the human rights unit activities, and their responses to the questions "What are human rights?" and "What do human rights have to do with your life?" in individual follow-up interviews. Finally, information on students' concerns with and mention of human rights during the last few months of the school year is presented.

Concerns with Rights and Fairness

Rights and fairness issues were frequent concerns for these children both in peer interactions and in their perceptions of how teachers treated them. A number of the topics brought up by the students in the first few democratic class conferences—including issues around sharing the heater and people not minding their own business—involved concerns with fairness and rights. When the school guidance counselor came to the class one morning and asked the students what their biggest problems were with each other, both Nicholas and John mentioned unfairness on the playground and in the classroom.

For some children, following the rules was an important aspect of fairness. When Andre wanted to join a basketball game during recess in the gym it was not even considered, as Evan insisted that the rules say that when the game has started no one else can join. However, when teachers punished students for infractions of the rules, it was not uncommon to hear a "Why me?" from the accused.

Although a concern for fairness and equal treatment pervaded students' relationships with teachers and peers, I did not hear the word *rights* used in student conversations before the human rights unit. Student language did not include "I have the right to..." or any other similar statement. Even though students did not use the word *rights* or related concepts in their dialogue, they expressed deep concerns for their rights in the context of fair and equal treatment by their peers and the adults in their world.

Beginning Thoughts on Human Rights

In January, shortly before Martin Luther King's birthday, Sarah asked the class to contribute their ideas on what civil rights were. Evan quickly offered, "That all people are equal no matter the color of their skin, that they all have rights." Only a few of the other children participated in the discussion and most of them seemed confused about the concept. Only John, who shared "A civil right is a way of civil

freedom....It's a way of a kind of freedom that everybody has," seemed to also have some understanding of the term.

On the first day of the human rights unit, I asked the students to answer the following questions in their blank journals: "What are human rights?" "What rights do adults have?" "What rights should children have?" In response to the first question, five of the students wrote something like "rights that all people have." Seven of the students mentioned doing what you want or some other reference to freedom. Only two students referred to the aspect of rights as protection. Evan wrote, "laws to protect yourself" and John wrote, "Humans have to do what they want to do in a civilized way."

Student answers to the question "What rights do adults have?" fell into two categories. One type of response dealt with legal rights, such as the right to vote, marry, drink, and drive. The second type of answer referred to the freedom theme. Shelley's response, typical of many of the students, stated, "Adults also can do what ever they want to do and (go) where ever they want to go."

Almost all of the responses to the question about what rights children should have dealt with freedom to do what you want. Some of the specific ideas mentioned were: "They should go to bed when they want to"; "be able to go to camp or play any sport"; and "the rights to run their own life." A few children also mentioned that children should have the right to vote. Only Shelley's response stood in stark contrast to the others: "Children should do what their parents want them to do and follow their parents' rules."

After this writing exercise and a brief sharing of what they had written, the students were asked to jot down some examples of rights they have in their lives on a worksheet that also listed the following rights: the right to a free education, the right to play, the right to think what I want, the right to walk down the street, and the right to not be hurt. A variety of ideas were mentioned. Many of these expanded upon the theme of doing what you want, identified in their definitions. Some of these were "to pick out my own social life"; "We should have a right to go to school only if I want"; and "the right to ride a bike as far as you want."

Other rights mentioned dealt with protection. Three students wrote "the right to an attorney" and one mentioned "the right to go to court to testify against someone." Three other students mentioned the right to choose the religion or church of your own choice. Overall, these findings indicate two key themes in the children's initial understanding of human rights. The predominant theme is rights as freedom in the sense of doing what you want to do. The second theme, evident only in a few of the students' responses, is human rights as legalized privileges or protections.

84

Making Human Rights Real

Many of the activities in the human rights curriculum were designed to expand the children's beginning understandings of human rights and to build bridges between the abstract notion of rights and the children's life experiences. After introducing the students to a simplified version of the United Nations *Declaration of the Rights of the Child* (1959), the children were asked to choose and depict rights that were important to them in their own lives. Nine children chose to create skits and present them to the rest of the class. The skit created by three boys revolved around child abuse by a father who was eventually arrested and taken to trial. This group included Evan, who had previously written about human rights as "laws to protect yourself." Two groups of girls also presented skits, one dealing with racial discrimination and one dealing with discrimination of a person with a disability.

The students also created collages and drawings of rights important to them. These works showed that the students, for the most part, were capable of taking a right from the list of rights from the *Declaration of the Rights of the Child* on the bulletin board and providing a concrete illustration of it. For example, a few of the boys chose "the right to be cared for when hurt" and drew pictures of children being treated in hospitals and rescued from car accidents. Lizbeth's illustration, which she labeled "the right to nourishing food, a home, proper clothes, a safe place to play, and good medical care" pictured a Japanese child surrounded by food, a home, and toys. Some of the children continued the rights as doing what you want theme in their artwork. For example, Jennifer, who is very musical, illustrated "the right to sing when I want to" and Bob cut out a picture to show "the right to have pets."

Claire and Cathy focused on racial equality in their writing and art work. Claire wrote, "All children have the same rights, whether they are rich or poor, black or white, brown or yellow. Because everyone has feelings and it's not fair for people to tease them....People have no right to make fun of people who have different color skin than them."

An activity entitled "Yes, No, Sometimes, Not Sure" gave students the opportunity to think critically about human rights issues. Four cards, each with one of the options in the title above, were placed in different parts of the room. Students were asked to move to the answer they agreed with in response to statements such as "The right to a free education is more important than the right to be safe from danger" and "All children should have the right to be treated kindly by their classmates."

Many of the children were willing to stand alone or with a small group and explain why they had chosen a less popular response to a statement. Some of their reasons indicated the complexity of understanding human rights issues. For example, in response to the first

statement above, Thad stood with one other person by "Unsure" and offered "You might take chances so you can get an education."

Interviews About Human Rights

Three weeks after the human rights unit, I interviewed the students individually to find out how they defined human rights as well as how they saw the connection between human rights and their own lives. The students were not told that I was going to be interviewing them and thus had not prepared or reviewed any material for the interviews.

In response to the question, "What are human rights?" 14 of the 17 students expanded upon their comments and writing from the beginning of the unit. For example, Thad had written on the first day of the unit that human rights were the "right to do things freely." During the interview he responded to the same question by stating "Being equal to everybody and not discriminating anyone from playing a game or anything, being fair and not unfair."

The importance of equality for all people, expressed in four of the students' initial journal entries, was a much stronger emphasis in the interviews. Seven of the students stressed that human rights were for all people and three of the students specifically mentioned that this was regardless of skin color. For example, Kristin wrote, "Human rights are that every one has equal amount of rights" at the beginning of the unit and then stated in the interview "It's when every person, no matter what color they are or if they're like boy or girl, have the same rights."

The students who initially seemed unclear or interpreted rights solely as doing what they wanted to do went in one of two directions with their learning. Three of the students maintained their original ideas. Both Lizbeth and Shelley had written a "doing what you want" response. In the interviews Lizbeth said, "People have rights to live where they want and have what they want" and Shelley responded, "Well, I think everybody should have human rights and it's good to have human rights because you can do whatever you want."

The other direction that some of the students took was to talk about a particular aspect of the human rights instruction. For example, Joanne had originally written: "Human rights are that everyone does almost anything they want," but during the interview stated the following:

> What I think human rights are are rights that some people have and some people don't have. A lot of people are still trying to gain rights so they can do certain things. [Like what?] Like poor people are trying to gain money and some people want to keep them poor so they're still trying to gain their rights.

Another girl in the class shared in the interview, "Human rights are rights. [What kind of rights?] Civil rights, I don't know, it's just like rights that you make of your own self and other people make." Further questioning revealed that "rights that you make of your own self and other people make" referred to "human rights of what you do to your own body and tell people what not to do to your body." It is essential in attempting to understand this statement to know that this student, in the process of learning about discrimination during the unit, disclosed for the first time an incident of sexual abuse she experienced during preschool.

Student responses to the question "How are human rights connected to your life?" varied from "They're important because if I didn't have human rights I couldn't do anything" to "Nothing." This was a difficult question for some of the students; four of them could not think of a connection. I was especially curious about the thinking behind the "Nothing" responses. Two of the students who said this were among the brightest children in the class. Follow-up interviews with four students revealed that this answer was given for two very different reasons.

Both John and Thad felt that human rights had nothing to do with their lives because they already had rights to safety, health, education, love, and so forth, which they listed quite readily. The other two students said they could not remember what human rights were specifically. When I showed them the list of rights from the *Declaration of the Rights of the Child* they were able to identify many connections between human rights and their lives.

A few of the other students offered inadequate answers to the second question, consistent with their original definition of human rights as doing what they wanted to do. For example, Lizbeth mentioned, "The right to play on the playground if we want to or like if we want to play on the swings we could play on the swings."

Ten of the 17 students, however, were able to draw upon some aspect of their life experience or interest to answer the question. Kristin related how she feels her dad is prejudiced against kids and how she gets "on his case" for that. Andre, who has difficulty getting along with others, talked about how kids should treat each other fairly and choose them for teams or classroom responsibilities, even if they don't want to.

Racial equality, a central theme in many students' responses to the first question, was also a theme for some students in their responses to how rights were relevant in their lives. Rich responded, "If I had any Black friends, I might not be able to have them as friends if we didn't have human rights." Jennifer reacted in a similar manner, talking at length about the Cosby show and how wonderful the Black and Hispanic actors were.

The Last Months of School

Only a few references to rights were made after the human rights unit; these were largely in relation to academic studies on New Hampshire government. Occasionally some aspect of human rights would surface in spelling sentences or stories, but in general students did not identify issues in their own lives as rights issues. One notable exception to this was when Cathy, a child who received special reading and spelling help in the resource room, referred to her mistreatment of Lizbeth as "another example of world discrimination."

The students' concerns with rights and fairness continued to find an avenue for expression through our democratic class meetings. For example, we discussed being touched in unacceptable ways, being accused of something unfairly, and stealing. At the end of the school year, students were asked to match these and other issues from class conferences with a list of rights from the *Declaration of the Rights of the Child* such as "the right to be safe from harm." This was not a difficult task for the students, even though these issues had not been identified as human rights issues when they came up. At the bottom of the page they were asked to write in a "problem or situation that happened to YOU this year that involved your rights in the class or school." Three of the five groups were unable to come up with an appropriate idea that had not already been listed on the worksheet.

Discussion

While it if difficult to make generalizations from one classroom of 17 students (Yin, 1988), the data from this case study can contribute to our understanding of conceptual change in elementary social studies. A number of the findings support prior research indicating that upper elementary students are concerned about rights and fairness in their daily lives, yet have little understanding of the concept of human rights initially (Canadian Human Rights Foundation, 1989; Hahn, 1985; Starkey, 1986; Torney-Purta, 1982).

Torney-Purta's (1982) caution to be careful how concepts are presented to elementary school children is particularly pertinent in this study. Many of the students brought misconceptions about human rights to the classroom, in particular interpreting human rights as having the freedom to do what you want. The word *freedom* had been prominently featured during their study of civil rights in February and could have played a part in the students' misconceptions. The fact that they were preadolescents who would like more freedom in their school and home lives may also have contributed to their focus on human rights as the freedom to do what you want.

Did the students in this classroom come to understand the concept of human rights as a result of the unit activities? Were they able to

integrate their personal understanding with their ideas about the concept and apply this understanding to explain or describe the world around them (Lee & Anderson, 1993; Nolen, 1988)? These are difficult questions to answer definitively. Most of the students expanded on their original ideas about human rights, yet very few could provide a comprehensive definition when asked for one. Almost all of the students could recognize applications of human rights in their daily lives if given a list of the rights and relevant classroom experiences; however, most could not think of an example of a human rights issue on their own. While there was some growth in most students' thinking about human rights, most did not develop a comprehensive definition of the concept.

We can better understanding the limitations in students' conceptual development through an examination of the cognitive, motivational, and contextual factors influencing student learning in this classroom. The discussion that follows focuses first on the cognitive processes and motivation of individual students and then subsequently on the effects of the unit activities on their motivation and cognition.

Consistent with constructivist theory, the development of student ideas were strongly influenced by their prior knowledge, values, interests, and motivation to learn. Students who had some accurate schemata to support further knowledge development about human rights and the task-mastery goal orientation to learn were the most successful. The best example of this was Evan. Evan was an above-average student who was fascinated with current events and U.S. history. Before the human rights unit, he shared accurate ideas about civil rights in the U.S. and South Africa. He was the only student in the class who thought of human rights as legal protection initially. In one of the unit activities, Evan referred to the Bill of Rights and the fact that "the Revolutionary War protected our rights." When I asked him to tell me what human rights are, he replied:

> Oh, that's easy. It's just things that you have to protect you
> and that all people have the same laws that, you know, like
> the children's rights and that and just certain things you
> have, the rights to be treated fairly and that.

Although this monologue is disjointed, there are many ideas here that go beyond his original notion of rights as personal protection.

When I asked Evan what he would most remember about the human rights unit (a question to which most of the students responded by describing one of their favorite activities), he answered, "I think I'll remember that all children have the right to live in a safe and clean environment in love and peace." Evan was one of the few students who referred to human rights after the unit. He mentioned rights during a

discussion of the New Hampshire Constitution and also included some of the ideas from the unit activities in his spelling sentences.

Evan's case illustrates the potential for students who are motivated, cognitively capable, and have accurate schemata in place. Most of the students, however, began the unit with inaccurate ideas about human rights. For these students, subsequent learning went in one of two directions. Students such as Lizbeth and Shelley, in the face of conflicting information, relied on strongly held patterns of thinking based on their prior knowledge and experiences (Roth, 1990). It is not clear whether these students ignored the information we presented or simply did not recognize any conflict between their initial ideas and the unit activities.

Other students, such as Joanne and the girl who disclosed sexual abuse, focused on narrow, yet personally meaningful interpretations of human rights. Both Joanne and the girl who experienced sexual abuse focused on aspects of the human rights activities that were highly emotional for them and thus may have motivated them to learn more than Lizbeth and Shelley. Why would Joanne center on the rights of poor people? One hypothesis points to her family situation. Joanne was one of six children in a family that is best described as lower middle class. In the skit Joanne took part in, she chose to play a rich white girl. Her collage of a personally important right was a page filled with magazine cut-outs depicting "the right to have toys." The findings of this study point to the role of emotional salience in fostering motivation to learn and subsequent cognitive engagement as an important area for further research.

In addition to the personal agendas of students, the structure of the learning activities themselves affected motivation and cognitive engagement among the students. In general, students were highly motivated during the unit activities, as we incorporated many key elements of motivating instruction. Sarah and I placed low emphasis on grades and evaluation, provided students with many opportunities for choice and control in their learning, and presented a variety of tasks to challenge and interest the students (Ames, 1992). Cooperative learning (Ames & Ames, 1984; Johnson & Johnson, 1985), teacher enthusiasm, social interaction, games and simulations, finished products, and connecting activities to students' lives (Brophy, 1987) were all central features of the curriculum.

In retrospect, it appears that while these aspects of the curriculum promoted student enjoyment and participation they may not have enhanced intrinsic motivation to learn and cognitive engagement. Blumenfeld and Meece (1988) noted that often procedures and products are the focus of students' concerns, not the content. We did elicit and maintain student participation to promote on-task behavior; however, to

promote cognitive engagement with the subject matter, a different set of teacher behaviors was needed.

Conceptual change researchers agree that to promote cognitive engagement, teachers must challenge students' misconceptions and teach to illuminate conceptual conflict by structuring discussions so that all students will justify and explain their views and reconsider their ideas in light of new information (Blumenfeld & Meece, 1991; Brophy, 1987; Hewson & Hewson, 1984; Posner et al., 1982; Roth, 1990). "For learning to occur the student must think, mentally act upon the material, and 'make sense' of the idea by seeing it in relation to something already known" (Berlak & Berlak, 1981, p. 145).

We could also have enhanced students' learning of the concept of human rights by presenting a simpler definition than the 10 points of the *Declaration of the Rights of the Child*, having explicit objectives for what was to be learned, and providing advance organizers to the students (Brophy, 1987). Our greatest error, however, was neglecting to confront the misinformation that many students possessed, diagnose their personal agendas, and teach for assimilation and accommodation rather than content coverage.

Why didn't Sarah and I teach in these ways? Frankly, it didn't occur to either of us. We assumed, as many teachers do (Hewson & Hewson, 1984), that students would learn accurate ideas if presented in a motivating curriculum. Without an understanding of the conceptual change process, the strategies described above might have seemed too difficult, time-consuming, or a waste of time even if they had occured to us (Hewson & Hewson, 1984; Lee & Anderson, 1993). As a number of researchers have pointed out, teaching to illuminate conceptual conflict will require a change in traditional teaching practice and, in effect, a conceptual change for teachers themselves (Ames, 1992; Roth, 1990).

Conclusion

Understanding conceptual change in social studies classrooms requires researchers to take in-depth, micro-level views of student learning. There is a particularly appropriate match between ethnographic research methods and the attempt to understand students' evolving notions of social studies concepts: "Ethnographic research can provide both a wide-angle and a close-up lens, enabling us to see and begin to make sense of the complex, uncertain problems that we confront as practitioners" (White, 1986, p. 52). Through long-term engagement in the field, social studies researchers can make important contributions to understanding the process of conceptual change as well as to improving the effectiveness of concept-based social studies instruction.

The findings in this study support a comprehensive view of conceptual change in the elementary social studies classroom. Students'

understandings of human rights were influenced by their personal agendas, interests, cognitive engagement, and motivation as well as contextual aspects of the curriculum. The role of emotion salience in enhancing motivation and cognitive engagement was suggested as an important area for further research. While the results of this study are valuable in their illustration of the limitations in student learning when teachers do not challenge student misconceptions, the field also needs studies that analyze successful conceptual change efforts in social studies classrooms. Research on conceptual change is vital if we wish to give our students the ability to apply relevant concepts to their future schoolwork and their lives as active members of their communities.

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Author

RAHIMA C. WADE is Assistant Professor of Elementary Social Studies at the University of Iowa, Iowa City, IA 52242-1529.

BOOK REVIEWS

ESSAY REVIEW

Drinking from a Fire Hydrant

Quigley, C. N. & Bahmueller, C. F. (Eds.). (1991). *CIVITAS: A framework for civic education.* Calabasas, CA: Center for Civic Education, 665 pages, $50.00 paper. ISBN 0-89818-124-0.

Review by JAMES S. LEMING, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale.

CIVITAS is a curricular framework for civic education. It is an attempt to spell out the core ideals regarding what adults should know and be able to do as required for civic education in the American constitutional democracy. According to the introduction, "The primary goal of CIVITAS is to suggest guidelines for the development or enhancement of civic education...in order to promote civic competence, civic responsibility, and widespread participation of youth in the social and political life of their communities and the nation" (p. xxvii). Civic competence is defined as the capacity to participate effectively in the American political and social systems; civic responsibility is defined as the commitment to fulfilling the obligations of citizenship.

The development of CIVITAS was undertaken by the Center for Civic Education with support from the Pew Charitable Trusts. As a project, it was begun in February of 1987, and was completed in July of 1991. Three national committees assisted in its development: the National Review Council consisting of 24 representatives of national organizations and chaired by Ernest Boyer; the 19-member Framework Development Committee where the ideals for the nature of the framework originated; and the 56-member National Teachers Advisory Committee. In addition, 44 scholars made contributions to various sections of the framework; the majority of the contributions were regarding civic knowledge and what people should know ideally in order to be effective citizens.

The distinction between whether CIVITAS is intended to be a curricular framework as the title suggests or a set of curriculum guidelines as the above quote suggests is subtle, but important in understanding the nature of the document. A curricular framework provides a basic structure of content and objectives; a curriculum guide goes further to provide practical guidance to teachers concerning how subject matter ought to organized, how it can best be taught, what are

the best available instructional resources, what is the proper scope and sequence, and how to assess outcomes. As one reads CIVITAS it becomes clear that this document is not intended as a guide to curriculum development. That is, it does not attempt to prescribe how the civics curriculum should be configured. It does not attempt to tell teachers precisely what should be taught, when it should be taught, or how it should be taught. The authors of CIVITAS argue only that citizenship should be taught and that it should be done within the framework specified.

In the preface, Freeman Butts argues that there is a need for a widely accepted set of national curriculum goals, whose major themes are spelled out in depth and specificity, but which permit maximum flexibility for local districts. He states that "CIVITAS does not propose a national curriculum, but if national standards should materialize the CIVITAS development procedure is similar to that recommended in such projects (p.xxi)." Butts was prescient, for the effort is already underway for the development of such standards. The Center for Civic Education, the organization responsible for the development of CIVITAS, has obtained the contract to develop the set of national standards for civics and government, with funding from the Office of Educational Research and Improvement of the U. S. Department of Education and the Pew Charitable Trusts. The national standards project began September 1, 1992, and is scheduled to be completed by August 31, 1994. The National Council for the Social Studies will not be involved in the draft of the standards, but will gather comments from its membership and publish successive drafts of the document. CIVITAS therefore, must be taken seriously. It is the dominant proposal at this time with regard to the reform of civic instruction in American schools, and will likely be a benchmark for future curriculum efforts in social studies education. If the national standards being developed by the Center for Civic Education are finally implemented, the content in CIVITAS will likely be the source of the standards around which every teacher of civics will shape their classroom instruction. An early draft of the civics and government national standards for the proposed standards draws them directly from CIVITAS (Center for Civic Education, 1992).

Following the prefatory statements by Ernest Boyer and Freeman Butts, and a brief introduction, the body of CIVITAS consists of a five page rationale for civic education and civic participation followed by a 639 page section consisting of numerous statements of goals and objectives. This latter section is organized into the three major components familiar to most educators: affective, behavioral, and cognitive objectives. In CIVITAS these three components are entitled *civic virtue, civic participation,* and *civic knowledge and skills.*

Each component is further broken down into major topics. The civic virtue section contains two; the participation section contains five; and the civic knowledge and skills section contains nine, which are further broken down into 37 subtopics. Each topic and subtopic lists objectives, and includes conceptual, historical and contemporary perspectives. Occasionally, educational methods by which the goals and objectives are to be achieved are specified. At the end of the civic participation section, for example, is a two page presentation consisting of nine general methods of instruction for participation. Model scope and sequence statements are presented only twice, and only for selected topics and grade levels within the civic participation and civic knowledge and skills sections.

I will discuss the rationale and conception of civic education presented in CIVITAS. followed by my assessment of the merits of each of the three parts of the proposed approach to civic education. I will conclude with an analysis of the utility of this document and its potential impact on civic education.

The Case for Civic Education Reform

The social and political analysis used in CIVITAS to argue for the reinvigoration of civic education is one that is familiar to all social studies educators. One finds among the prefatory statements and the rationale section the following assertions: that there is an alarming increase in citizen apathy and a decline in public confidence in the government; that our nation is threatened by the inclination of public officials to obscure the truth; that Americans too readily accept their own apathy and inertia; that too many social problems exist for citizens to be satisfied with the state of things; that citizens must remain vigilant to potential ethical and constitutional breaches of government; that self-government means active participation in governance, not passive acquiescence in the actions of others; and that it is important for every member of society to participate in civic life. Finally, it is argued that no more than a few students 'emerge from schools with the knowledge, skills and dispositions to monitor and influence the public policies affecting their communities, the nation, and the world. This educational failure is traced to two sources: a lack of commitment to democratic principles and an inadequate conception of civic participation. The alleged problem with the lack of effective citizen participation is laid squarely on the doorstep of the social studies curriculum.

Is this a sound analysis upon which to base a framework for the revitalization of civic education? According to a recent analysis of America's approach to politics commissioned by the Kettering Foundation (Harwood, 1991), the CIVITAS analysis and its rationale

for civic education misses the mark. The Kettering Foundation report, *Citizens and Politics,* was based on focus group discussions with citizens held nationwide in twelve diverse communities. The report concludes:

> Apathy is not rampant among citizens. A sense of civic duty is not dead. Americans are not indifferent to public debate and the challenges our nation faces. Americans simply want to participate in this process we call representative government. They seek the possibility to bring about change(p. 63).

The focus groups indicated that people do participate in politics, but only in arenas where they believe it is possible to have a say and to bring about and witness change. The report indicates that people do, in fact, have a sense of impotence and frustration, but that it is not felt across all levels of political life. Citizens do not feel that citizenship education is lacking in this country; rather, that people want to participate in the solution of public problems. The focus group respondents reported that they have the desire and ability to participate effectively; they just want to know that their efforts can have an effect. This portrait of the American citizen does not reveal a lack of interest in participating in civic life. Citizens care about politics; they are interested, but they need help in understanding specific complex public policy issues.

    The Kettering Report presents a different picture from that presented by the authors of CIVITAS regarding the civic participation of Americans. Americans are interested in participating in civic life and value their right to do so. Obstacles to participation revolve around the complexity of public issues and the belief that people cannot influence the outcome of events. To a limited extent, CIVITAS does address the latter obstacle in the participation portion of the document, but does not focus on the complexity issue at all. The authors of CIVITAS chose not to present information on the nature of contemporary public issues facing citizens, arguing that to do so would add to an already lengthy document, would be beyond the competence of the intended audience, and would quickly go out of date.

    While the (alleged) fact of citizen apathy was used as a justification for the development of CIVITAS, it was not used to give the document direction or focus. The primary emphasis of the CIVITAS framework is not on participation. Civic virtue and participation receive short shrift; knowledge, judging by the amount of space devoted to it, is clearly the primary focus. I will discuss the implications of this emphasis in the document later; I turn now to a brief discussion of the nature of each of the three sets of objectives.

Civic Virtue

Civic virtue is identified as the ultimate goal of civic education (pg. 11). Civic virtue is defined in the framework in terms of civic dispositions and civic commitment.

Civic dispositions are those attitudes and habits of mind of the citizen that are conducive to the healthy functioning and common good of the democratic system. Examples of dispositions are civility, open-mindedness, compromise, and toleration of diversity. The objective is stated in cognitive terms; citizens should understand those dispositions which are conducive to behavior that will enhance effectiveness in monitoring and influencing public behavior and that will lead to the healthy functioning of American Constitutional democracy. The *American Heritage Dictionary* however, defines a disposition as a habitual tendency or inclination. The authors of CIVITAS chose not to imply that the dispositions should result from civic instruction, but suggest only that students should understand what a democratic disposition is.

Can the schools form democratic dispositions in students, or can they only provide for the cognitive basis of those dispositions, leaving their formation to other sources? The authors state that the ultimate goal of CIVITAS is to equip students with the requisite civic knowledge and skills of civic participation so that they can make their own commitment to the civic values deemed necessary for the nurture and strengthening of the ideals of American democracy. The way this goal is stated suggests that the objective of civic virtue is the result of the achievement of the objectives of the other two parts of the framework.

Civic commitment requires that citizens demonstrate a reasoned suuport of the fundamental values and principles essential to the preservation and improvement of American constitutional democracy. Examples of fundamental principles to which the citizen should demonstrate a reasoned commitment are popular sovereignty, the rule of law, and the separation of church and state. Examples of such fundamental values are life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness, equality, truth, and patriotism. This objective has both cognitive and affective components. Implied in the objective are the notions not only that students should understand the nature of democratic principles and values , but also that they should express a preference for those values and principles. The implication here is that if students are taught the cognitive content, then commitment to the principles and values will follow.

The civic virtue potion of the framework is the shortest of the three parts, both in number of objectives (2) and in number of pages (33). Nineteen of the 33 pages consist of a commentary on the nature and meaning of the fundamental values of democracy. Part Three of the

framework offers commentary on the fundamental principles of American constitutional democracy.

The fact that no scope and sequence statement is included, nor any illustrative activities presented, for this objective raises questions as to whether the authors believe civic virtue can be taught, or if not, how it can be acquired. How does a citizen acquire a toleration of diversity, come to value equality, or believe in the separation of church and state? In the absence of any specific pedagogical suggestions, and given the emphasis on the presentation of information regarding these dispositions, values, and principles, one can only conclude that it is the authors' position that the mere presentation of this material will result in the attainment of affective as well as cognitive goals. This has been a longstanding assumption underlying traditional social studies instruction.

Civic Participation

The second part of the goals and objectives section states that "the ultimate goal of civic education is the widespread participation(of citizens) in the governance of the groups to which they belong..."(p. 39). Civic participation is accorded great importance in the hierarchy of goals for civic education, but as was the case with civic virtue, the emphasis when it comes to the specification of objectives and content is not on participation.

The authors recognize that competent and responsible participation requires a foundation of knowledge and thinking skills linked with dispositions and commitments. Three subsets of objectives are identified: governing and managing groups, monitoring public policy, and influencing public policy. A total of 13 objectives are proposed which deal directly with education for political participation.

Following the presentation of the goals and objectives, a suggested scope and sequence is presented for the lower elementary grades in a brief two-and-a-half page section. The three objectives are restated, and followed by illustrative activities. Anyone teaching at grade four or above will not find any suggested objectives or activities to assist them in curricular planning.

The remainder of the civic participation chapter consists of topical sections dealing with a historical perspective on political participation (national and local), the history of citizenship and military participation, as well as commentary about civic and community action and participatory writing. The two historical accounts are the only parts of the framework that do not have associated goals and objectives. No explanation for this omission is offered. The chapter concludes with a short one-and-a-half page list of

methods of instruction for political participation which deal with topics such as model government, public policy analysis, and community service.

The authors acknowledge that the proposed framework cannot resolve fundamental disagreement over the appropriate goals and forms of democratic participation. While they recognize that they must present and defend a perspective, the authors are vague in their description of the nature of desirable participation. Their strongest comment is little more than the statement that: "enabling all students, when they become adult citizens, to become competent and responsible participants in social and political life (p.6)." Later they state that choices as to where, when, and how to participate must be left up to the adult citizen. The authors' unwillingness to take a position on this issue raises questions regarding the adequacy of their view of the nature of the goal of political participation.

First, the United States is one of the most stable and vital democracies in the world today. No evidence is presented that the current level of participation is somehow inadequate to the maintenance of our democracy. Conversely, an argument as to how greater participation will strengthen democracy is not presented. Second, Americans already exercise their choices as to where, when, and how to participate. The current level of citizen participation, which the authors find so alarming, may be partially due to inadequate citizenship education, but it also may be the result of well-educated and competent citizens thoughtfully and responsibly deciding that their current level of participation is adequate. Thus, we are left with the paradoxical conclusion that schools ought to teach civics better so as to increase citizen participation, but also to teach civics in such a way as to let individuals choose their level of civic participation.

Civic Knowledge and Skills

The third set of objectives and goals in CIVITAS, civic knowledge and skills, is not identified by the authors as a basic goal of civic education, yet this is clearly where the framework's emphasis rests. Two hundred and forty of the 269 objectives (89%) are found in this section. Similarly, 88 percent of the pages of CIVITAS are devoted to a discussion of knowledge and skills.

Even though this section is titled civic knowledge and skills it consists largely of content summaries of areas of ideal citizen knowledge, arranged in outline form. These content summaries consist of what historians and political scientists believe people should know ideally in order to be effective citizens. The summaries are, in effect, 37 separate discourses on politics and government. The three major

headings are: the nature of politics and government; politics and government in the United States; and the role of the citizen. Under these headings are such topics as political authority, the nature of the state, law and government, the congress and the presidency, and the rights and responsibilities of the citizen.

Each of the content outlines begins with a series of quotes. For example, at the beginning of the federalism section are quotes by John Winthrop, James Madison, James Wilson, Woodrow Wilson, and Charles Robb. Some of the quotes are humorous, such as this one by Robb: "… you can clear a room almost anyplace by talking about federalism." Objectives for each topic follow the quotes.

The presentation of the objectives for each of the 37 topics in this section reveals a strong editorial hand at work. Typically between four and six objectives are given, and all but the last objective has "explain" listed as the learning outcome required by the objective. With only a few exceptions, the last objective asks students to "take, defend, and evaluate a position on…." For example, the first objective for the topic of federalism is: "The citizen should be able to explain the purpose of federalism as a form of democracy that seeks to promote liberty, justice, equality, and human diversity," while the last one is: "The citizen should be able to take. defend, and evaluate positions on issues regarding contemporary federalism."

It is not exactly clear what the authors have in mind with regard to the kinds of skills to be taught. Their perspective is not spelled out. The only plausible interpretation is related to the "take, defend, and evaluate" objective for each topic. The appropriate standards of civic discourse, and the nature of the essential skills involved in teaching students to "take, defend and evaluate a position," are not specified in the introduction nor in any of the topics presented.

The knowledge and skills section has much in common with the content currently found in high school U.S. history and American government textbooks. CIVITAS clearly extends the civic content beyond what any student, or for that matter what any good adult citizen, would be found to know today. For example, in addition to the topics typically found in a high school American government or U.S. history textbook, additional lengthy and detailed sections are found on geography and citizenship, morality and politics, ethnic and racial diversity, gender issues, civil disobedience, public choice theory, the American economic system, and the role of informal institutions such as the press and the media. All of this information is deemed essential for students to know.

The teacher or curriculum developer who reads this section would likely feel some frustration and confusion. Which of this recommended content should be emphasized and which should be downplayed? If a decision is made to include new material, what should be replaced? At

what level of sophistication should new material be taught and in what manner? The only guidance provided here is a suggested K-12 scope and sequence for the topic: "The Nature of the State."

Conclusion

The specification of essential content for civics instruction is the the greatest contribution of CIVITAS. In general, this information is presented in a clearly organized manner to curriculum developers. The contemporary perspective on each of the objectives presents useful information to assist teachers in the development of interesting and relevant lessons.

The strength of the document is also its greatest limitation, however, for CIVITAS will likely contribute to the knowledge glut already found in the social studies curriculum. Although civic virtue and civic participation are presented first in the document, and are accorded the status of ultimate goals for civic education, the clear emphasis of CIVITAS is on knowledge. The topics of civic virtue and civic participation are receive only 12 percent of the final space in the manuscript. If widely accepted, CIVITAS will likely increase the number of topics and the detail of information for which teachers and students are to be be held accountable.

A common complaint of teachers today is that they are increasingly expected to teach more and more content. Textbooks appear yearly to be growing in size. Currently, there is little to be found in contemporary government and history textbooks that is not also found in CIVITAS. The reverse, however, is not true. CIVITAS includes much content that is not currently found in history or government textbooks. How teachers are to choose what knowledge to add or drop, and how, when, and in what depth the revised civics content should be taught is not discussed.

Is it true, as CIVITAS appears to suggest, that the central problem impeding the improvement of civics education is the identification of essential content? This interpretation is not consistent with many recent analyses of the problems facing social studies wherein content has been identified as a problem rather than a solution. Social studies professionals are familiar with this problem as the coverage vs depth issue (Newmann, 1986). Ever increasing amounts of content are to be presented in a limited period of time. As many have argued, this results in a cursory treatment of subjects in a manner that students find uninteresting. Some feel that a focus on coverage in social studies instruction is one of the major impediments to quality instruction (Newmann, 1986).

CIVITAS does not recognize coverage as a potential problem; indeed, its massive attention to detailed knowledge may contribute to

the forces that work against depth. In a discussion about the social studies curriculum with a high school government class last fall, one student illustrated the nature of the coverage problem to me when he commented that... "sometimes these classes can be like trying to take a drink from an open fire hydrant." CIVITAS, if taken seriously, may result in a further opening of the knowledge hydrant.

This issue is related to another significant problem facing the social studies, namely the the identification of teaching strategies that students will find interesting and challenging. In the preface, written by Freeman Butts, William James is quoted regarding the need to find a way to inflame the civic temper as past history has inflamed the military temper. There can be no more obvious way to accomplish this goal than to have students leave school feeling that the study of government is interesting, challenging, and exciting, for it is those things that they find interesting in school that students continue to seek out and participate in their adult lives. Unfortunately, the authors CIVITAS do not address how to increase student interest as a central problem in civics instruction. The footprints of subject matter specialists are all over CIVITAS, but input from social studies teachers is hardly discernable. It is inconceivable to me that this document is one that social studies teachers helped to shape.

The question of what content to teach has never been a major problem for social studies teachers. Their own professional subject-matter expertise and textbooks have proven to be satisfactory sources for making these decisions. How to motivate and maintain student interest is a much more pressing issue for most social studies teachers than what content to teach.

CIVITAS can be read as a first, but still limited, step towards the improvement of civic education. As such it contains much of value. However, when the next step in the current movement to reform civic education is the development of national standards, based entirely upon CIVITAS, then the limitations and weaknesses of the document may become reified into policy, with potentially damaging results. Currently, the Center for Civic Education has undertaken to develop and disseminate national standards intended to raise the civic knowledge ceiling for above average students and lift the floor for below average students. This can only mean that social studies students will be held responsible for learning more content. Similarly, social studies teachers will be held responsible for teaching more content. Although advocates of standards always include the disclaimer that this is not an attempt to impose a national curriculum, such standards, will inevitably exert influence on what teachers must teach and when they must teach it. If a district already has in place an effective civics curriculum, but mandated testing at a particular grade level includes topics not presented at that grade level, then teachers will present the

information to be tested prior to testing. The result may well be an increasing fragmentation of civic knowledge and a decrease in the meaningfulness of the material and student interest.

There are inescapable implications for scope and sequence entailed by any set of national standards. To impose such standards upon schools and teachers and at the same time to fail to bring to bear the best available knowledge regarding how to sequence that instruction is to take a detached perspective from the real world problems of classroom teachers. It is reasonable to argue that curricular decisions should be made at the local level given the history of local control of education in this country. The directors of the CIVITAS project did not choose to focus on research on civic learning, nor did they focus on examples of exemplary practice in civic education. Instead, the decision was made to channel the resources of the CIVITAS project to subject matter specialists for the delineation of essential knowledge for civic education. It would also have been reasonable to attempt to reform civic education by assembling the best scholars, researchers, and practitioners to sketch out in broad strokes the best that is known about the practice of civic education to inform practice. The CIVITAS project has resulted in a document that has failed to include information on how research on civic learning can inform practice. Also, the CIVITAS project has resulted in a document that has failed to feature in any significant way examples and principles for exemplary pedagogy. Finally, the CIVITAS project has resulted in a document that does not significantly address or provide assistance on the day to day problems of teachers of civics.

The CIVITAS project has undertaken the easy part of the reform of civic education; it has left the most essential and difficult tasks to teachers. By its emphasis on more detailed civic knowledge, CIVITAS has increased pressure on teachers that may work against the reform of civic education. Perhaps it is too much to expect of any document that it address all the potential concerns of the individuals that it is designed to affect. However, when the most essential and important concerns of classroom teachers are given short shrift, and the most pressing problem is exacerbated, then one can only ask why has another "content acquistion" approach to curricular reform been generated?

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ESSAY REVIEW

A Democratic Theory of Education for Civic Competence

Gutmann, A. (1987). *Democratic Education.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. $19.95, paper, ISBN 0-691-02277-1.

Review by DAVID WARREN SAXE, Pennsylvania State University.

   Democratic Education (1987) should be hailed among social studies practitioners and theorists as a significant contribution in furthering the current NCSS commitment to social studies as a vehicle for civic competence (NCSS, 1992). Indeed, while not discounting the recent work of such important writers as Broudy (1988), Butts (1980, 1988), Engle & Ochoa (1988), Greene (1988), and Strike (1982, 1991), Gutmann's book should be considered among the best full-length treatments of civic competence and schooling to be published in many years. Gutmann cogently argues a case for democratic education along lines that are well within the political and philosophical spirit of the NCSS's renewed focus on civic competence.
   Given Gutmann's careful treatment of democratic education, what may strike many social studies readers as remarkable is that she does not appear to be even remotely aware of social studies theoretical constructs, or even mention the many attempts of social studies educators to facilitate democratic education. Given the nature of theorizing, this oversight is not necessarily a flaw; we should accord theorists broad freedoms to pursue ideas in many forms with few constraints. Also, I do not mean to depreciate Gutmann's work simply because she has ignored the more than 70 years that social studies theorists have invested in citizenship education, nor am I suggesting that this omission warrants a dismissal of her theory--for Gutmann's work clearly sheds new light on social studies ideas and practice. I do believe that Gutmann's theory of democratic education would have been enriched had she chosen to look at the efforts among her strong allies in social studies, particularly Engle (1960), Hunt & Metcalf (1955, 1968), Oliver & Shaver (1966), Shaver & Larkins (1973), and Wood (1985, 1988); as well as other writers such as Bowles & Gintis (1976) and Pateman (1970). Nonetheless, their exclusion does serve as a

warning to readers not to look for familiar social studies patterns or themes in her book.

What Gutmann does offer is a rational, well argued democratic theory that social studies educators should be eager to explore for its potential contribution to both curricular development and pedagogical application. For the purposes of this review, I will first outline and then critique the main lines of Gutmann's treatment of democratic education, and then follow-up with some possible implications for social studies theory and practice.

Gutmann begins by establishing the familiar rationale of using theory to guide practice. Holding the commonly accepted vision of education (typically reduced to the formal years of schooling) as too narrow for a democracy, and borrowing from Dewey, Gutmann adopts a broad view of education that begins at home and extends throughout life. Thus, much of Gutmann's theory takes on a developmental look with categories of primary education (formal compulsory schooling), higher education (college and university), extra mural education (other than schools or families), and adult education; she does not formally treat family-home education. While all four components are integrated, I shall focus in this review on Gutman's proposals for formal schooling.

Gutmann claims that the citizens of a democracy should determine collectively how future citizens are to be educated. In this view of education, adopting what might be called a Marxist-Leninist twist, Gutmann suggests that future citizens must be ruled before they can rule. That is, democratic education has a dual purpose: to socialize future citizens to understand and accept a role as subjects of authority, and then at some later point to shift to an education that empowers them to share in the governance of society. Before setting about to answer the thorny question of "who should share the authority to influence the way democratic citizens are educated?," Gutmann takes the reader through explanations to three key questions: (1) Why rely on a theory? (2) Why a democratic theory? (3) Why focus on education?

Whether a theory is clearly articulated or left unstated, Gutmann claims that "all significant policy presupposes a theory." Even though it would seem to be possible to prepare policy without theory or principles, if such policy is continually directed in response to given conditions or circumstances, Gutmann cautions that when such policy is called into question, what is left to defend particular actions? She argues that mere action is not supportable or rational without some theory or underlying principle. Moreover, given its axiomatic properties, not only is theory critical for policy and practice, it cannot be avoided or hidden. Having established the need for a theory based public policy, she argues that because theory implicit in policy defies critical examination, the basis upon which any action is directed must

be open to close scrutiny. Given the nature of democracy where citizens must be free to apply a critical analysis to all public policy, where accurate and open-minded evaluation is highly desired, only an explicitly stated theory can be useful in judging any particular policy or practice.

Given that a clearly articulated theory is required of public policy, it follows that only a theory embedded with democratic virtues can be appropriate for a declared democracy. Gutmann dismisses theory derived from conservative or liberal perspectives, implying that only a democratic theory can sustain a policy directed at nurturing the public's well-being; a theory that identifies and supports a common good. Although it is likely that Gutmann would concede that conservative and liberal theories have added much to the development of democratic principles, Gutmann insists that conservative and liberal theories of education cannot serve democratic ends if the means that activate theory are selective. Gutmann argues that conservative education theories tend to maintain traditional patterns of authority while seeking to preserve established policies. In contrast, liberal education theories enable citizens to cultivate an "individual autonomy" that insures access to an education without any explicit preference or bias toward established patterns of social life.

Gutmann's critique of conservative and liberal ideas explains that traditional policies are flawed because they inherently exclude some citizens, while liberal notions of "individual autonomy," although not necessarily inconsistent with democratic education, "cannot give adequate guidance to communities in deciding what educational policies to pursue." Gutmann rightly assumes that "reasonable people [will] disagree over what forms of freedom are worth cultivating, and therefore over what constitutes the best education, in principle as well as in practice." Given this context, Gutmann's democratic education emerges as a powerful alternative to present practice (either conservative or liberal).

The key to Gutmann's proposal is that democratic theory "faces up to the fact of difference in our moral ideals of education by looking toward democratic deliberations not only as a means to reconciling those differences, but also as an important part of democratic education." Moreover, "a democratic theory of education provides principles that, in the face of our social disagreements, help us judge (a) who should have authority to make decisions about education, and (b) what the moral boundaries of that authority are." To "help us judge" and answer these questions as well as to preserve the ideal of "democratic deliberations," Gutmann employs education as a means of "conscious social reproduction." As noted earlier, Gutmann defines education in very broad terms "to include every social influence that makes us who we are," embracing "deliberate instruction by

individuals" and "educative influences of institutions." Having established intellectual responses to the notion of theory, democratic theory, and education focus as three key stepping stones, Gutmann tackles the difficulties of "translating theory into practice."

Gutmann approaches the development of her theory by presenting and setting aside three well established theories on how citizens should be educated. By deciding to orient readers in this fashion (she could have simply presented her own theory exclusive of the others), Gutmann presents us with a task that is inherently problematic. On one hand, she sees the need to ground her theory in the context of rival theories, but in doing so--because she obviously does not accept these competing theories--her presentation runs the risk of losing objectivity. Moreover, although she could have enlisted more assistance from other like-minded folk to expose the rival theories as false, instead Gutmann appoints herself a chief critic of these theories as well as the proponent of her preferred model.

As she continues with her tightly constructed argument, the wearing of these two disparate hats often mitigates against her own, more potent message. Still, as a testament to her skill in finessing a subject, Gutmann manages to give readers a strong sense that each of the three rival theories are given a fair hearing. Although it may not be as obvious to some adherents of the rival theories that they should abandon their ways and take up Gutmann's democratic education (as Gutmann implies), each of the rival theories must be exposed as false before Gutmann can make a convincing case for her democratic education. To some readers this exercise may seem tedious and distracting at times, however, they will find that as she presents her ideas Guttman takes great care to lay out the strengths and weaknesses of each theory; she makes the point that this exposure is a necessary condition for developing her own theory.

The three rival theories that provide a rich context for Gutmann's primary question of authority are centered respectively around the ideas of Plato, Locke, and Mill. The first, which Gutmann calls the Family State, places "educational authority in the hands of a centralized state" (p. 28). The second, the State of Families, reserves "educational authority exclusively in the hands of parents" (p. 28). And the third, the State of Individuals, "refuse[s] to rest educational authority in any hands without the assurance that the choices of children will not be prejudiced in favor of some ways of life against others" (p. 42). Gutmann asserts that "if [her] criticisms are correct [and I'm inclined to agree with her], then these three theories are wrong" (p. 42). Basically, Gutmann establishes four theories (including her own) for educating citizens, as well as the need to fully explore each as a potential guide for educational thought and action. Her point, however, is that by criticizing each theory, the question of who has

the authority for deciding about the education of citizens becomes obvious; authority rests with "citizens (all those that do not fit into the following), parents, and professional educators" (p. 42).

In exercising this authority, Gutmann relies upon a definition of democracy that features the promotion of unrestricted and critical deliberation on public issues. She then calls upon the principle of *non repression* (included to maintain a forum for deliberation) and *nondiscrimination* (applied to prevent attempts to limit or deny individuals or groups proper access to public debate) to insure the integrity of democratic deliberation. In completing her rationale, She insists that "the distinctive virtue of a democratic theory of education is that its principles and conclusions are compatible with our commitment to share the rights and the obligations of citizenship with people who do not share our complete conception of the good life" (p. 42); however, we must ask: Can we gather enough citizens together who will be content to make this commitment to share?

The question of sharing raises the issue of moving from theory to practice; a move that is almost always fraught with challenges and problems. If we accept that any sort of schooling that claims democratic education as a rubric is likely to fall within the jurisdiction of a curricular area such as social studies education or history-centered teaching, one that is not specifically designed for school-wide application, a theoretical battle ensues. Not to discount other voices or models, the theoretical/rhetorical lines of the curricular battle over citizenship education have been largely divided for the past 75 years between followers of social studies as an organized curricular area for citizenship education and advocates of history-centered approaches. Theoretical blows rarely involve practitioners, while the implications of battle have an enormous effect upon them.

Gutmann should applaud the debate between these disparate groups, but the debaters have hardly reconciled the issues at hand. Judging from the obvious omission of social studies as a primary area of schooling in *America 2000* (and the insertion of history in its place), it appears that the history-centered group, often led by government bureaucrats like Diane Ravitch and Paul Gagnon (who both have origins exclusively in higher education) have largely given up on any critical deliberation on the issue of social studies and history in schools. To them, the debate is not only over, but the history-centered view has prevailed. How is democratic engagement possible when such an important forum as the president's education plan (established by key leaders among the government and higher education) ignores social studies?

Gutmann's examples of sex education and history instruction demonstrate her awareness that *what* is taught is not so much at issue as *how* it is taught. In addition, the question of purpose opens up heated

discussions within administrative, higher education, and community circles. Gutmann astutely highlights that "children will eventually need the capacity for rational deliberation to make hard choices in situations where habits and authorities do not supply clear or consistent guidance" (p. 51). I would guess that this observation would not be challenged by either history-centered advocates or social studies practitioners. Nonetheless, how we get at rational deliberations to make hard choices is a thorny issue. History-centered advocates claim that the study of history provides the route to democratic deliberation through the power of historical perspective. Social studies followers, on the other hand, borrowing from academic and other areas, seek to engage students in solving problems and making decisions on issues of private and public import; participatory action is designed to yield civic competence.

The problem with history-centered instruction is that students do not seem capable of remembering all the particulars of history necessary for democratic deliberation, nor are teachers prepared or equipped enough to teach this material. Consequently, the type of democratic deliberation Gutmann calls for is rarely achieved in history-centered contexts. On the other hand, social studies practitioners (also often not adequately prepared or equipped), although adept at engaging students to debate issues, do not seem able to get students to understand contexts or the deeper substantive issues at hand. Consequently, the full impact of Gutmann's democratic deliberation is unlikely to occur in social studies settings either. Clearly, both history-centered advocates and social studies practitioners need each other, but they lack the trust and commonalty of cause to join together.

From my perspective, although Gutmann does not seem to grasp fully the sources or forces of the curricular tensions that affect the practice of citizenship education, her *Democratic Education* offers both history-centered and social studies scholars an opportunity to explore a viable democratic model. Working through the conditions or tensions of proper citizenship education (within the context of formal schooling) is not so much Gutmann's problem as it is ours. While many (myself included) will accept the principle of a broadly-based democratic education, we practice largely within a context of formal schooling. I'm not sure that the state, even a declared democratic one, can or even should organize education beyond formal schooling. Whether we can accept Gutmann's principles or not, she raises important issues that create what Peirce would call self-doubt, thoughts that rub against the intellectual grain, that bring one's own views into question. In causing reflective pauses, like all good theorists, Gutmann has done her job well.

In sum, readers will not agree with Gutmann because they believe that their own brand of educational theory, policy, or practice is already democratically sound. I believe Gutmann's work deserves to be read and debated to help us understand better our own beliefs and teachings, and to re-read and discuss our own curricular efforts and policies (see especially, Bahmueller, 1991; Shaver, 1991). For that matter, Gutmann could lead us back through important discussions of Plato, Locke, and Mill, through the works of Dewey, Counts, and Rugg, even to the critical theorists of today, such as Giroux and Gilligan. Perhaps more importantly, exploring Gutmann may help us break out of the current (and persistent) impasse that exists between social studies and history-centered thinkers. Herein lies the gifts of Gutmann's *Democratic Education*. This is an important book for social studies.

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Engaging Citizens in Democracy

Response by AMY GUTMANN, Princeton University.

David Warren Saxe's review of *Democratic Education* combines intellectual appreciation, understanding, and critique. What more can a democratic theorist ask? In writing *Democratic Education*, I had hoped that the theory would point, as Saxe thinks it does, toward a powerful alternative to present practice. Saxe's conclusion that it is an important book for social studies is particularly gratifying because he advises social studies educators not to expect to find in this book detailed pedagogical prescriptions for how to organize or implement a curriculum. Just as democratic education recognizes separate spheres of authority (parental, professional, and political), so too a democratic educator defers to other, more competent educators on matters beyond her expertise.

Designing social studies curricula and detailing pedagogical methods are critical tasks beyond the scope of *Democratic Education*. If it offers what Saxe calls "a rational, well argued democratic theory that social studies workers should be eager to explore for its potential contribution to both curricular development and pedagogical application," then I invite social studies educators to reciprocate with ideas of how the theory can best be put into concrete pedagogical practices consistent with the principles of non repression, nondiscrimination, and democratic deliberation. There is no single pedagogical method required by democratic principles, but there are many commonly used methods that are ruled out: those that stifle critical thinking or discriminate against some children developing civic competence.

Although I do not discuss the debate between proponents of a history-centered and social studies-centered curriculum in *Democratic Education*, I do emphasize the overriding importance for democratic education of lessons in deliberation, especially deliberation about public affairs. Democratic citizens are people who share as political equals in shaping the future of their society. If students do not learn to assess the actions of their government, they will become subjects, not citizens of a democracy.

Education necessarily entails governance, and therefore cries out for justification. It cannot be justified, I argue, if it is not designed to develop virtues and skills conducive to self-government. Democratic education justifies our being governed as children so that we may each share in governing as adults. If this justification is not to become a rationalization for parental, political, or professional power, publicly-funded education must be oriented toward self-government. As children mature intellectually and emotionally, democratic education becomes more democratic in method as well as in purpose, including lessons in the practice and theory of self-governance.

I mention several examples of such lessons in *Democratic Education*, such as the School-within-a-School (SWS) program at Brookline High School and a high school history class in Brooklyn where a teacher uses the Socratic method to challenge students to consider whether Truman should have dropped the bomb on Hiroshima. The history class, which could just as well have been a social studies class, illustrates what many social studies teachers may already know--that the aim of teaching democratic deliberation is not utopian, however challenging it may be. Civic competence does not consist mainly of knowing historical facts or being adept at purely abstract argument. It consists of putting politically relevant knowledge to critical use, thinking beyond what exists to what could and should exist, arguing respectfully with people who reasonably disagree about what should exist, and finding fair ways of resolving our disagreements.

In the spirit of democratic deliberation, I should also take issue with a few aspects of Saxe's review. To say, as I do, that democratic citizens should share authority (with parents and professionals) in determining how future citizens are educated, I am arguing against common political practices that place educational authority in the hands of centralized political elites. So I am taken aback by Saxe's idea that there is a Marxist-Leninist twist to my theory. I tried to emphasize that democratic education rejects the claim of any group to be the vanguard of the uneducated. What democratic education justifies is the countervailing and morally constrained authority of parents, professionals, and citizens. *Democratic Education* aims from the start to empower individuals to share in the governance of their society. There

is no radical shift at some specified point in our education from being taught to accept our role as subjects to being taught to share in ruling. From the beginning, democratic education aims to teach self-governance; but the pedagogical methods shift over time gradually not abruptly, as children mature. The constant aim of empowerment justifies varying methods relative to intellectual, social, and moral development.

That aim will only make sense to people who have a commitment to share the rights and obligations of citizenship with others, including people who disagree about the elements of a good life. Saxe asks me whether there are enough people who have such a commitment. I think there are far more people who are so committed, and believe in democratic governance consistent with the principles of non repression and nondiscrimination, than there are educational practices consistent with this commitment. Many people may not express their moral commitment to democracy without being challenged to articulate it or being forced to defend it when threatened by despotism. *Democratic Education* does not discover a previously unfounded territory of educational principles, but rather systematically explores the educational implications of basic democratic principles that are often overlooked to the detriment of democratic education.

When I explore the conflict-ridden territory occupied by the debate between history-centered and social studies-centered teaching, I conclude that there is no good reason to force a choice between the two curricular approaches to civic education. Both history and social studies teachers can and should be taught in a deliberative mode fully consistent with the spirit of democratic education. Taken alone, as the sole offering of an elementary or secondary school curriculum, neither history or social studies is sufficient for civic education. History teachers should challenge students to deliberate about historical alternatives. What were the president's alternatives and did he choose wisely? What would have happened had he chosen otherwise? Social studies teachers should offer students a historical context that highlights the salience of social issues. The debate over affirmative action in this country, for example, cannot be understood apart from our history of slavery and racial discrimination. But neither can the debate be resolved by invoking, or even understanding, that history. Citizens have ongoing arguments, informed by competing ethical considerations, on issues as complex as compensation for past injustices, careers open to talent, and fair equality of opportunity. Social studies and history classes offer students opportunities to prepare for citizenship by practicing democratic deliberation in forums where reasoned argument counts, as it should, for far more than economic, political, or social power. It is foolish to force a choice between the two

kinds of teaching, each with its own comparative advantages. History can more readily offer students a deep sense of context while social studies can better engage them in deliberating over contemporary issues. In light of the social importance of preparing students for citizenship, an enlightened educational system will appreciate the complementarity of these two approaches, and will not pit one professional discipline against the other in the destructive ways of narrow interest-group politics.

"How is democratic engagement possible when such an important forum as the president's education plan (established by key leaders among the government and higher education) ignores social studies?" Saxe may intend this to be a rhetorical question, but we should not treat it as such if we want to avoid a common misunderstanding of democratic education. Democratic engagement is possible, even (or perhaps especially) when political plans neglect important educational needs. Democratic engagement calls for criticism--intense public criticism--by educators and ordinary citizens who recognize what is missing from plans such as *America 2000,* and strive to correct them. (The revised version of *America 2000* includes a civics curriculum.) Critical engagement also calls for democratic political organization to make the criticism catch on. Such organization should include both social studies and history educators joining together in the common cause of democratic education. This kind of nonsectarian activity is part of a professional calling. A book alone cannot create such moral commitments, but perhaps it can encourage them.

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BOOK NOTES

Education in the Japanese Life-Cycle

Ellington, L. (1992). *Education in the Japanese life-cycle: Implications for the United States.* Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 237 pages, $69.95 hardcover, ISBN 0-7734-9609-2.

Review by STANLEY E. EASTON, Jacksonville State University.

Lucien Ellington has produced what he calls "a comprehensive overview of Japanese education" (p. 29). In *Education in the Japanese Life-Cycle,* he describes the Japanese approach to an educated citizenry from preschool through old age. This volume is rich with first-hand observations of school and society made by the author on numerous visits to the Land of the Rising Sun.

Ellington, associate director of the Center for Economic Education at the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga, encourages his readers to think systematically and reflectively about the U.S. educational system through their responses to comparative questions at the end of each chapter. The following are examples of the kinds of questions Ellington asks:

- Groupism and hierarchy are dominant values that shape Japanese culture and schools. What are dominant values that exert similar powerful influences over American culture and schools? (p. 29)
- Those in Japan who choose elementary teaching as a career are motivated in part to do so by the relatively high pay, status, and job security the profession offers. How do the factors listed above influence Americans who are considering elementary teaching as a career? (p. 79)
- Available evidence indicates that the adult reading public in Japan is more widespread and despite the popularity of adult comics in that country, more sophisticated than in the United States. What are some possible reasons for this phenomenon? (p. 203)

To respond to all of Ellington's comparative questions, would result in a book explaining the U.S. educational system within the context of our pluralistic culture. Such a treatise could be enlightening not only to foreigners studying comparative education, but to many Americans as well. It might be a meaningful intellectual exercise for students in U.S. teacher education programs to undertake.

Certainly, there is mental stimulation here for American social studies educators. Ellington reminds us that the U.S. occupation imposed social studies on Japanese schools because American authorities believed the inclusion of civics, problems of democracy, and economics was more appropriate to the building of a democratic society than was the prewar practice of providing only history and geography courses. It seems slightly grotesque to read this in an era when the U.S. Department of Education is seeking to eliminate social studies from the school curriculum and return to history and geography courses.

There is much for thoughtful Americans to ponder in the emphasis the Japanese give to club participation from junior high school through the university years. These clubs, which include activities from orchestra and drama to sports, offer a respite from otherwise dull instructional programs and foster the development of skills essential to accomplishing group goals. We might also think about the *shugaku ryoko*, an excursion taken by all Japanese ninth graders to various parts of their country. Through this annual activity, an entire segment of Japan's future adult citizenry experiences the country's most important national and cultural centers. It is humbling to consider that these excursions have been a rite of passage in Japan since the late 1880s, especially to a late twentieth-century American educator who has experienced countless denials of requests for transportation for social studies field trips to nearby sites.

It is timely to read Ellington's book on Japanese education and reflect upon the effects of a national curriculum. Ellington attributes the tendency of Japanese secondary school teachers to rely exclusively on lectures in part to Japan's national curriculum, influenced heavily by high school and university entrance exams that are highly factual in nature. At the advent of a national report card based on national educational goals, what needs to be said to U.S. education policy makers about the potential danger that such a system poses to a society that values creativity, critical thinking, and problem solving?

Education in the Japanese Life-Cycle provides good background reading for a social studies professional going to Japan on one of the NCSS-/Japanese-sponsored study tours. As preparation for such a tour, Ellington's volume offers a rich tapestry of history, culture, and schooling through which to view the educational system that has contributed to Japan's postwar economic miracle. The book is required reading for anyone exploring Japan's approach to education while searching for proposals to reform U.S. schools and to make America more competitive in the emerging global economy. Ellington's treatment provides opportunities to see the strengths and the weaknesses of Japanese education and to understand the cultural differences that make it difficult, if not impossible, to casually exchange characteristics between the Japanese educational system and our own.

119

INFORMATION FOR AUTHORS

Theory and Research in Social Education is designed to stimulate and communicate systematic research and thinking in social education. Its purpose is to foster the creation and exchange of ideas and research findings that will expand knowledge about purposes, conditions, and effects of schooling and education about society and social relations.

Conceptualizations and research from all of the social sciences, philosophy, history, and the arts are needed in clarifying thinking and practice in social educaton. Manuscripts are welcomed on topics such as those that follow:

- Purposes of social education;
- Models, theories, and related frameworks concerning the development, diffusion, and adoption of curricular materials;
- Instructional strategies;
- The relation of the social sciences, philosophy, history and/or the arts to social education;
- Alternative social organizations and utilizations of the school for social education;
- Comparative studies of alternative models of social education;
- Models of and research on alternative schemata for student participation and social action;
- Relationship of different pre- and in-service patterns of teacher training to social education;
- Models of the utilization of objectives in social education and related research findings;
- Implications of learning theory, child development research, socialization and political socialization research for the purposes and practice of social education;
- The relationship of different independent, explanatory variables to educational achievements in the area of learning about society and social relations;
- The social climate and cohesion of schools and other school characteristics as independent, explanatory variables predicting general achievement.

In most cases, submissions will be reviewed blind by a panel of at least three reviewers. When we send a manuscript out for review, we ask reviewers to judge the author's work in terms of six criteria:

- significance (the contribution of the manuscript to knowledge about the human condition);
- scholarship (the accuracy and thoroughness reflected);
- methodological sophistication (the adequacy of the author's research design);
- originality (the uniqueness of the manuscript);
- lucidity (the clarity of the author's writing);
- timeliness (whether or not the manuscript is up-to-date).

Submission of Manuscripts

All manuscripts submitted will be considered for publication. Manuscripts (five copies) should be addressed to:

Dr. Jack R. Fraenkel, Editor
Theory and Research in Social Education
Research & Development Center
School of Education (Burk Hall 238)
San Francisco State University
San Francisco, CA 94132.

In addition, please send a 3.5" disk containing your manuscript (including tables), formatted in Microsoft Word 4.0 or 5.0; the disk will be used in the final editing of your manuscript for publication.

Manuscripts are considered for publication with the understanding that they are original material and have not been submitted elsewhere for publication. Ordinarily, manuscripts will not be returned.

TRSE is a refereed journal. Manuscripts are sent to outside reviewers. This is a time-consuming process. Reviewers of individual manuscripts remain anonymous, although outside reviewers are identified in each issue of the journal.

Specifications for Manuscripts

All material submitted for publication must conform to the style of the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association: Third Edition* (1983).

Abstract. All manuscripts should be sent with an abstract of 100-150 words.

Typescript. Manuscripts should be typed on 8.5 x 11-inch paper, upper and lower case, double-spaced, with 1.5 inch margins on all sides. Subheads should be used at reasonable intervals to break the monotony of lengthy texts. Only words to be set in italics (according to the APA style manual) should be underlined; sentence structure—not italics or

quotation marks—must be used for emphasis. Abbreviations and acronyms should be spelled out at first mention unless found as entries in their abbreviated form in *Webster's Ninth Collegiate Dictionary* (e.g., IQ needs no explanation). Pages should be numbered consecutively.

Length. Manuscripts should typically run between 12 and 30 pages in typed length.

Author Identification

The complete title of the manuscript and the names of the author(s) should be typed on a separate sheet to assure anonymity in the review process. The first *text* page of the article should have the complete title of the manuscript, but no list of the author(s). Subsequent pages should carry only a running head. The first-named author or the co-author who will be handling correspondence with the editor should submit a complete address and telephone number.

Footnotes and References

Footnotes are explanations or amplifications of textual material. They are distracting to readers and expensive to set; accordingly, they should be avoided whenever possible. When they must occur, they should be typed on a separate sheet and numbered consecutively throughout the manuscript.

A *reference list* contains only those references that are cited in the text. Their accuracy and completeness are the responsibility of the author(s).

Tables, Figures, and Illustrations

The purpose of tables and figures is to present data to the reader in a clear and unambiguous manner. Authors should not describe the data in the text in such detail that illustrations or text are redundant.

Figures and tables should be keyed to the text. Tables should each be typed on a <u>separate</u> sheet and attached at the end of the manuscript. Figure captions also should be typed on a separate sheet. All figures and tables <u>must</u> be included on the Microsoft Word disk that accompanies the manuscript.

Photocopies may accompany the additional copies of the manuscript.

Book Reviews

Book Reviews (five copies) should be sent to:

Dr. Perry Marker
School of Education
Sonoma State University
1801 E. Cotati Avenue
Rohnert Park, CA 94928

The length may vary from 500 to 3,500 words. The format for the top of the first page is as follows:

Author (last name first). Date of publication (in parantheses). Title (in italics). City of publication: Publisher, total number of pages, list price (for both hard and softcover, if available), ISBN #.

Reviewer's name, followed by institutional address, complete with zip code.

Like all manuscripts, book review manuscripts should follow the guidelines described above.

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Officers 1993-1994**

Robert J. Stahl, *President*
Secondary Education
Arizona State University
Tempe, AZ 85287-1911
(602) 965-7101/4601

Michael Hartoonian, *President-Elect*
Social Studies Education Supervisor
State of Wisconsin
125 S. Webster Street
Madison, WI 53702
(608) 267-9273
(608) 233-1643

1994 CUFA Program Chair

Valerie Pang
School of Teacher Education
San Diego State University
San Diego, CA 92182-0002
(619) 594-6286