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ABSTRACT

This study elicited the views of students in secondary social studies teacher education programs to compare students' views with the views of policy experts to identify the intersection of agreement or consensus on the changing nature of citizenship. The study also makes recommendations for teacher training curricula and pedagogy to prepare these students better for their citizenship educator roles. A questionnaire and interview data were gathered for this descriptive study. Fifth-year students in secondary social studies teacher preparation programs in Canada, England, and the United States completed a 106-item questionnaire on societal trends impacting life in the next 25 years, citizenship characteristics deemed necessary to people to cope with and manage these trends, and strategies, approaches and innovations recommended for consideration and action by educational policy makers during the next 25 years. Of the 147 research participants, 43 interviews were conducted via Internet, telephone, and in-person. Significant challenges facing society in the future are identified with recommendations presented to address those challenges in teacher education. (Contains 15 references.) (EH)

Citizenship Education for the 21st Century: Insights from Social Studies Teacher Preparation Students in Three Countries.

by Patricia K. Kubow

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Citizenship Education for the 21st Century: Insights from Social Studies Teacher Preparation Students in Three Countries

Introduction

Citizenship education has been an overarching goal of public schooling historically in every society. In Canada, England, and the United States, citizenship education incorporates traditional notions of rights and responsibilities and a commitment to democratic ideals. Yet, the term *citizenship* is filled with paradoxes: thinking, loyal persons versus critical questioners, private interests versus public interests, national pride and identification versus criticizing and judging the values and limits of national pride (Pratte, 1988). "This tension, between the competing goals of political freedom and diversity on the one hand and social conformity on the other, creates the context for debate and controversy about how citizens in a democracy should be educated" (Engle & Ochoa, 1988, p. 28).

Until the mid-twentieth century, democratic citizenship was considered the unifying goal of education in Canada, England, and the United States. During the Cold War era, however, education in these industrialized nations shifted from citizenship preparation to international competition (Wraga, 1991). A present emphasis on equipping students with the necessary skills to obtain jobs is only one of many competing and contradictory agendas facing citizenship educators at the turn of this century. Increased multiculturalism and the voicing of aspirations by people of color has given rise to internal tensions. International migrations and increased domestic mobility have resulted in changing demographic patterns, while informational technologies have afforded some people the opportunity to communicate across geographical borders.

Thus, the context of education is changing. Familiar boundaries and economic assumptions are now accompanied by new realities: greater interdependence among nations, aging societies, fragmented patterns of family life, new patterns of migration, and the creation of multicultural societies (Cogan, 1992). While other forces, such as family, media, and widespread societal conditions influence students' attitudes and values about citizenship, schools continue to be assigned the task of inculcating values of citizenship and preparing students for political and social

participation. Formal schooling is still viewed as a primary means of educating citizens and preparing them for life in the 21st century.

Although it is assumed that education for citizenship is going on in the schools (primarily an aspect of the hidden curriculum), contemporary citizenship education is not producing effects desirable for citizens living in a democracy. In a review of several studies conducted by Mathews (1996), the research findings suggest that both secondary and college students feel outside of the political process (Conger, 1988; Easterline & Crimmins, 1988; Hepburn, 1984; The Harwood Group, 1993). And, schools -- through their authoritarian structures, prescriptive rules, and teacher-centered approaches -- contribute to student alienation and passivity. Competition, standardized scores, and a lack of proper teacher preparation pose barriers to structuring schools and classrooms in more democratic ways.

While some classrooms within schools can be characterized as cooperative and demonstrate an ethic of care and concern, schools, for the most part, continue to foster disciplinary thinking and limit opportunities for student participation and inquiry. Classroom practices such as recitation and drill do not prepare students to think critically about the complex problems facing society or prepare students to effectively act on them. These types of teaching methods limit student interaction and the opportunity for students to learn about societal forces that threaten the very core of a democratic existence. Rather than advancing "powerful teaching and learning" (Darling-Hammond, 1996, p. 7) for democratic life in a more interconnected, globalized, knowledge age, some schooling practices continue to prepare students for an industrial age that has already passed.

Education that focuses primarily on competition and individual achievements is not likely to prepare students for life in an interdependent, global society or prepare them with the habits of thinking and acting to sustain dynamic democratic life. Citizenship education modeled in the traditional way as civics instruction does not "enable [sic] all people to find and act on who they are, what their passions, gifts, and talents may be, what they care about, and how they want to make a contribution to each other and the world" (Darling-Hammond, 1996, p. 5).

Past and present approaches to citizenship education (e.g., academic disciplines, law-related education, etc.) have centered predominately on political and economic aspects at the expense of social and cultural ones. Citizenship educators dissatisfied with the present scope and

sequence in the social studies voice a variety of claims: (a) the social studies do not meet the current or future needs of students; (b) the social studies should balance geography, civics, and history with a more international or global curricula seldom found in most social studies classrooms; and, (c) the field of social studies needs more research and development to revitalize it (Dynneson & Gross, 1991, p. 74).

Dissatisfaction with the present conceptions of citizenship education has led Stone (1992) to state that citizenship for the 21st century "ought to 'look' different than citizenship for earlier times" (p. 215). Attention to and movement toward Dewey's demand for more democratic processes, social actions, and understandings of social consequences, rather than governmental rules, procedures, rights and duties, is surfacing once again (Pratte, 1988).

Researchers have begun to re-examine school curricula and practices for their undemocratic tendencies and to suggest ways to promote more democratic atmospheres. However, students in secondary social studies teacher preparation programs have seldom, if ever, been asked to help identify the societal trends that they feel will significantly impact people's lives and how these trends will influence decisions made about social studies curricula and methods for teaching citizenship.

The lack of studies that capture the opinions and insights of these students' perspectives points to a major void in the field of citizenship education research. This deficiency may be due to a preoccupation with equipping students with the traditional approaches to teaching social studies as opposed to helping students think about what type of citizenship is needed for the future. "Because democracies must rely on the moral character of parents, teachers, public officials and ordinary citizens to educate future citizens, democratic education begins not only with children who are to be taught but also with citizens who are to be their teachers" (Gutmann, 1987, p. 49). This study is an attempt to help fill that void in the citizenship education literature.

From what is known from child development research, learning theory, and the past and present state of civics education, citizenship education, in the last part of the 20th century and early 21st century, will require an environment that encourages critical pedagogy and active investigation by students to grapple with and solve the complex, intricate issues facing the world. Students

must rehearse in their educational institutions the roles they are expected to play when they "step onto society's stage" (Eveslage, 1990, p. 359).

To summarize, present global realities such as interdependence among nations, immigration, societal reorganization, and post-industrialism challenge traditional conceptions of citizenship education and demand one more appropriate to the times. In light of the changes taking place on a global scale, there is a need to study these societal developments and what the requirements will be for citizens living in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Those preparing to be teachers (as well as political leaders, national commissioners, community members, parents, and students at various levels of their educational development) need to think about what skills, values, and attributes are required for democratic existence now and in the future and how citizenship education can best be fostered in the formal educational setting.

Research Purpose and Questions

The purpose of this study was to: (a) elicit the views of students in secondary social studies teacher preparation programs and to compare students' views with the views of policy experts to identify the intersection of agreement or consensus on the changing nature of citizenship, and (b) make recommendations for teacher training curricula and pedagogy to better prepare these students for their citizenship educator roles. To accomplish this two-fold purpose, both quantitative (questionnaire) and qualitative (interview) data were gathered for this descriptive study. First, 147 fifth-year students in secondary social studies teacher preparation programs in Canada, England, and the United States completed a 106-item questionnaire composed of the following three areas:

1. 60 societal trends that will have a significant impact upon the lives of people during the next 25 years;
2. 20 citizenship characteristics deemed necessary for people to cope with and manage these trends during the next 25 years; and,
3. 26 strategies, approaches, and innovations recommended for consideration and action by educational policy makers during the next 25 years.

To better understand what citizenship education entails and how these prospective teachers perceive themselves in their future citizenship educator roles, follow-up interviews were conducted via Internet, phone, and in-person with 43 out of the 147 research participants. Students' thoughts and insights on citizenship education were obtained from the following interview questions:

1. How do you define or understand the term *citizenship education?*
2. What is needed in teacher preparation curricula and instruction to prepare social studies educators, like yourself, to teach this new type of citizenship education that you described?
3. How else and where else should citizenship education take place?

Based on the results of this research, suggestions for citizenship education reform in teacher preparation at the three Canadian, three English, and four American research sites participating in this study are made. Specifically, the objectives of this study were to:

1. identify the intersection of agreement between students and policy experts (who also completed this questionnaire in a previous study) as to the significant societal trends, citizenship characteristics, and educational strategies requiring consideration and action by educational leaders during the next 25 years;
2. provide insights into what type of citizenship education is needed in teacher education to prepare preservice social studies teachers for their citizenship educator roles; and,
3. bring university students' opinions and insights into the citizenship education discourse.

Background of the Study

This study is located in a larger, recently-completed policy research project, The Citizenship Education Policy Study (CEPS). CEPS is an international network effort of nine countries (Canada, England, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Japan, the Netherlands, Thailand, and the United States) to examine the changing character of citizenship over the next 25 years and the implications those changes will have for educational policy across these nations. Policy experts in diverse fields such as business, industry, and labor, education, and government were interviewed

regarding the trends, characteristics, and educational strategies they deemed important for educational policy makers to consider and act upon. A questionnaire was constructed from the interview responses and given to the policy experts for completion; the results will help to inform educational leaders regarding the necessary directions to be taken in school reforms in citizenship education.

The research documented herein builds upon the CEPS study by focusing on students in secondary social studies teacher preparation programs in Canada, England, and the United States whose task will be to implement citizenship educational reforms. These three countries were chosen because they share a similar historical background and language, are in the midst of post-industrialism, and a reexamination of citizenship has come to the public forefront, generating debate on the role of formal schooling in educating for citizenship.

The importance and significance of this study is that it seeks to identify common ground between policy makers and those who will be responsible for implementing subsequent educational reforms during the next 25-30 years, namely preservice history and social studies teachers. By attempting to help clarify the type of citizenship education necessary for the 21st century through a future-oriented questionnaire and follow-up interviews, specific recommendations are put forth as a possible way to implement a more appropriate and unified approach to teaching citizenship education in teacher preparation programs.

Methodology

The subjects in this study consist of 147 students (65 female, 82 male) enrolled in postbaccalaureate secondary social studies teacher preparation programs at three Canadian, three English, and four American higher educational institutions. The institutions were located in Alberta, Ontario, and New Brunswick in Canada, northern, central and southern areas in England, and Oregon, Minnesota, Ohio, and Indiana in the United States. Convenience or nonprobability sampling was used to obtain data from a highly-specialized population (Fink, 1995). Because this study sample is based on a special opportunity to obtain information from "readily available units" (that is, classrooms of secondary social studies students in teacher preparation programs at ten

universities) and is dependent upon the subjects' *willingness* to respond, these study "participants may be unlike most of the constituents in the target population" (Fink, 1995, p. 23).

Questionnaire. The students completed a 106-item questionnaire that had previously been administered to 182 policy experts from nine nations participating in The Citizenship Education Policy Study (CEPS). The instrument was developed by the 26-member CEPS research team through a process of interviewing policy experts regarding the global trends, citizenship characteristics, and educational strategies they deemed important for educational policy makers to consider and act upon during the next 25 years. The policy experts were not a randomly selected sample but were chosen from a variety of fields (e.g., government, education, business/industry/labor, the arts, etc.) based on four specific criteria: leadership in their profession; knowledge of global trends and issues; interest in citizenship education; and, future-orientation or outlook, as demonstrated by their professional publications, speeches, and other work. The same citizenship questionnaire was administered to the students in order to compare their responses with those of the CEPS policy experts.

The questionnaire items were divided into three sections: global trends (60 items), citizenship characteristics (20 items), and educational strategies/approaches/innovations (26 items). In the first section of the questionnaire, students were asked to respond to the desirability and probability of each trend. Desirability refers to how desirable the trend is; probability refers to how likely it is that the trend will occur during the next 25 years. For example, after reading a trend statement such as "Information technologies will dramatically reduce the privacy of individuals," the students recorded their desirability score for each trend on a six-point Likert scale, with 6 = Very desirable to 1 = Not desirable. Likewise, the students recorded their probability score for each trend on a six-point Likert scale, with 6 = Highly likely to occur to 1 = Not likely to occur.

In the second section of the questionnaire, the students were instructed to circle only five characteristics from a list of twenty possible citizenship characteristics that they felt were most urgent for educational policy makers to address during the next 25 years. The characteristics listed on the questionnaire were stated in short phrases, such as "Ability to use traditional and evolving (electronic) technologies of communication."

In the third section, students evaluated 26 educational strategies/approaches/innovations that they would recommend for consideration and action by policy makers during the next 25 years. After the students read a strategy statement such as "Establish a curriculum which uses the potential of information-based technologies," they recorded their responses on a six-point Likert scale, with 6 = Highly recommend to 1 = Not recommend.

Each section of the questionnaire displayed a column in which students, if they chose, could write remarks or comments regarding each of the 106 statements. At the end of each specific questionnaire section, a space was left for students to list any additional trends, characteristics, and educational strategies that they felt were missing from the questionnaire but were significant and to be considered by policy makers.

Questionnaire Analysis. To analyze the Trends section, the mode, median, and interquartile range scores were calculated based on the students' responses to each item. For a trend to be considered as having reached consensus (or agreement) among students, the item had to meet the following two criteria consistent with the analysis conducted in The Citizenship Education Policy Study:

1. the mode minus the median is less than or equal to 1.0, and,
2. the interquartile range score is less than or equal to 1.5.

The consensus trends were then categorized by their median score to distinguish: a) very high desirability and/or probability; b) high desirability and/or probability; c) medium, low, very low desirability and/or probability; and d) undesirability and/or improbability. The following categorization criteria was established in order to prioritize the findings and distinguish those trends most important to consider in the creation of educational policy:

1. Very Highly Desirable or Probable Trend: median score ≥ 5.5
2. Highly Desirable or Probable Trend: median score ≥ 4.5, but < 5.5
3. Medium, Low, Very Low Desirable or Probable Trend:
   median score > 1.5, but < 4.5
4. Undesirable or Improbable Trend: median score ≤ 1.5

The same criteria was used to analyze the responses in the strategies section of the questionnaire. Once the consensus strategies were identified, they were categorized by their

median score to distinguish which strategies were very highly recommended and which ones were highly recommended by the students. The following categorization criteria was established:

1. Very Highly Recommended Strategy: median score ≥ 5.5
2. Highly Recommended Strategy: median score ≥ 4.5, but < 5.5

The interquartile range is a way to eliminate scores "likely to be accidents, without eliminating the variability" that the researcher wants to study (Howell, 1993, p. 37). The interquartile score was used to determine which questionnaire items resulted in agreement of opinion (i.e., which items reached consensus) among students and which statements did not reach consensus, constituting diversity of opinion or lack of agreement. "When there is good agreement among the subjects in judging the degree of favorableness or unfavorableness of a statement," the interquartile range "will be small compared with the value obtained when there is relatively little agreement among the subjects" (Edwards, 1957, p. 89).

Because the students participating in this study are from three nations and it cannot be assumed that they share common interests and concerns about the topic under investigation (citizenship education), an interquartile range score of less than or equal to 1.5 was the criterion established to analyze the responses in the trends and strategies sections of the questionnaire. The 1.5 criterion was also used in The Citizenship Education Policy Study (CEPS) to analyze the responses of policy experts from nine nations in order to take into account the multi-national, cross-cultural nature of the CEPS subjects.

To analyze the characteristics section of the questionnaire, two criterion measures were also established to make the test for consensus rigorous. Frequencies and percentages were calculated to identify the characteristics the students viewed as most urgent for attention and action by policy makers. An item was considered as having reached consensus among the students if it met the following two criteria:

1. the characteristic appeared in the top 10 list for *all* three countries (Canada, England, and the United States); and,
2. the characteristic was selected by 25% or more of the total student respondents.

The criterion established by the CEPS researchers is similar to the two criterion listed above, except the first consensus criterion stated that the characteristic must appear in the top 10 list for *three out of the four* research teams (Europe, Japan, North America, and Thailand). Because three, as opposed to nine nations participated in this study, the first consensus criterion was made more stringent, in that a characteristic could only be considered at consensus if it appeared in the top 10 list for *all three* nations.

To examine and analyze the qualitative questionnaire data, all comments recorded in the "Remarks" column for each item were coded and categorized by research site. The questionnaire comments were used to check for validity on an item-by-item basis, to substantiate the consensus findings, and to ensure that both male and female comments, as well as each of the 10 research sites in the three participating countries, were represented.

Interview. After the questionnaires from a research site were received, follow-up interviews, lasting between 40-120 minutes, were conducted with those individuals who indicated that they were willing to participate. A total of 43 of 147 were interviewed. The purpose of the interviews was to gain a deeper understanding of the changing nature of citizenship by examining how the students define citizenship education, how they perceive their citizenship educator role, and what role students believe teacher education programs play in preparing prospective teachers for their citizenship educator role. The interviews were conducted in three ways based on the preference of the student: via Internet (e-mail), in person, or over the phone. A total of 21 females (10 Internet, 11 phone) and 22 males (8 Internet, 12 phone, 2 in-person) were interviewed. The phone and in-person interviews were audio-taped and then transcribed verbatim; a paper copy of the Internet interviews was printed immediately following each interview.

Interview Analysis. The data gathered from the follow-up interviews were analyzed inductively by identifying themes and using quotations to let the participants' perspectives on citizenship education be "heard." Specifically, the data were analyzed at four different levels: description, classification, comparison, and explanation (Spradley, 1979). The data were organized per country under the main interview questions, then the responses from all three countries were merged together. The interview guide served as "a descriptive analytical framework for analysis" (Patton, 1990, p. 376). Through a process of inductive analysis, themes that

emerged from the data, "rather than being imposed on them prior to data collection and analysis" (Patton, 1990, p. 390), were identified.

Once the themes were found, the data for each interview question were placed under the appropriate theme. To validate the themes that were uncovered, the themes were compared within and across countries. In the interview findings section of this paper, description, analysis, and interpretation, along with appropriate quotations from the students, are interspersed to enable the reader to "hear" the students' insights to the interview questions posed.

Questionnaire Findings

The key findings of this study are summarized below in a prioritization scheme. These findings are from the aggregate data at consensus for both the tri-nation student group and the nine nation CEPS policy expert group. This prioritization scheme is intended to help citizenship educators and policy makers focus on the trends, characteristics, and strategies *most important for shaping educational policy* and citizenship education reforms in preservice teacher preparation.

Trends at Consensus. The first category of consensus trends, *Increasingly Significant Challenges*, are those that the students and the CEPS experts identified as *undesirable* and that require the implementation of strategies to confront and prevent their negative direction. The first trend listed below is viewed as highly probable by both the students and CEPS experts; the experts also view the other six trends as highly probable. The undesirable trends focus on the environment, access and use of information technologies, and population growth specific to non-industrialized countries. The seven *Increasingly Significant Challenges* that will impact people during the next 25 years include:

1. In developing countries population growth will result in a dramatic increase in the percentage of people, especially children, living in poverty.
2. The economic gap among countries and between people within countries will widen significantly.
3. Information technologies will dramatically reduce the privacy of individuals.
4. The inequalities between those who have access to information technologies and those who do not will increase dramatically.

5. Conflict of interest between developing and developed nations will increase due to environmental deterioration.

6. The cost of obtaining adequate water will rise dramatically due to population growth and environmental deterioration.

7. Deforestation will dramatically affect diversity of life, air, soil, and water quality.

The second category of consensus trends, *Areas to Monitor*, are those that the students and the CEPS experts identified as *undesirable* but which the CEPS experts found to be only moderately probable. These five trends are also negative in their direction and in need of attention by citizenship educators, policy makers, and teacher education programs. The undesirable trends focus on the loss of citizens' political influence, sense of community, and shared values. The *Areas to Monitor* during the next 25 years include:

1. Individuals, families, and communities will lose political influence due to the increased level of regulation and control by governments.

2. It will be increasingly difficult to develop a shared belief of the common good.

3. Drug-related crime will increasingly dominate social life in urban areas.

4. People's sense of community and social responsibility will decline significantly.

5. Consumerism will increasingly dominate social life.

The third category, *Areas to Encourage*, is composed of three trends the students and CEPS experts agree are very highly or highly *desirable* but which the experts view as only moderately probable. Unlike the first two categories, the direction of the trends in this category is positive, providing some hope and optimism for educators and policy makers. These desirable trends focus on the economy and human rights. The three *Areas to Encourage* during the next 25 years include:

1. Corporations will increasingly adopt measures of environmental conservation in order to remain competitive.

2. Systematic inequalities (e.g., racism, ethnocentrism, sexism) will decrease significantly.

3. Previously marginalized groups of individuals (e.g., women, ethnic minorities, etc.) will occupy more positions of power.

In conclusion, there is shared agreement between the students and the CEPS policy experts on: 1) seven undesirable trends that pose increasingly significant challenges to citizenship educators and policy makers; 2) five undesirable trends that must be monitored; and 3) three very highly or highly desirable trends that must be encouraged. It is important to note that issues of power, equity, and access underlie many of these trends. Although schools have a primary role to play in addressing these trends, institutions outside of formal education must be involved as well. Only when schools and other institutions work together can the negative trends be redirected and the positive trends encouraged.

Characteristics and Strategies at Consensus. Consensus is shared by both students and CEPS experts on six characteristics and ten strategies. The six characteristics necessary for citizens in the future and *most urgent* for policy makers to consider and act upon during the next 25 years are prioritized in the order assigned by the students. Each characteristic, in bold print, is accompanied by rounded-up percentages based on the number of students and experts selecting the particular characteristic. The ten strategies are then listed under the appropriate characteristic. The strategies very highly recommended by students (VH), as opposed to highly recommended, are noted.

1. *Ability to understand, accept, and tolerate cultural differences*
(55% for students; 38% for CEPS experts)

Strategies:

- Increase attention in the curriculum to global issues and international studies.
- Cultivate a teaching population with international experience and cross-cultural sensitivity.

2. *Ability to work with others in a cooperative way and to take responsibility for one's roles/duties within society*

(55% for students; 42% for CEPS experts)

Strategies:

- Increase opportunities for students to be involved in cooperative learning activities. (VH)
- Promote schools as active centers of community life and as agents for community development.
- Require that opportunities for community action and involvement be an important feature of the school curriculum.
- Demand that all major institutions and their officials set high standards of civic responsibility.

3. *Willingness to change one's lifestyle and consumption habits to protect the environment*

(48% for students; 31% for CEPS experts)

Strategy: See first strategy under Characteristic 1.

4. *Willingness to resolve conflict in a non-violent manner*

(44% for students; 34% for CEPS experts)

Strategy: See first strategy under Characteristic 2.

5. *Ability to be sensitive towards and to defend human rights (e.g, rights of women, ethnic minorities, etc.)*

(35% for students; 27% for CEPS experts)

Strategy:

- Ensure that all social institutions (including the family and educational and religious institutions) have an abiding respect for the basic rights of children and contribute to their well-being. (VH)

6. *Capacity to think in a critical and systemic way*

(26% for students; 38% for CEPS experts)

Strategies:

- Support the teaching of subject matter in a manner that encourages children to think critically. (VH)
- Emphasize students' ability to critically assess information in an increasingly media-based society. (VH)
- Establish a curriculum which uses the potential of information-based technologies.

The strategies for fostering these citizenship characteristics outlined above focus on changing curriculum and pedagogy, viewing schools as centers for community life, and ensuring that all social institutions are committed to the well-being of children and uphold standards of civic responsibility. The study findings have implications for teacher training, for the ways in which teacher education programs prepare future teachers will influence the extent to which these desirable characteristics are fostered in secondary school students.

There is also agreement among the students and CEPS experts regarding the characteristics least urgent for attention by policy makers during the next 25 years. These three characteristics include: 1) Loyalty to one's nation (2% for students; 4% experts); 2) Ability to take risks and to have a pioneering spirit (6% for students; 13% for experts); and, 3) Values spiritual development (9% for students; 19% for experts).

Interview Findings

In response to the first question, "How do you define or understand the term *citizenship education?*, six overarching themes emerged from the data, providing a portrait of how the interviewed pre-service teachers understand *citizenship education.*

Global Citizenship: A Broadened View of Citizenship Education. First, the students view citizenship education in a global context. Although cognitive divisions have been constructed between citizenship education and global education by social educators past and present, the students' responses indicate that citizenship education for the 21st century must include global education and not be separate from it.

> I want to make my students aware of what it means to be a global citizen much more than what it means to be a just a citizen of a particular nation. So, for me, that's going to mean looking at more global perspectives. (male, U.S.)

Therefore, a primary goal of citizenship education for the future is to broaden people's views from a nationalistic to a global understanding of citizenship and provide them with the competencies to act on global issues. Referring back to the characteristics findings from the citizenship questionnaire, it is evident that the students recognize that one must be predisposed to or willing to do something before action is realized. For example, a person must be *willing* to change one's lifestyle and consumption habits to protect the environment before he or she actually does so; a person must be *willing* to resolve conflict in a non-violent manner, for possessing conflict resolution skills does not mean they will be used; and, a person must be *sensitive* towards others' rights before one actually defends them.

Beyond Self: An Inclusive Understanding of Citizenship Education. Second, the students view citizenship education as a process of looking beyond one's own self to acknowledge and work with others who have different backgrounds and beliefs. For many students interviewed, global awareness begins by understanding citizenship education as teaching people about cultural diversity within as well as outside of national "borders." A starting place for citizenship education for the 21st century is to address multiculturalism:

> [Presently citizenship education in Alberta is] specifically focused at making our students better Albertans, better Canadians. If I compare that to what we have now in Alberta, it [citizenship education] definitely needs to be broadened. For example, our citizenship education doesn't even encompass our own multicultural society, specifically Native students. Citizenship education needs to, first of all not just look at are we being good Canadians, are we being good world citizens, but are we including all cultures? (female, Canada)

A primary purpose of citizenship education, therefore, is to help develop tolerance, acceptance, and respect. Inclusiveness and cooperation, rather than exclusiveness and segregation, must characterize future teaching practice:

> I'd like to see a society where everybody's working together...To work together as a team and all getting along in a way that allows people to fulfill their own dreams and be happy within that. Sort of a team effort. Society can be [viewed] within a very small region as a group of houses in a city and as the world as a whole. (female, England)

Rights and Responsibilities. Third, citizenship education, understood as "rights and responsibilities toward self and other people" was a common, recurring definition assigned by the preservice teachers. Citizenship education is understood as a dynamic, reciprocal relationship in which the citizen gives to society and the citizen receives from society:

> To give as much to a country as you receive. And to make sure that you try to place as much faith in the idea of country as you would expect them to place back in you. It's sort of a two-way street. Both ways. You don't get without giving. And you can't be expected to give without receiving back. (male, Canada)

Citizenship education understood as a dynamic, empowering process involves citizens exercising their rights not only to maintain a democratic society and to safeguard their rights within that society, but to actually help define what responsibilities citizens have toward their society so that it will progress in a desirable direction. The data suggests that citizenship education involves empowering individuals to "take responsibility for their own lives" and to take responsibility for making their society (world) a better place:

> Teaching students what their rights and responsibilities are and how to deal with them best. This is a difficult one; it is not just about teaching students how to vote or what a pressure group is but instilling in them the ability to make decisions for themselves and lead responsible lives. (female, England)

The challenge facing citizenship educators is how to encourage discussion about democratic values and engage students in democratic practice without hindering students from making independent decisions, acting according to their own values, and defining responsibility for themselves rather than having it defined for them.

Critical Thinking and Informed Decision Making. Fourth, in order to act according to one's own values and to define responsibility for one's self, the preservice teachers identified critical thinking and informed decision making as integral components of citizenship education for the 21st century.

> Citizenship education should be defined the same way that 'proper' or 'good' education is defined. Students should learn about themselves and about how to deal with the world around them with an open, yet critical mind. We need to teach students to think and give them the tools of thought so that they can reach to the changes that will inevitably face them over the next decades.
> (male, Canada)

The preservice teachers understand citizenship education to be a process of fostering an awareness of current events and issues, an ability to discriminate between possible solutions, and an ability to make informed, responsible decisions.

> Citizenship I define as the process and struggle of becoming an active citizen through the dilemmas of everyday life and making decisions in a way which never takes for granted that any prescription from someone else has to remain fixed and cannot be altered or questioned if only in a small way. (male, England)

The data suggest that citizenship education encompasses both thought and action, a process of questioning taken-for granted assumptions and making decisions based on beliefs of what is "right" and "best," indicating that the student informants do not take a relativistic position that all decisions and actions are acceptable.

Empowerment. A fifth important finding is that the preservice teachers view citizenship education as a vehicle for empowering students to "realize the forces that change and shape their lives [and] how they can make their lives better" (male, Canada). According to the respondents, education for citizenship must foster "a sense of empowerment for people to feel like they control their destinies [and] how they can improve what they see around them" (male, U.S.). Citizenship education understood as empowerment, may be a possible way to help eradicate the disconnectedness citizens feel between themselves and their societies:

> I think that a lot of people today, a lot of kids I see today and a lot of adults, too, are really just feeling very disconnected. It's easier for people to feel connected to their families or their churches or their immediate institutions that they have been involved in. But they don't feel much of a connection outside of that. I don't think people often have a very good sense of their role, of what they can do or what they should do in terms of the broader, bigger picture. And even on the local level people don't always feel very connected, or they see things happening but they don't know how to take action to try to improve the situation. (male, U.S.)

For people to be empowered, they need to feel "a sense of belonging, and a sense of knowing [their] role" (male, U.S.). Citizenship education, understood as empowerment, may be a way to help increase students' understandings of themselves, their capabilities, and ways they can effect change.

Empowerment, to a large extent, depends on the communication abilities citizens possess. Citizens need self-confidence to be able to approach people and ask for things without fear. People need the tools of communication "to go out and find out for themselves what rights they have," to

conduct "active research about what their role is in society and...to put their ideas into practice in some way" (male, England). Therefore, citizenship education for the 21st century must provide students with the knowledge and skills to find information, draw on a variety of resources, and form and express opinions.

Community Involvement. Besides having the skills to engage in democratic practice, the findings strongly suggest that citizens must want to be involved. The interviewees understand citizenship education to be about community involvement, defined as participation at the local, regional, national, and global levels. As an English student explained, citizenship education is "looking at the issue of participation in society in a way which has a wider than individual benefit." A female, American student concurs:

> Citizen education is about what a student's role is as a citizen and what [part] they play in their community. They need to know they are important for a community that works together and runs smoothly.

To summarize this sixth theme, citizenship education involves developing individuals who recognize the importance of, are willing to, and can participate in community life. Being involved in the "political process," being "involved in issues that mean a lot to you," "being able to volunteer your time and help to get involved," and using "talents to help the community" are phrases the pre-service teachers used to emphasize that community involvement is a vital part of citizenship education for the 21st century.

By integrating the themes that emerged from the students' responses to the first interview question, citizenship education for the 21st century is defined as:

> a dynamic, empowering process that seeks to make students more aware of, sensitive towards, and knowledgeable about their world and teaches students cognitive skills, social skills, and values to critically examine and act on issues that have a wider than individual benefit.

Overall, these findings suggest that citizenship education for the 21st century, although conceptually complex, can be understood as:

1. moving from a nationalistic to a global understanding of one's place in the world;

2. moving from a myopic view of self to an inclusive understanding of community;

3. recognizing one's rights and responsibilities;

4. understanding citizenship education from a sociological viewpoint as the relationship between the individual and society;

5. possessing critical thinking, decision making, and communication skills in order to be inclined to participate in community life and empowered to effect change; and,

6. understanding the inherent moral and political dimensions underlying citizenship education.

The task for university instructors and policy makers is to incorporate this broadened view of citizenship education throughout their teacher preparation programs.

The second interview question asked preservice teachers to identify and elaborate upon what is needed in teacher preparation curricula and instruction to prepare them to teach the new type of citizenship they described earlier in the interview. The insights obtained from the pre-service teachers are grouped into seven categories, constituting areas of reform suggested as necessary in teacher preparation programs.

Needed: Explicit Citizenship Education. The first area of reform is that citizenship education be made more explicit in teacher training programs. For most of the students interviewed, the concept of citizenship education is quite vague and indistinct. With instructor guidance and open classrooms where time is devoted to peer discussion, students want to define and identify the component parts of citizenship education for and amongst themselves in order to establish citizenship education's foundation or knowledge base. Students also desire concrete examples of ways in which they can implement citizenship education in their future secondary classrooms. The need for making citizenship education explicit in teacher preparation is illustrated by the following comment:

> I remember sitting down once and having a chat and sort of saying what do environmental issues, and economic issues, and citizenship, what do they all really mean? And we all had a pretty good idea, but I don't expect anybody was really concrete on it. (female, England)

Although there is a desire on the part of students to have a clear definition of citizenship education, a common language from which to discuss the concept, and a way of making

connections between issues such as multiculturalism and citizenship education, concept clarification cannot precede preservice teachers working through definitions and understandings of citizenship education for themselves. As an American female student explained, wrestling with 'citizen' definitions is necessary for students to make citizenship education their own passion as opposed to rhetoric that is easily abandoned when citizenship education is not internalized as an important educational mission by teachers:

> Social studies teachers need to, for themselves, identify what a good citizen is. For example, ideas like multicultural education, global education, citizenship education are tossed out to future educators. It has been my experience that until I was able to take ownership, these were merely fad ways of educating. Or rather, a professor's pet project or philosophy. To take ownership, students must make their own definitions. This goes back to who deems what a good citizen actually is.

Students also expressed the importance of discussing and articulating a more dynamic philosophy of citizenship education -- one that is open to change and revision. A male student from England advocates that the social science profession seek to establish a unified approach to citizenship education so that the field can move and develop in an agreed upon direction. Exposure to a more explicit approach to citizenship education within teacher preparation programs, where citizenship education is clearly defined and students receive guidance from their instructors on ways to teach citizenship education in the schools, will aid in social science teachers "hitting the right mark," that is, teaching that strives to develop desirable citizenship characteristics in secondary students:

> I'm not saying that philosophy should be written down in tablets of stone, but if the basic concept of citizenship education can be expressed, then teachers can build on that with some guidance, then I think you would get a much more consistent approach [in the] profession, rather than individual teachers taking their own ideas of citizenship education and delivering it which might be totally different than somebody within his own department...[I]f you had a lot more communication within the profession, especially from the point of view of citizenship education and what we should be looking at, what we should be teaching pupils, the whole philosophy moves and develops as one big body rather than lots of little chunks of philosophies and nobody hitting the right mark.

Developing a philosophy of citizenship education requires not only more discussion among teachers in the schools, but more discussion with teachers in all levels of education across the

globe in order to establish a common ground, "some compatibility between philosophies" (male, England) while also sharing different perspectives and approaches to citizenship education.

Because citizenship education is often discussed at a personal level (e.g., "What do you think?"), it is not viewed by social science preservice teachers as being very "academic. The last word is left to you rather than anybody else." The danger in relegating citizenship education to only the personal level is that the concept is left to the individual preservice teacher to address. With the myriad of internal and external pressures affecting teachers, it is unlikely that they will have the time or incentive to investigate citizenship education on their own. Working through issues and developing personal points of view is the first stage in facilitating thinking about citizenship education in teacher preparation; but coming to a more unified, coherent conclusion about what citizenship education is, why it is something that should be done, and how it can be implemented in the schools is a crucial step in solidifying preservice teachers' conceptual understanding and willingness to try democratic citizenship activities during and after practice teaching.

Needed: More Discussion. The second area of reform is that discussion be made a central feature of teacher preparation programs in order to prepare preservice teachers for their citizenship educator roles. The students expressed their desire to discuss controversial or sensitive issues, to have opportunities to voice their ideas and opinions, and to inquire more about concepts and curricular content with their peers and instructors. Although students' opinions differ on the extent to which they feel their teacher preparation programs encouraged student discussion, preservice teachers agree that classroom discussion is crucial to fostering broadened perspectives on issues and concepts. As a female, Canadian student explained, discussions with students help you see sides of issues that "you didn't think of or have never thought of on your own."

The comfortability with which the professor addresses contested issues seems to shape how students perceive the classroom climate in teacher preparation. Although discussions may occur on a regular basis, the ways in which heated debates are facilitated by instructors provide powerful messages about how "open" classroom climates really are. When asked if time had been provided for students to discuss issues, an American preservice teacher replied:

> Some time was given to doing that, and at some points things were cut off. When some pretty emotional issues were talked about things were kind of cut off and shut down. I wasn't happy with that [nor was] everyone else. I think the attitude of the teacher or professor at some point is to keep everyone as happy as they can be. If there's a heated discussion going on in the classroom (it's nothing disrespectful or anything), they feel threatened by that, that [the student] might walk out of the program and that that might reflect on the professor. I think there are quite a few instances where things were shut down.

Discussion of "powerful issues" such as "racism, classism, and discrimination" are emotionally-laden, but teacher preparation programs can serve as forums in which students are free to wrestle with issues and articulate their beliefs. Peer discussions provide students with a "collection of perspectives" from which to better understand themselves and the issues they will confront in practice teaching and their own secondary classrooms.

In addition to broadening conceptual understanding, exposing students to different perspectives, and sharpening communication skills (listening as well as verbal), discussion of social studies curricula and more democratic forms of pedagogy is another area students identified as deserving attention in teacher preparation. As a Canadian student reveals,

> The content was pretty much a given...there wasn't a lot of discussion about what was taught...again there was a time factor. And I found that also in the classroom teaching, if you have a lot of material to get through quickly, the things that tend to be a little more creative and fun and lively tend to take up more time.

When content is treated as "a given" in teacher preparation, preservice teachers do not gain practice in critically analyzing the materials they are expected to teach in the secondary schools. A lack of critical reflection over time can result in teaching and delivering content without a solid rationale for why the material should be taught and why it should be taught in a particular way. If critical thinking and reflection does not become a habit, teachers run the risk of acquiescing to others' agendas and contributing to the "deskilling" of the education profession.

Needed: A Bridge Between Theory and Practice. The third area of reform is to help bridge the gap between theory and practice in teacher education programs. As a female, Canadian student summarized,

> There's too much of a separation between the theoretical information we get at the university and the actual practical aspect of being in the classroom and trying to teach. There's a huge gap there.

The "huge gap" between theory and practice has been interpreted by students in two different ways. First, most students are concerned that too much attention is being given to theory and research as opposed to pedagogy.

> We were told to do this and do that but we were not really shown how which I think is what we need. (female, U.S.)

> [There was] no support with respect to teaching content. No great ideas for how to do it or what works and what doesn't. (female, Canada)

The second perspective shared regarding theory and practice is a deep concern that preservice teachers, in their desire to obtain practical ways to implement citizenship, neglect to examine the theoretical underpinnings of why citizenship education is important.

> [We] didn't look at the questions of, 'What is citizenship education? Why do we teach citizenship education? Where is it going?' It's sort of, 'But, how do we do it?' It's like on a very practical basis. So, you look at newspapers, and you can cut out newspapers and link it to kids lives and things like that without asking enough questions about citizenship education. It was sort of 'There will be citizenship education, and this is how you might be expected to teach it.' It was, in that respect, disappointing. (male, England)

Thus, there is a danger in teaching a practical-oriented citizenship education that addresses "How do we do citizenship education?" without preservice teachers thinking about and discussing the more fundamental assumptions undergirding various approaches to citizenship education learning and instruction.

The interview data suggest that numerous factors contribute to a more "nuts and bolts" approach to teaching in training programs. First, time constraints limit the attention preparation programs can give to any one area such as citizenship education. Second, an emphasis by secondary schools on the practical experience that preservice teachers can demonstrate contributes to a focus on *doing* citizenship education as opposed to *knowing* why it is being done. When the extent to which students have or have not thought about citizenship education goes unassessed, there is no incentive for preservice teachers to ask deeper questions about their own teaching practice. And third, national educational policies that mandate more time in secondary schools as opposed to universities continue to foster a cognitive division between theory and practice in the

minds of preservice teachers, with schools being viewed as "the real world" and universities as theoretical "ivory towers."

For preservice teachers to feel better prepared to incorporate citizenship education on their own, more guidance is needed in their preparation programs. The interviewed students see guided university practice as a way to help bridge the gap between theories of learning and actually implementing more democratic-oriented activities in secondary classrooms. Many students expressed their desire for citizenship activities such as role plays, simulations, and questioning to be modeled during teacher preparation, for more time to work through specific examples prior to practice teaching, and for opportunities to debrief activities during and after practice teaching:

> We've had many activities given to us, but I don't think we've spent as much time as we would like on it in terms of how to do them. We get handouts, and we do a lot of them in class, but it's tough for me to remember things when we've only done them once. I need more practice than just the one time, whether it's observing someone who is actually doing it or participating myself. (male, U.S.)

Besides more concrete examples in teacher preparation, the interviewed students suggested that stronger linkages between universities and secondary schools could help bridge the gap between theory and practice in citizenship education. Improving communication between university faculty and the cooperating teachers and offering cooperative teachers specific training in how to work with preservice teachers may help to guide preservice teachers in the use of more democratic, participatory methods, such as cooperative learning and discussion. The training would help to articulate the role of the cooperating teacher as one who helps the student teacher transfer the knowledge and methods gained in university sessions to the actual classroom setting.

In addition to constructing a better understanding of the cooperating teacher's role, more formal linkages between the university and high school faculty are needed to increase awareness about the type of content being taught and the types of instructional methods being used in each of these educational institutions. Formal linkages are viewed by the respondents as a specific way to address the gap between knowledge held by preservice teachers and that held by inservice teachers.

Needed: Identification of Citizenship Education's Knowledge Base. The fourth area of needed reform in teacher preparation is to identify citizenship education's knowledge base. As students expressed their need to have citizenship education better defined and made more explicit,

their responses to the second interview question also fostered the identification of specific component parts (or building blocks) which help form a foundation for a new type of citizenship education. This knowledge base incorporates traditional disciplines, such as history, political science, and civics, as well as progressive movements such as multicultural and global education. Concerns about the influence of media, the impact of information technologies, the lack of community bonds, and the needs of students in urban schools constitute areas that the interviewed respondents see as being related and vital to any reconceptualization of citizenship education for the 21st century.

The integration of disciplinary perspectives with progressive movements and current societal realities form an identifiable knowledge base for citizenship education. Citizenship education's knowledge base includes: a) a broad education in specific content areas, such as history, political science, economics; b) multicultural education; c) global education; d) media education; e) information technologies; f) community service; and e) urban education.

Needed: More Resources. The fifth area of reform in teacher preparation is to provide preservice teachers with resources, as well as ideas of how to obtain them, in order to enable them to teach citizenship education. If preservice teachers are to educate for citizenship, then they need to be given more resources in their preparation programs, as well as knowledge of where to find the information.

> Providing teachers with the resources...is the most important suggestion I can make. I don't know who would coordinate that, be it government, states, or universities, but I think all of these entities should be involved in trying to create programs and instructional materials that will help get people more involved in government, and that will, generally, help make people better citizens. (male, U.S.)

Although teacher preparation programs have stressed the importance of making teaching more relevant and learning more interactive, a Canadian woman explained that there is still too much reliance "on the textbook for our information." She proposes that preservice teachers be required to use supplementary sources and to utilize cultural resources and resource centers:

> I would make it mandatory that you use an outside component besides the textbook, like a public speaker or something where they would actually be in touch a little bit with the culture. Or make it mandatory that [preservice teachers] do a project where all their information has to come from a person who is actually in a country that you're studying, like a personal Internet interview. Something where they were actually in touch with culture.

Panel discussions, literature from community organizations, guest speakers, and resource fairs are possibilities for preservice teachers to obtain ideas and teaching materials in their preparation programs. These ideas can also be implemented in secondary schools. Teacher preparation programs have an important role to play in guiding preservice teachers toward democratic activities and creating enthusiasm for fulfilling their citizenship educative mission.

The interview data suggests that for preservice teachers to feel prepared to teach citizenship education they need to have opportunities in their teacher training to:

1. think about what characteristics citizens need, reflect upon what citizenship education means to them, and share their personal understandings with their peers and instructors;

2. have an identifiable citizenship knowledge base articulated;

3. have concrete citizenship education examples modeled, as well as numerous opportunities to practice the activities during the course of their program;

4. investigate how citizenship education can be taught in the various social science content areas, as well as in other disciplines; and

5. learn where and how to obtain citizenship education resources when they are on their own.

Needed: Teacher as Citizen Concept. The sixth area of reform is to discuss, during teacher preparation, the teacher's role as citizenship educator or the concept of *teacher citizen.* The preservice teachers interviewed recommend that teacher preparation programs address the important role that teachers themselves play in educating secondary students for democratic citizenship. The interviewees advocate that efforts be made in teacher training to help preservice educators become consciously aware of how a teacher's manner and instructional methods convey particular messages to students about what it is to be a citizen. Because students learn about citizenship daily through the verbal and non-verbal communication and behaviors displayed by teachers, the modeling aspect of the education profession, as well as the influence and power associated with the teacher's role, must be critically examined in teacher preparation programs.

> I think they've got to get us into a mindset that as teachers we...see students just as much as their parents do, so we're seen as authority figures, as examples of the kind of citizen the students may be. So, I think it's important that my education as a teacher in the sense that our actions can affect these students, whether they're implicit or explicit actions, and how as teachers we're examples to the students. We have to remember that. I don't want to say be on our best behavior, but I think it's important that we set a good example for the students. And that's not always stressed in my classes, but it has been stressed in my global education course. (male, Canada)

Just as preservice teachers need to be cognizant of the role modeling aspect of teaching and be practiced in instructional methods that are consistent with democratic practice, the interview data suggest that preservice teachers must also be aware of the power that their words carry and the influence that their ideas have on students:

> A teacher needs to go through the exercise of when to share with a group of students and fine-tuning judgment -- when, if ever, to share and or to conceal your opinion. [One] must be concerned about indoctrination, and beginning teachers need to think about what the role of the teacher means, and what influence teachers can have on students. Before sharing opinions, think if opinions may be disrespectful of students. Teachers need to be aware of the influence they have. Teachers need to know how to manage that power. (female, U.S.)

How to teach democratic citizenship education without indoctrinating students is a primary concern of the interviewees who advocate that critical thinking and independent decision making be made a part of a teacher's educational philosophy as well as essential characteristics to be developed in students. Only when students can critically examine choices and have the freedom to embrace or reject ideas can they internalize the ideas being taught and truly decide for themselves why it is important that democratic values be upheld.

> Teachers need to be aware of these things [participation, self-awareness, and critical thought] and work toward developing them in themselves then in their students...I think the harmful effects of citizenship education come when it becomes dogmatic, flag waving, rote memorization of historical dates, and closed to disagreement or argument. There is a thin line between education (where two parties go on a pedagogical journey where both engage their environment in an attempt to learn) and manufacturing citizens -- producing people who will be good workers and will be predictable and won't cause problems. (male, Canada)

Citizenship education cannot be forced upon secondary students anymore than it can be forced upon preservice teachers. Discussion and deliberation about democratic values among students is needed before those values can be made their own.

> I guess I really think that we need to make our students aware of, 'Okay, this is the type of society we live in. These are some of the things that the society values.' But, not go to the point where we're still saying, 'And these are the values that we think you need to have in order to be a good citizen.' Certainly, I am very biased, and yes I really do hope my students turn out to be wonderfully participatory in civics and in the world about them, but I guess, more importantly, the first thing I want to do is teach them to think and make those decisions for themselves, and think on their own two feet, rather than hearing, 'This is what society wants you to be like and this is why we do this, we learn to be good.' I want students to make that choice for themselves. (female, U.S.)

The role of the teacher, therefore, is to provide time for and guide discussions about societal values, encouraging reflection about democratic principles rather than indoctrinating students with 'This is what society values, so you must value it as well.'

Teachers must be conscious of their words and behavior with other teachers as well as with secondary students. If diversity is to move beyond the realm of rhetoric in educational institutions, then teachers must come to view an acceptance of diversity as an important part of their teacher citizen role. A Canadian preservice teacher reveals the prejudices she observed in her practice teaching and preparation program which points towards the need for sensitivity training for in-service faculty:

> From the chatter in the [teacher's lounge] there's not a lot of tolerance for people from different family situations, racially mixed people, single parents, low income. They seem to write them off.

> I just found that people weren't very sensitive in the faculty or in the schools where you do your practice teaching about any kind of diversity. And I'm a single mother, and I'm on social assistance. And I have to sit and listen to the teachers talk about the students who come from single parent homes or whose parents are from different cultures or whatever. I think part of it is the political climate, too, because of what the Ontario government is like right now, it's pretty right-wing -- cutting the daycare and mothers who are on welfare.

In addition to the modeling aspects and power associated with the teacher's role, preservice teachers recognize the need to take a stand for what they believe and to not forego their personal educational philosophies and democratic practices when confronted with the school's socializing influences and the educational system's reluctance to change. The challenges preservice and new teachers face in the schools take many different forms. One challenge is pressure from some

administrators and colleagues to "stick to the basics," the established curriculum, which hinders new teachers from being more creative and implementing the democratic methods they have learned in teacher training.

Another challenge faced by new teachers is the emphasis on learning about and surviving in the existing educational system rather than working to change structures that inhibit good teaching. The message new teachers receive is that any innovation and creativity they want to bring to their educational environments must to be placed "on hold" while they become acquainted with the operation of the schools.

> All of the people I worked under (my practicum supervisors, my instructor at the university, my cooperating teachers) all said one thing: If you can somehow find a way to deal with the management of the classroom, like somehow being able to budget and somehow being able to get all those management things done, if you can somehow work in your first couple of years to do that first so it becomes an automatic thing, then they all say you'll become a good teacher, and you'll be able to work on innovation and you'll be able to work on the other things that are really required of education. But if you're expecting to do that now, you might as well give up and go home because you're going to be disappointed. So, I mean it's not really pedagogy, but that's really what it's truly about -- if you can deal with all the other stuff and find a way to manage it without having it take up all of your time, like it does many teachers, then you have at least a third of your time to actually work on the things that you really feel need to be changed. (female, Canada)

What is needed in teacher preparation is an opportunity to discuss the notion of teachers as change agents. Specifically, preservice teachers need to know how they can work with administrators and experienced teachers to: one, change school structures to foster more democratic classroom climates; and, two, encourage teachers to cover fewer topics in more depth and adopt more student-centered philosophies of learning.

> One of the big things that's been brought up in our work here [at the university] is the way the high school system is structured, that "kids get a little bit of a lot of different things, but they don't really have an opportunity to go into very much depth in any one thing. And while it's been talked about here, to some extent, that it's not a good thing, I'm not sure it's really been brought out how specifically, what are some specific steps you can do to change that. And maybe it's beyond us because it entails changing the entire system. I don't know. (male, U.S.)

Another challenge new teachers face is overcoming the fear of what administrators and experienced teachers might say and do if the new teachers stand up for their beliefs and remain true to their philosophy of democratic learning:

> Many teachers are afraid to take stands. They fear, and rightfully so, school boards, principles, administrators, et al., and teach the what [the content and not ask students to question "why"]...what we as teachers must learn is how to take a stand that is a stand and politically palatable at the same time. This may be a tall order, but without it, we are going to have the same teaching we have had in the past. (male, U.S.)

A reluctance on the part of teachers to stand up for good teaching practice and engage in the political nature of their teaching role may be connected to a nation-wide cynicism about government and a powerlessness to effect positive change:

> I'm sure things have changed a lot in 20 years since Vietnam and Watergate. Just our whole national attitude has changed somewhat, and we're all a lot more skeptical. But that also means we're skeptical but we also feel powerless to change things. We kind of look at the system and think it's all messed up. And it sort of gives us, although it's kind of ironic, it gives us a sense of power to talk about how screwed up the system is, but no one gets involved to try to change things. No one feels that they <u>can</u> get involved to change things. (male, U.S., emphasis added)

An illustration from a male, Canadian student captures the powerlessness felt by an experienced social studies teacher planning to abandon the profession. The incident left the preservice teacher concerned about how negativity and despair can affect those new to the education profession.

> There are quite a few teachers walking around right now that are suffering from teacher burnout, and it's kind of hard not to pick up some of the cynical comments they say. [For example,] I had a guy four weeks ago, when I was in a place where I was sitting in the head's office where my associate's desk is, come in. I listened to a 20 minute ranting and raving on how the administration didn't care, the school didn't care, the board didn't care, and the rest of the teachers didn't care. He'd had enough. He was putting in his paper; he was done at the end of the year. And he was tired. No respect from the kids, no respect from the school administration, no respect from the board, nor respect from the public. It was time for him to put on a grass skirt and head for Tahiti.
>
> And I'm thinking if you had somebody that was brand new in teaching and coming out I'd be getting some pretty scary ideas from listening to this person speak. I'd like to say that is an uncommon happening, but from talking to the other students there's already three or four in a large school that are like that. For some reason, their words seem to carry a lot of weight. And it's partly due to the fact that they've been at it so long, and maybe they go into it for the wrong reasons or go into it for the right reasons and lost it.

So as not to be overwhelmed by the challenges teachers face in their profession, preparation programs need to help preservice teachers articulate their reasons for why they have gone into the teaching profession and ways to keep their sense of purpose at the forefront. As one

student expressed, teacher training must "help us improve as teachers, and also to give us more, make us feel more comfortable in trying out our own ideas, instead of going along with the structure that's already established" (male, U.S.). Likewise, an English student remarked about the importance of teacher training addressing the role of teachers in fostering educational change.

To summarize, the interviewed respondents want preparation programs to encourage students to take active roles as educational reformers and to critique schooling processes and propose solutions during, as well as after, teacher training. The concept of teacher as citizen, or teacher citizen, may be a way to capture the idea that students learn about citizenship through both the implicit and explicit actions of their teachers. The interviewed students recommend that preparation programs address the multifaceted components of the citizenship educator role:

1. role modeling: teachers' manners and behaviors inside and outside of schools, with other teachers as well as with students;

2. power and influence: the willingness to share power to some degree with students and to design classrooms and schools that empower student citizens;

3. indoctrination vs. critical thinking/independent decision making: striving to promote habits of mind to foster student understanding of democracy rather than a blind acceptance of unexamined ideas;

4. political nature of teaching: the willingness to take a stand for and hold to student-centered educational philosophies despite challenges internal and external to the schools; and,

5. change agents: the willingness to and ability to help change existing educational environments to make them more democratic institutions; viewing selves as empowered educational reformers.

Needed: Citizenship Education Made a Priority. Finally, the seventh area of reform is that citizenship education be made a priority in teacher preparation and in secondary schools. Some English students interviewed identified specific ways in which citizenship has *not* been made a priority in social science teacher preparation:

> I feel that teacher training institutes (at the moment) do not sufficiently prepare their trainee teachers for their role as citizenship educators. At the moment it depends greatly on the individual course/lecturer as to how much and what quality of guidance is offered. I feel that in the future the same quality and level of guidance should be provided for all trainee teachers. I feel that to improve this program more emphasis needs to be placed on the importance of this subject and more time [and] resources should be invested in it. (female, England)

> Citizenship education should be taken more seriously and form a more significant part of the teacher training program if it is to be worthwhile. (female, England)

Currently, citizenship education in Canada, England, and the United States is left to the discretion of the individual course instructor to address in teacher preparation. If the instructor is interested in citizenship education, then it is more likely that a citizenship education component will be introduced in the social studies teacher training curriculum. At present, however, there are no guidelines or standards for the quantity or quality of instruction. The amount of time and attention devoted to citizenship education varies from program to program.

The interviewed students advocate that citizenship be clearly defined, that a more consistent approach to citizenship education be implemented, and that all preservice teachers, regardless of subject area, be exposed to citizenship education in their teacher training. As an English student explained, it is presently assumed that citizenship education occurs in history and is the task of social science teachers. As a result, preservice teachers in other subjects have not been exposed to the concept of citizenship education. This same concern was expressed by a Canadian student: "If history's your teachable it [citizenship education] might be addressed. But other than that, no." The insularity of school subjects limits citizenship education from being made a part of the task of teachers in every discipline.

> I think at the moment individual subject teachers have insular views of their own subjects. They don't know about other subjects, the national curriculum subjects, and what is supposed to be taught. (male, England)

At present, citizenship education is a low priority in English schools because it in competition with other national curriculum subjects for a place in the school curriculum. In Canada and the United States, citizenship education is, more often than not, a part of the hidden curriculum.

The students who were interviewed from England articulated the need for "more lingering" or collaboration with preservice teachers in other disciplines to discuss how interdisciplinary learning can be fostered. Likewise, students from Canada and the United States advocate that citizenship education be made on overall goal and topic not limited to one preservice course or one secondary social studies class but integrated and focused upon *throughout* the preservice and secondary school curriculum. As an American student explained:

> Citizenship education can be taught in other areas in teacher prep programs and in high schools. Social studies is the main one but also the sciences. Environmental aspects of citizenship education can be learned in science classes. (male, U.S.)

Moreover, the integration of social studies and language arts is already occurring in some secondary schools in Oregon, which a student views as "a good trend." Preservice teachers in Ontario have also been exposed to interdisciplinary learning and have been encouraged "to integrate as many different backgrounds [and] courses as [they] could" (female, Canada). Commenting that the disciplines are "too often isolated from one another," a woman from Alberta offered the following suggestion: "I think that schools should try to remove themselves from teaching subjects independent of one another and move towards an inclusive curricula." As an American student summarized: "Civics is a field that really needs to be looked at from an interdisciplinary angle."

Citizenship education must be taken more seriously by educators and made a priority in both teacher preparation programs and in secondary schools. A more systematic approach to citizenship education is demonstrated by giving more time, attention, and resources to addressing citizenship education in every subject and providing training for all preservice teachers, regardless of discipline.

The third interview question asked students to discuss how else and where else citizenship education should take place. Although citizenship education is a necessary part of formal education and should not be neglected in the schools, the interviewed preservice teachers explained that citizenship education occurs outside the formal setting as well:

> I think generally people have a very narrow perspective on education and what education is. And just because you're not in school doesn't mean you're not being educated. I mean people were constantly being educated from a very early age. You look at all the cultures around the world that maybe don't have the formal schooling

> like we do here, and there's education. There's education that goes on all the time, at the home, on TV, anything that people are exposed to. I think they try to make sense of it and find out what it means to them. That's not always a real conscious process, but we're constantly trying to make sense of the world. We're trying to find out what it means to us and what our role is. And to me, it's absurd to think that education only happens in a classroom. And it's equally absurd to think that education could or only should happen in the classroom. (male, U.S.)

Industrialized societies like Canada, England, and the United States, however, have been driven by a market economy and by a need to secure work outside the home. Formal schooling, both past and present, has been viewed as a way to provide common experiences for children to learn workplace characteristics, such as punctuality and basic literacy skills. Formal education, especially in North America, has served as a socializing mechanism to assimilate, integrate, or nationalize people from diverse cultural backgrounds. Thus, schools, rather than families or communities, have borne the responsibility of preparing students for the workplace and educating them for citizenship.

> There's a big tendency today to blame the educational system for it's shortcomings and failures and for a lot of the problems in society. They blame our educational system which again in my life is pretty off the mark because schools are only one of many institutions. Schools are a product of the society and community that they're in. So, schools can be no better or no worse than their surrounding environment. It's kind of absurd to me to think that schools are either the cause or the cure for our problems. (male, U.S.)

> I think for the most part that the communities that we live in have placed great expectations on institutions (schools, etc.) to 'teach,' whereas education should be a parental and community's responsibility. (female, Canada)

The students interviewed discussed the importance of involvement in community activities, civic groups, and organizations but believe that citizenship must be taught in schools:

> I think it's important to have it [citizenship education] in the formal school because it's great if the parents do it...but I know from my own experience, my parents weren't exactly the most involved people in our community. I mean they voted and all that, but they just didn't get as involved as they probably could [have]. So, I try to be a little more involved, but I even find that because that wasn't something that was encouraged in my house, I find it hard to do it because I didn't grow up with it. So, I think it needs to start at home, but in school it definitely needs to be encouraged. (female, Canada)

As male, Canadian student explained, school "is an institution that is already set up" to teach citizenship and "a good place to start" but that schools are not the only way to educate for citizenship:

> I think that's a good place to start or where it should be focused. But there are so many people that are not in the educational context which I think it can be done publicly, whether it be a public education course or where it might just be setting up meetings to talk about problems and try to encourage people to go. I think lecturing about citizenship education is not the only way. I think learning by example and perhaps publicizing meetings to discuss problems. Just getting people to talk about the problems is the first step and what to do, what responsible citizens should do I think is the place to start. School is just an institution that's already set up that can facilitate that...getting people involved, if you're talking about people outside the educational context, getting people involved in issues instead of encouraging them to sit back and just let the leaders handle it. I think it is important to get everyone involved as much as possible.

The importance of meeting together as a community to discuss issues and share concerns is viewed as an integral part of citizenship education. In the following passage, a Canadian student rejects the trend of capitalism dictating the type of citizens schools are to produce and sees new possibilities for citizenship education in school-community linkages.

> I think citizenship education can be approached by meeting your neighbors, sharing cultural understandings. Community based programs which encourage people to come together and to do work together are perfect areas for citizenship education. In my Utopia, we all need to dream in these crazy times, these coalitions are not managed or controlled, especially by the mighty dollar. Instead, mindsets have to change and we have to learn to live together for compassionate reasons. The dollar has separated us from compassion. We kill, maim, and slaughter locally and globally in [the] name of the dollar. Formal schools have done little but to breed a series of digitized students who are concerned for self and not community. Processed students who work for McDonald's in order to buy more are not good citizens. Schools must and will eventually go. However, I have faith that schools will continue in a new form -- community based schools which actually interact regularly with the community, now there is a thought. (male, Canada)

In addition to fostering more connections with local communities, two American students expressed that international experiences, such as traveling and living abroad, helped make societal issues more real and challenged them to see that formal schooling is only one way of learning about citizenship education.

> I got an opportunity to travel overseas which made a big impression on me. It helped in a lot of ways to bring the textbook and the newspaper more to life and to actually see some of the historic places that I heard about. (male, U.S.)

> I lived overseas. I lived in Central America for a couple of years. We lived in Guatemala in a very rural village, a very civic-minded people who were very concerned about their town, and the actions they took to preserve their town and their heritage. It's starting to really challenge my notions of, "Oh, formal education is the only way to gain knowledge." No, actually it's not. It's one way, but maybe not the only way. (female, U.S.)

In summary, citizenship education is not limited to formal education. People must come to realize that all that one needs to learn about themselves and their role in the world cannot take place during 16-18 years of schooling, but rather, as an English student expressed, citizenship education is a life-long process of learning within and outside of educational institutions.

Discussion and Conclusions

The purpose of this study was to elicit the views of students in secondary social studies teacher preparation programs regarding the changing nature of citizenship and to ascertain what is needed in teacher education to better prepare these students for their citizenship educator roles. Both a questionnaire and follow-up interviews were used to accomplish this purpose. Besides bringing student insight into the dialogue on citizenship education, the comparisons made between student and policy expert opinion on global trends, citizenship characteristics, and educational strategies reveal strong consensus on the areas likely to have a significant impact upon the lives of citizens during the early part of the 21st century. The student-expert consensus emerging from this study suggests a coherent, unified approach to and direction for citizenship education.

The trends posing increasingly significant challenges to citizens during the next 25 years include: a widening economic gap, reduced privacy, unequal access to and use of information technologies, environmental deterioration, and increased poverty in developing countries. Trends, such as *declines* in citizen political influence, sense of community, and shared values, constitute important areas for policy makers and educators to monitor during the next two and half decades. Issues of power, equity, and access underlie many of these trends and suggest important areas to be taken into consideration in teacher preparation reform.

This study also reveals shared consensus between students and policy experts regarding the characteristics or competencies needed in citizens to cope with and manage these undesirable trends. The characteristics requiring urgent attention and action by policy makers in teacher preparation include: a) the ability to understand, accept, and tolerate cultural differences; b) the ability to work with others in a cooperative way and to take responsibility for one's roles and duties within society; c) a willingness to change one's lifestyle and consumption habits to protect the environment; d) a willingness to resolve conflict in a non-violent manner; e) the ability to be sensitive towards and to defend human rights; and f) the capacity to think in a critical and systemic way.

The specific educational strategies identified by the students and policy makers to address these negative trends and to cultivate these favorable characteristics are four-fold. First, infuse the curriculum with an international and global dimension. This can be done by increasing attention in the curriculum to global issues and international studies and by cultivating a teaching population with international experience and cross-cultural sensitivity. The interview data also suggest that citizenship education itself be viewed within a global context, moving students (preservice teachers as well as secondary students) from a nationalistic to a more global understanding of their world. Although citizenship education includes learning about the government, laws, and political system of one's country, both the questionnaire and interview findings reveal that this traditional civic knowledge base is inadequate by itself. The task of citizenship educators will be to make students, as well as themselves, more aware of global perspectives and the possible roles individuals can play in their world.

The second educational strategy is to support the teaching of subject matter in a manner that encourages students to think critically. The data suggests that critical reflection may be cultivated by using more democratic forms of pedagogy such as cooperative learning, roles plays, and especially class discussions. Although the use of informational technologies is advocated, both policy makers and preservice teachers emphasize that citizens in the next 25 years must be able to critically access information in an increasingly media-based society.

Third, the data suggests that schools be viewed as centers of community life. The implication for teacher education is that community action and involvement be made an integral part

of preparation programs. Fourth, policy makers and students recommend that other social institutions, as well as the schools, be committed to the well-being of children and uphold standards of civic responsibility. Although formal education has a primary role to play in addressing the undesirable global trends and fostering the desirable citizen characteristics identified, institutions outside of formal education must be involved as well.

By interviewing a subset of the student sample, specific recommendations for citizenship education reform within teacher preparation were ascertained. First, citizenship education must be made a priority in policy and practice at both the secondary and teacher preparation levels if it is to equip citizens with the skills, characteristics, and values necessary for life in the 21st century. Second, the data suggests that citizenship education must be made more explicit in teacher preparation and that citizenship education's knowledge base be identified. In other words, the central features or elements of citizenship education must be understood so that they can be implemented in secondary classrooms by future teachers.

Second, more discussion on global issues (e.g., social inequalities, environmental deterioration, etc.) during teacher preparation is important to help raise consciousness about important issues as well as to provide preservice teachers with opportunities to develop their own points of view and the implications those issues have for their own praxis. Third, the students interviewed believe that greater linkages between university instructors, preservice teachers, and secondary cooperating teachers are necessary to help build a bridge between theory and practice. There is a need to cultivate knowledge-sharing between educational institutions. Fourth, providing preservice teachers with more citizenship education resources may foster a greater desire to make citizenship education an important part of their secondary school teaching. Finally, using the concept of *teacher citizen* to examine the modeling aspects of a teachers role may be a way to address the influence a teacher has to shape citizenship education in his or her future classroom, school, and community.

Although responsibility for educating for citizenship has primarily been assigned to social studies educators in the past and at present, the interconnectedness of global issues and the students' perceptions of citizenship education as being synonymous with a "basic" and "good" education strongly suggest that citizenship education be taught throughout the school curriculum in

all subject areas. Citizenship education for the 21st century can not be viewed as an "add-on" to already cluttered school curricula. Rather, the data from this study suggests that citizenship education be made a focal point of education and an important part of teacher preparation. These findings are suggestive of a possible direction for citizenship education reform in teacher preparation in Canada, England, and the United States. However, further research with more preservice teachers throughout these three countries is necessary to substantiate or refute these findings.

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