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AN ANALYSIS OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN MAINE MIDDLE SCHOOLS

by

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A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for a Degree with Honors

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ABSTRACT

An essential responsibility of public schooling is to cultivate civic awareness in students and prepare them to participate in a democratic society. Schools have, however, broadly failed this task, a trend the Maine Department of Education has attempted to reverse through policy. The 2019 edition of the MDoE’s Maine Learning Results (“MLR”) standards mandates that middle school social studies teachers implement civic action and service-learning projects (a.k.a. “citizenship education”) to address community needs and foster students’ civic identity. Existing literature suggests that citizenship education improves students’ civic awareness, community engagement, and future voting behavior, but the effectiveness of this new policy—particularly in the context of the COVID-19 pandemic—is unmeasured. More broadly, the diversity of citizenship education efforts present among the population is unmeasured. This mixed-methods exploratory study analyzed the approaches toward citizenship education undertaken by Maine middle school social studies teachers and the factors affecting those approaches, as well as the effect of the MLR on those efforts. Data collection occurred over three phases: a survey sent to the population that collected information about teachers’ citizenship education efforts, an interview phase that expanded on that data with in-depth information about teachers and their efforts, and a revised survey sent again to the population that addressed the shortcomings of the initial survey protocol. Findings revealed infrequent engagement with citizenship education across the population and minimal influence of the MLR. However, these findings also highlighted instances of exemplary citizenship education happening independent of the MLR. Potential supports to encourage and spread such efforts are discussed.

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INTRODUCTION

The contemporary American school system has infamously neglected students' development as democratic citizens. Whereas earlier educational models such as Mann's Common School and Dewey's laboratory school examined class material through the exploration of students' civic identity, the contemporary model encourages this only marginally and more frequently favors obedience toward hierarchical power structures in which students have limited voice. These practices undermine the civic focus on which American public education was founded (Conover et al., 1991; Heater, 2003), threatening students' capacity to thoughtfully and critically contribute to democracy. Several researchers have observed the potential impacts of the contemporary school system on students' sense of citizenship: Shapiro and Brown (2018), for instance, noted the exceptionally poor state of civic knowledge among students and Galston (2007) discussed the lack of engagement with political and governmental institutions associated with that poor civic knowledge.

The model may also threaten students' capacity as citizens to observe and respond to the needs of their communities (Cohen & Chaffee, 2013). This concern is particularly acute in Maine, where the imminent impacts of climate change, a rapidly aging population, an opioid epidemic, and the collapse of longstanding industries have created a web of looming crises whose responsibility will fall on the generation of citizens currently in school. To secure their own wellbeing and the wellbeing of the state, members of this generation will need a sense of citizenship wholly different from the one observed by Galston (2007) and Shapiro and Brown (2018)—they will need to understand citizenship as a fundamentally *participatory* identity grounded in the protection of community interests (Dewey, 1916) as much as it is grounded in traditional activities like voting. They will need a critical awareness of those traditional aspects

of citizenship, as well, so as to effectively participate in the political process on a state and local level with their best interests in mind. To achieve this, Maine students must receive a preparation for citizenship in schools that empowers rather than dismisses their civic identity. This kind of preparation, called *citizenship education* (Parker, 2008), is necessary for students' future success in confronting the needs of their state and communities.

A 2019 revision to the Maine Department of Education's Maine Learning Results ("MLR") standards for middle school social studies teachers addressed this need. The revised standard, MLR 6-8 CG 1 (D2), mandated that teachers implement curricula in which students:

Analyz[e] how people influence government and work for the common good including voting, writing to legislators, performing community service, and engaging in civil disobedience through selecting, planning, and implementing a civic action or service-learning project based on a school, community, or state asset or need, and analyze the project's effectiveness and civic contribution. (Maine Department of Education, 2019, p. 5)

This institutionalization of citizenship education in Maine middle schools appears to be a promising road to educational change. Citizenship education has been demonstrated elsewhere to increase students' community engagement (Cody & McGarry, 2012; Quinn & Owen, 2016), sense of belonging in their community (Cody & McGarry, 2012), likelihood of future voting (McDevitt & Chaffee, 2000), and engagement with divergent political views (Syvertsen et al., 2009) among other results, suggesting Maine students may benefit greatly from the standard.

These considerations prompted interest in an analysis of both the implementation of MLR 6-8 CG 1 (D2) and the approaches to citizenship education that existed generally in the population. This exploratory study analyzed the diversity of approaches to citizenship education

present in Maine middle school social studies classrooms and the factors affecting those approaches, observing among other elements the influence of the MLR. The study utilized a mixed-methods approach involving two editions of a survey sent to the population and a series of interviews with selected participants.

The study's particular focus on citizenship education in *middle school* social studies classrooms provides valuable contributions to the literature on multiple levels. First, this focus addresses and responds to the scope of MLR 6-8 CG 1 (D2)—the MDoE included a similar standard for high schoolers in the 2019 revision to the MLR, but the diversity of connections to citizenship available in 6-8 CG 1 (D2) and broad focus on "work[ing] for the common good" were unique to the middle school grades (Maine, 2019, p. 5). This study's analysis of citizenship education against the specific parameters of the standard equips it to comment on the standard's implementation and make recommendations to the MDoE accordingly. More broadly, this emphasis on the MLR provides a novel contribution to the literature about the implementation of a citizenship education standard in a rural, Northeastern state.

The study's focus on citizenship education in middle schools also provides novel contributions to a literature overwhelmingly dedicated to approaches that exist in high schools and higher education (Campbell, 2019; Isin & Turner, 2002; Quigley, 1997). Researchers who have analyzed American middle schoolers' civic development, such as Hickey (2002) and Mitchell and Elwood (2012), represent a small fraction of the total pool of researchers analyzing citizenship education in the United States. A neglect of middle-school approaches ignores the foundational developments in students' civic identity (Quigley, 1997) that occur during early adolescence and leaves a gap in the literature concerning the approaches used to shape those

developments. The study sought to fill that gap through an analysis of the diversity of approaches undertaken by Maine middle school teachers to explore citizenship.

This thesis details the design and results of the study. It begins with a review of the literature surrounding American citizenship and citizenship education in American public schools. (Due to the lack of contributions to the citizenship education literature concerning middle schools specifically, the chapter draws from studies that analyzed citizenship education in high schools or secondary schools generally.) It then discusses the mixed-methods approach used to address the research question. Finally, the thesis details the study's findings, their implications for citizenship education in Maine middle schools and for the literature more broadly, and suggestions for future research.

CHAPTER I: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Defined most literally, citizenship is a person's membership in the political system of a nation or other government (Isin & Turner, 2002). In practice, however, the concept concerns much more: as opposed to mere membership, citizenship is an expression of shared identity between participants in a democratic society, their communities, and their government that is founded in mutual protection and responsibility (Glenn, 2011; Heater, 2003). This shared identity rests on citizens' thoughtful, informed, and morally sound engagement with the social and governmental systems that affect their lives—and, as Dewey (1916) stated, "these [traits] can be created only by education" (n.p.). This chapter reviews contributions to the literature surrounding citizenship and its application in American public schooling to discern the elements of citizenship education that best prepare students for their participation in democracy. It begins by establishing the theoretical framework used in the study. It then applies the framework to historical and contemporary approaches to citizenship in American public schools before synthesizing these observations into a cohesive definition of effective citizenship education.

Establishing a Theoretical Framework of Citizenship

An early and useful contribution to considerations of how citizenship should be defined comes from the English sociologist T. H. Marshall, whose theoretical framework as originally outlined in the (1949) essay "Citizenship and Social Class" has broadly influenced understandings of citizenship across the social sciences (Biesta & Lawy, 2006; Glenn, 2011; Isin & Turner, 2007; Murray, 2007). Marshall's framework defines citizenship as the full involvement of a member of society in their government and community through the acquisition of rights. These rights, inspired by Marshall's observations of working-class White men in England, are categorized across three dimensions: *civil*, *political*, and *social* (Glenn, 2011; Marshall, 1949).

The first dimension, civil rights, involves those associated with the legal system, such as free speech and the right to a jury of one's peers. The second dimension, political rights, concerns the privileges of citizens specifically related to the political system, such as the right to vote. The third category, social rights, concerns the rights of citizens outside of the explicit confines of the legal and political systems—i.e., in society—that should be satisfied by the government. Examples include, in Marshall's opinion, the rights to government-sponsored education and healthcare (Marshall, 1949). More broadly, social rights concern citizens' interaction with society. Marshall's framework portrays democracy as an evolution of the acquisition of rights for citizens across these three categories, starting with civil rights and moving to political and social ones.

This framework has been both seminally influential for modern research into citizenship and the subject of substantial criticism among researchers (Glenn, 2011; Isin & Turner, 2007). One criticism involves the passivity of the framework, as it depicts citizenship solely as a collection of rights rather than a combination of rights and associated duties. Subsequent researchers have asserted that the right to vote, for example, carries no weight without the equally important *responsibility* to vote, and that citizenship involves the active participation of citizens in the systems connected to their rights. Condor and Gibson (2007) further noted that democratic participation requires securing rights not presently satisfied by the government and securing the rights of those not represented in the system.

Marshall's division of rights into civil, political, and social dimensions, alongside the rights listed within those categories, is generally accepted as accurate (Glenn, 2011; Isin & Turner, 2007). However, Pakulski (1997) posed that citizenship also involves a *cultural* dimension, and other researchers have identified multicultural awareness as an aspect of

citizenship (Delanty, 2003; Kymlicka & Norman, 2000; Stevenson, 2003). This awareness does not, however, involve rights and duties as other dimensions do (Delanty, 2003), and therefore its impact on citizenship can be perceived as part of the broader social dimension identified by Marshall (1949).

Additionally, many researchers contest Marshall's assertion that the rights of citizens in a democracy progress sequentially across the three dimensions (Cott, 1998; Glenn, 2011; Murray, 2007). This criticism is particularly acute in American democracy where, as observed by Cott (1998), the overlapping influences of race and gender have historically created multifaceted states of progress toward rights. For example, Black men in the 1880s enjoyed the formal political right to vote and White women did not, while White women enjoyed several substantive social rights unavailable to Black men by segregation. The racially and sexually homogenous population of Marshall's original study fails to account for these factors.

A third and related criticism involves the effects of social inequality on the acquisition and protection of rights. Glenn (2011) noted the distinction between the technical guarantee of a right (e.g., the right of Black men to vote as established by the Fourteenth Amendment) and the application of that right in practice (e.g., versus the implementation of poll taxes and other institutional voter suppression techniques across racial lines). She incorporated these factors into a theory of citizenship that places Marshall's framework in the broader context of social inequality. *Formal* citizenship in Glenn's framework involves the legal rights guaranteed by the government across civil, political, and social spheres, while *substantive* citizenship involves the reliable guarantee of those rights from the government and in society (Glenn, 2011).

Although Glenn (2011) applied formal and substantive citizenship to Marshall's framework, she was not the first to explore the distinction between the two types alone—Lister

(2007) posed that substantive citizenship specifically involves an "equality of status, respect, and recognition" between citizens (p. 693). Goldring (2001) noted that this equality is guaranteed or denied to marginalized groups across all levels of government. This framing of Marshallian rights, combined with the considerations of duties articulated by Condor and Gibson (2007), forms the perspective on citizenship used in this study. This study analyzes citizenship as both a collection of the civil, political, and social rights formally and substantively guaranteed to the members of American society and the actions associated with protecting and securing those rights for whom they are not formally and substantively granted.

The Intellectual Basis of American Citizenship

A brief explanation of the intellectual roots of American attitudes toward citizenship will aid this discussion and help to distinguish citizenship in the United States from that found in several other democracies. American citizenship stems from the philosophical basis of American government itself: the Enlightenment-era liberalism of social thinkers like Locke (1689) and Hobbes (1651). Liberalism places ultimate emphasis on the freedom of citizens, particularly as expressed through negative rights *from* the undue and inappropriate intervention of the government in their lives (Biesta & Lawy, 2006; Isin & Turner, 2002, 2007). In this conception, a liberal government does not grant its members their rights; they are instead born with natural rights—famously including, in Locke's words, "life, liberty, and property"—and exist as citizens only insofar as the government encroaches or does not encroach on those rights. This mindset establishes a utilitarian relationship between citizens and their government and limits the scope of that relationship to the protection of rights. Worded differently in reference to the framework for citizenship that guides this study, American liberalism focuses on the guarantee of formal

civil and political rights without imposing on citizens any duties associated with those rights or their substantive maintenance (Isin & Turner, 2002).

These factors distinguish American notions of citizenship from the social-contract and communitarian theories that more prevalently shape citizenship in Western European democracies. In these systems, which take particular influence from Rousseau (1762), citizens and their government are seen to depend on each other, and the duties associated with that relationship take precedence over individual liberties (Conover et al., 1991). This perspective represents a more intimate relationship between citizens and their government than that found in liberalism, reflected in a primary focus on social rights. These manifest in European nations through social programs like state-sponsored higher education, healthcare, and maternity leave. Isin and Turner (2002) note that liberalism supposes that people are born individuals, while communitarian perspectives suppose that people *become* individuals through civic participation in social programs. Notably, the United Kingdom occupies both spaces, prioritizing citizens' liberties while also implementing certain subsidized social programs such as the National Health Service (Conover et al., 1991).

Conceptions of Citizenship Education across Eras in American Public Schooling

This section examines citizenship education in American public schools as it relates to evolving attitudes toward the role of citizenship in schooling. It situates historical and contemporary approaches to citizenship education in two broad pedagogies: the *imposed* transmission of civic knowledge and attitudes, and the *constructed* exploration of students' relationship to those topics. In the imposed pedagogy, schooling prepares students for citizenship by passing down information and morals deemed necessary by the school for participation in democratic society. In the constructed pedagogy, schooling prepares students for citizenship by

providing them the tools to construct their own moral and intellectual understanding of citizenship. These pedagogies shape students' civic identity in several ways. First, they affect students' relationship with knowledge: the imposed pedagogy cultivates a passive understanding based on obedience to authority, while the constructed pedagogy cultivates the critical analysis of information based on students' experiences and observations (Freire, 1968). The pedagogies also affect students' relationship with power: the imposed approach cultivates a passive response to the civil, political, and social issues that affect students' lives, while the constructed one cultivates students' agency to recognize the effect of those issues on their lives and respond to them (Freire, 1968). In doing so, the pedagogies mold a sense of citizenship based in either obedience or agency. Throughout U.S. history, different educational models have sought these ends and implemented the two pedagogies accordingly.

Founding-Era Proposals

Interest in the relationship between democratic citizenship and public education dates back virtually as far as the U.S. itself (Bickel, 1973; Conover et al., 1991; Torney-Purta, 1999). Several architects of the American system of government recognized education as a key factor in cultivating and sustaining the civic attitudes necessary for democracy; chief among these theorists were Benjamin Rush and Thomas Jefferson, whose proposed educational systems represent different pedagogical approaches to citizenship. It should be noted first that neither Rush's nor Jefferson's proposals came into existence, that both theorists conceived of public schooling for White boys only, and that their limited perspective on who counts as a citizen does not represent the modern view. Regardless, their competing approaches illustrate the pedagogical tension between imposed and constructed citizenship that has shaped citizenship education across U.S. history.

Rush's model prized imposing students' preparation for citizenship. Rush, a Philadelphia-based social theorist and signatory of the Declaration of Independence, saw public education in Pennsylvania as essentially a tool by which to inculcate the ethnically diverse immigrant populations of the state into a singular American identity, creating a "homogenous" population "more fit for peaceable [democratic] government" (Rush 1786, n.p.) He espoused in his (1786) essay "A Plan for the Establishment of Public Schools and the Diffusion of Knowledge in Pennsylvania" that the health of a democracy depends on the uniformity of its citizens and their willingness, as developed through education, to act as "republican machines" (Rush, 1786, n.p.). This view places the civic worth of obedience far above the worth of individual decision-making.

Thomas Jefferson instead focused on students' constructed experience of citizenship, proposing public education programs in Virginia to help children "understand [their] duties to [their] neighbors and country" and "know [their] rights [and] exercise with order and justice those [they] retain..." (Heater, 2003, p. 57). The public school of Jefferson's vision mimicked democratic society in miniature: children would live in self-sustaining villages, contributing to the common good of the community through social cooperation and the civil and political upkeep of its administration. By immersing students in a democratic environment, Jefferson hoped to introduce them to the everyday duties of citizenship and prepare them to serve their real communities well. The approach focused on constructing students' self-discovery of their civic identity rather than their imposed inculcation into an identity defined by the school.

The two pedagogies connect to broader perspectives on how students should develop their citizenship and what role schooling should have in that process. The imposing approach, seen in Rush's proposal, supposes that citizenship is externally defined and transmitted to

students for the purpose of keeping order—it pushes a particular identity on them out of fear they would disrupt the civic system otherwise. Rush's insistence that school graduates "perform their parts properly...in the great machine of the government of the state" (Rush 1786, n.p.), for example, reflects a desire to create democratic order through the suppression of individualities. The constructed approach, as seen in Jefferson's proposal, instead supposes that citizenship is developed through students' individual experiences, and that citizenship education must prepare them for the particular applications of rights and duties that are relevant to their lives. This perspective was revisited in nineteenth-century experiments in citizenship education.

Nineteenth-Century Experiments

Horace Mann's Common School and John Dewey's laboratory school, the two major experiments in citizenship education between the Founding Era and the creation of the factory model of education, approached citizenship from a student-centered, constructed perspective. Mann, who famously viewed public education as the "great equalizer of the conditions of [humanity]," intended for his Common School to provide Massachusetts children an equal and standardized content base with which to understand citizenship in their own lives (Glass, 2000). In this sense, his approach shares parallels with Rush's—both approaches intended to transmit knowledge and virtues, which were defined by the school system, to students. Mann's approach distinguishes itself from Rush's, however, in that it used this content to help students construct an *individual* civic identity as opposed to receiving an imposed collective one. Mann's Common School illustrates that citizenship is taught through the aims and pedagogical choices employed by teachers alongside the literal material being discussed, and that traditional classroom material can be used to foster a student-centered conception of citizenship.

Dewey's laboratory school also explored student-centered citizenship education, but the model took a curricular approach closer to that seen in Jefferson's proposed schools. The laboratory school immersed students in an environment that simulated not only democratic citizenship but life itself—students built things, cooked meals, tended gardens, and performed other actions that they would encounter in the world outside school (Glass, 2001; Schutz, 2000). Dewey believed the model prepared students for citizenship in multiple ways, all of which connected to their social identity more than to their civil or political awareness. First, Dewey believed the model gave students the requisite skills to live and work in society. Secondly, he believed it instilled what he called "habits," such as using a hammer or playing the piano, that gave students "active control of [their] environment through control of the organs of action" (Dewey, 1916, n.p.). In Dewey's estimation, these habits allowed students to engage more deliberately in activities and make conscious the otherwise unconscious ways they interacted with the world (Dewey, 1916; Shutz, 2000). Finally, Dewey believed students learned most deeply by observing activities and spaces relevant to their lives and drawing connections from these observations to academic disciplines. He illustrated this notion in *The School and Society* (1899), describing the interdisciplinary and student-centered learning process in a laboratory-school woodshop classroom. Dewey noted that students could, by observing objects in the shop according to their own interests, pursue a "continuous procession of related facts" between art, carpentry, engineering, history, and so on (Dewey, 1899, p. 106). He intended for the environment to validate and encourage students' individual curiosities, as opposed to imposing on them externally-defined definitions of knowledge, so as to prepare them for and construct an awareness of the social needs of their specific communities (Glass, 2000; Heater, 2003; Shutz, 2000).

The model was distinct in its approach to citizenship. As opposed to Rush and Mann's interest in civic knowledge and Jefferson's aim for students to "know [their] rights," Dewey focused on students' interaction with their community. He posited that "democracy is more than a form of government; it is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience" between citizens (Dewey, 1916, n.p.). As such, citizenship education involved training for students' social responsibilities more than their civil and political ones.

Factory Model

The factory model of education, which responded to the rapid urbanization of the nation's youth in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, departed from the attitudes toward citizenship seen in previous systems (Katz, 1976; Falk, 2014). The model sought to prepare students not for *democratic* citizenship so much as a newly emerging *capitalist* citizenship—the industrial economy had created the need for docile, punctual, obedient workers, and the new school system was designed to foster those traits. In much the same way that Jefferson's proposed school immersed students in democratic governance and Dewey's Laboratory School immersed students in social citizenship, the factory model immersed them in factory work: students completed regimented, standardized tasks in an orderly manner; they moved between "shifts" of work, so to speak, according to regularly-timed bells; and so on (Katz, 1976). The system centered entirely on the imposition of traits deemed necessary for the factory economy.

Those traits interfere in important ways with the critical awareness necessary for democratic citizenship. First, the unquestioning acceptance of authoritative power structures encouraged by the model challenges citizens' ability to recognize and investigate any lapses in civil, political, and social rights that may affect them (Falk, 2014; Glass, 2000; Heater, 2003;). Secondly, the docility toward those structures emphasized by the model dismantles citizens'

agency to challenge them (Dennis, 2005). Though the model was created to address the economic priorities of the industrial U.S., its methods limited students' ability to also address their democratic responsibilities and therefore jeopardized their development as citizens. Furthermore, since the contemporary public school system is a descendant of the factory model and its pedagogical structures have changed little in the past century (Isin & Turner, 2007; Heater, 2003; Levinson, 2014), this issue persists today. Citizenship education in contemporary schools is affected by a fundamental tension between the civic responsibilities of public education and the anti-democratic tendencies of the institution it occupies.

Citizenship Education in Contemporary Public Schools

This section discusses the place of citizenship education in contemporary schools, its relationship to a societal decline in civic participation, and the elements of citizenship education efforts that respond to that decline.

In the Social Studies Subject

The most significant inclusion of citizenship education in contemporary schools comes in the *social studies* content area. Social studies as a subject is rooted in the 1916 report of the Committee on Social Studies to the National Education Association's Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Schools. The report recommended to the National Education Association that schools implement a course to develop "good" citizenship in students through the study of history and civics (Heater, 2003, p. 118). Ross et al. (2014) noted the diversity in pedagogical approaches to this broadly-defined task: teachers can transmit citizenship education through historical and civic information (i.e., engage in an imposing pedagogy) or use the material for reflective self-inquiry (i.e., engage in a constructed pedagogy). The goals of those approaches are similarly open-ended, as teachers can teach history and civics as social sciences

worth studying for their own merit or harness them for social justice or informed social criticism (Ross et al., 2014). The open-ended nature of social studies and the relative lack of standardized accountability compared to other subjects allows for several approaches to citizenship education.

A prominent connection to citizenship in social studies is through the civics subtopic, particularly as explored in dedicated Civics and Government classes. Typical civics curriculum concerns the formal civil and political rights of citizens, as well as the workings of the three branches of government (Cohen and Chaffee, 2013; Hart, et al., 2007; Shapiro and Brown, 2018). However, even this superficial dissection of citizenship has suffered curricular marginalization in the post-standards school system as civics occupies an ever-smaller place in social studies and the subject itself loses prominence to English-Language Arts and mathematics (Shapiro & Brown, 2018). The shrinking role of citizenship education in contemporary schools is correlated with an eroded sense of citizenship in the public.

Contribution to Erosion of Civic Identity

A decline in civic knowledge and participation over the past half-century is well-documented. Galston (2007) provides one account of the erosion of civic identity over this period. His study identified that Americans, particularly adolescents and young adults, have increasingly displayed distrust and disinterest toward the government, the political process, and public institutions such as the press. These trends link with depressed voter turnout and a stagnant level of civic knowledge despite a steady increase in average educational attainment. Contributions to the literature around this issue in sociology, political science, and education have similarly concluded that one contributing factor among several is the faltering attention paid to citizenship in the contemporary school system (Campbell, 2019; Cohen & Chaffee, 2013; Galston, 2007; Shapiro & Brown, 2018). The state of civic knowledge among students is

dismal—Shapiro and Brown (2018) noted that even though the 2016 presidential election reinvigorated some civic energy among students, "only 23 percent of eighth-graders performed at or above the proficient level on the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) civics exam" (p. 10). Achievement levels on this exam have not meaningfully increased since 1998 (Shapiro & Brown, 2018).

Research into the failing state of citizenship education has identified a number of potential contributing factors. Of particular note is the shrinking role of social studies itself in standards-based curriculum; as standards accountability measures increasingly pressure schools to perform well in reading and mathematics, less energy is devoted to social studies (Mirel, 2002; Shapiro & Brown, 2018). The 2001 No Child Left Behind Act is generally regarded as a significant encroachment of standards-based education on social studies curriculum. The more recent Common Core Standards, on which the Maine Learning Results (MLR) standards for students and teachers are based, give more curricular room to social studies but still prioritize attainment of English-Language Arts and mathematics standards (Ross et al., 2014). Another potential contributing factor is the fear of political tension—although good-faith exposure to a diversity of political views is shown to increase students' civic awareness (Campbell, 2019; Kahne, 2013), teachers are hesitant to bring controversy into their social studies material (Mirel, 2002). A third potential factor is the effectiveness of teachers' content in developing moral responsibility and civic engagement in students. Malin (2017) posited that didactic explorations of citizenship fail students by boring them, resulting in no personal connection with the material or to their civic identity. This view is supported in the literature with data suggesting that didactic, surface-level approaches to citizenship do not lead to community engagement (Campbell, 2019; Galston, 2007; Green et al., 2011).

Elements of Effective Citizenship Education

Effective citizenship education in a social studies framework uses social studies material to examine any of the three dimensions of citizenship. It does so while addressing the key components of effective citizenship education. One component is students' development of *critical civic awareness* for how power operates within each dimension and how the rights of citizens are formally or substantively granted across lines of inequality (Cody & McGarry, 2012). This may take the form, for example, of content knowledge about constitutional rights and the analysis of their substantive application in relation to race (Isin & Turner, 2007). Another component is students' development of *civic identity* surrounding their rights and duties, especially as that identity relates to a critical awareness of inequality (Cody & McGarry, 2012; Glass, 2000). This may take the form of reflection on students' moral and societal obligation to racial groups whose substantive constitutional rights have been denied. A third component is students' development of *civic agency* toward those rights and duties (Cody & McGarry, 2012; Feldman, 2007; Syvertsen, 2009). This may take the form of organizing a demonstration or writing to a congressperson to voice concern to protest the denial of substantive constitutional rights. Efforts may address one or more components while exploring a dimension of citizenship and they need not necessarily address them all.

Citizenship education efforts may address these components through a variety of curricular and pedagogical approaches, each of which have been demonstrated to foster different aspects of students' relationship with citizenship. As discussed above, debate and critical discussion have been shown to increase students' community engagement, political participation, awareness of current events, and willingness to consider divergent ideas (Cohen & Chaffee, 2013; Feldman, 2007; Syvertsen, 2009). Didactic approaches, on the other hand, have been

shown to have no effect on students' community engagement (Campbell, 2019; Galston, 2007; Green et al., 2011) but have been found by Siegler-Stechler (2019) to increase students' future likelihood of voting and support for the substantive protection of civil liberties. Service-learning, an approach based on community service and subsequent reflection, is shown to increase students' community engagement, sense of community belonging, and likelihood of future voting. More broadly, several researchers have found that any approaches that connect to students' lives—be they through service, for example, or a curricular focus on the impact of civic ideas on students—are shown to increase students' community engagement, sense of community belonging, and likelihood of future voting (Cohen and Chaffee, 2013; Hart, et al., 2007; Shapiro and Brown, 2018). The open-ended nature of social studies as a subject (Ross et al., 2014) and the lack of accountability measures determining teachers' material and instruction (Heater, 2003) create theoretically endless possibilities for approaches to citizenship. Almost universally, however, efforts deal to some extent with U.S. history, including U.S.-based current events, or focus on the constitutional principles of American citizenship (Campbell, 2019; Cohen and Chaffee, 2013; Shapiro and Brown, 2018).

Conclusion

The contemporary, factory-model-descended school system is unusual among historical approaches to American public education for its lack of emphasis on citizenship. The system's preference for a passive and uncritical acceptance of authority, combined with its curricular marginalization of material related to citizenship, negatively impacts students' readiness to contribute to democratic society. This lack of preparation is reflected in students' and young adults' low levels of civic knowledge and engagement (Shapiro & Brown, 2018; Galston, 2007). However, effective citizenship education is both necessary and possible within the contemporary

school system and can be applied in Maine. The following chapters apply the insights about effective citizenship education gleaned from the literature to citizenship education efforts in Maine middle schools, first by detailing the methodology used to analyze these efforts and then by discussing the study's findings and implications.

CHAPTER II: METHODOLOGY

This chapter discusses the methodology undertaken in the study. It describes the methodological tools originally selected for the study and their revision following the first phase, the results of which jeopardized the initial methodology. The chapter also describes the factors that potentially limited the methodology.

Methodological Selection

The research question for this study was: "What are the approaches to citizenship education seen in Maine middle school social studies classrooms, and what are the factors affecting those approaches?" An adequate exploration of this question required the collection of data regarding teachers' approaches and the circumstances surrounding those approaches; originally, a two-phase mixed-methods methodology was devised to achieve this. The first phase, which consisted of a survey administered via Qualtrics, sought to gather basic quantitative and qualitative data about the teachers being studied and their approaches to citizenship. The second phase, which consisted of semi-structured interviews administered via Zoom, sought to expand on that data with qualitative details. However, a limited data pool in the first phase challenged the effectiveness of this methodology in analyzing statewide trends. This prompted a revision to the methodological design, adjusting the interview phase to gather in-depth data about participants' approaches and using that data to inform the protocol of a revised survey. The revised survey protocol, administered via Google Forms, gathered quantitative data about participants and their efforts to explore qualitative themes uncovered in interviews. The following sections detail the methodological components of the three phases of the study and the participants involved in each phase.

Phase One: Initial Survey

Participant Selection

The first phase of the study attempted to capture statewide data about the demographics and dispositions toward citizenship of Maine middle school social studies teachers, as well as data about efforts those teachers believed exemplified their citizenship education curricula. The phase's statewide focus, combined with its relatively small population size of 465 teachers and the expectation of a low response rate, created the preference to invite the entire population to the study rather than draw a random sample. Enacting this preference was made possible through a public directory, published by the Maine Department of Education on its website, that listed the name and contact information of every teacher in the state.

Invitees were selected through filters on the Department of Education directory according to the phase's participation criteria: (a) being at least 18 years of age, which is a requirement for all teachers in Maine; and (b) being a sixth-through-eighth-grade social studies teacher in a public middle school in the state. The participation criteria in this phase did not include having enacted a citizenship education effort in the current or previous school year, as during this phase the study hoped to gather data both about teachers who had done such efforts and ones who had not. (This was later reversed in the revised survey, which only sought data from teachers who had enacted citizenship education efforts during the timeframe being studied.)

Members of the population were sent an email containing a recruitment message (see Appendix A: Initial Survey Recruitment Email), the survey protocol via a Qualtrics link (see Appendix C: Initial Interview Protocol), and an informed consent form (see Appendix B: Informed Consent). In total, members of the population received the invitation three times between September and November 2020. The invitation was also featured in Maine Department

of Education Social Studies Coordinator Joe Schmidt's November 6 weekly newsletter to Maine teachers, and the researcher leveraged personal connections with teachers to spread awareness of the survey among members of the population.

Participants

Survey participants who later participated in an interview are marked with both their survey participant number and the pseudonym applied for interview analysis.

Participant	Gender identity	Race/ethnicity	Age group	Years teaching middle school social studies	Social studies subjects taught	Grades taught
1	Female	White	35-44	20	U.S. History, General Social Studies	8
2	Male	White	55-64	13	U.S. History, World History	6-8
3 (Ms. Lewis)	Female	White	25-34	3	General Social Studies	6-8
4	Prefer not to say	Prefer not to say	N/A	4	U.S. History, General Social Studies	7-8
5	Female	White	25-34	5	U.S. History, World History, General Social Studies	7-8
6	Male	White	55-64	31	U.S. History, World History, General Social Studies	6-8
7	Male	White	45-54	8	U.S. History	8
8 (Ms. Waters)	Female	White	45-54	17	General Social Studies	6-8
9	Male	White	45-54	3	General Social Studies	7
10 (Ms. Daniels)	Female	White	25-34	2	U.S. History, General Social Studies	8
11	Female	White	55-64	22	U.S. History, General Social Studies	6-7

Table 1: Phase One Participant List

Data Collection

The survey collected demographic information about teachers and their schools, their dispositions about the role of citizenship in the curriculum, and, if applicable, descriptions of citizenship education efforts they had implemented. The word "effort" used in the study refers to any piece of curriculum designed around the study of citizenship; as seen in Chapter III: Findings and Discussion, some efforts were contained in a single lesson while others spanned participants' entire curriculum. In this phase and the interview phase, the researcher used the word "project" to describe participants' efforts; this wording was later replaced with "effort" upon reviewing the diversity of efforts in interview data, many of which could not be classified as projects due to their scale and/or subject matter. The word "effort" is used here to discuss the pieces of citizenship education curricula described by teachers in this phase.

The initial survey collected data on three populations: Maine middle school social studies teachers who had implemented at least one citizenship education effort in the 2019-20 school year, those who planned to implement at least one in the 2020-21 school year, and those who implemented an effort in neither year. The survey design accomplished this by first collecting demographic information from all respondents and then asking whether they planned to discuss an effort from the 2019-20 school year, one from the current year, or whether neither were applicable. If a respondent chose one of the first two options, they were directed to either a retrospective or prospective set of questions, respectively, about the design and implementation of their efforts. The question sets for each were identical, save for the use of past or future tense depending on the timeframe a respondent was discussing. After completing this section, respondents were directed to the Dispositions section. For respondents who chose the third

option (i.e., those who had not implemented an effort in the 2019-20 school year or planned to do so in 2020-21), the survey directed them directly to the Dispositions section.

The survey received a low response rate—of the 465 teachers who had received it in their email inbox, only 11 responded. This may have owed to a number of factors. One possibility is the effect of the COVID-19 pandemic on teachers' willingness to participate: during fall 2020, when the survey was sent to the population, the pandemic's highly stressful and time-consuming impact on teachers may have limited their capacity to respond to voluntary material like survey invitations. Other possibilities relate to teachers' engagement with citizenship education. Teachers may have not enacted citizenship education efforts they deemed relevant to the study. Relatedly, they may not have identified with the "project" label used in the survey to describe efforts they did enact. These considerations, along with considerations drawn from interview analysis, informed the design of the revised survey protocol discussed later in this chapter.

Data Analysis

Since the initial survey did not produce results consistent with the focus of the study, its data were analyzed only insofar as they informed the interview phase—effort descriptions provided by participants who had indicated a willingness to be interviewed served as the basis for the interview protocol. Data from this phase are not included in Chapter III: Findings and Discussion.

Phase Two: Interviews

Participant Selection

The interview phase was originally designed to expand on data provided in the survey. The researcher had intended to code survey responses across trends that appeared in the data, such as whether efforts took place in urban versus rural areas or with a high versus low degree of

student engagement, and invite interview participants whose responses represented ends of those trends. This process hoped to clarify with a greater degree of depth the relatively wide and shallow data captured in the survey.

However, the original design was compromised by the survey phase's low response rate. Since the survey data set was too small to use as the basis for identifying patterns, much less apply those patterns to a statewide scale, the interview methodology was adjusted. Instead of using the phase to expand on trends identified in the first one, it would instead identify patterns of its own about citizenship education efforts and use those patterns to inform the design of a revised survey. This required securing as many interviews as possible to gather a range of in-depth data about teachers and their efforts. So, as opposed to pursuing interviews with particular survey respondents, the researcher contacted all six who had reported a willingness to be interviewed (see Appendix D: Interview Recruitment Email). Of that group, three ultimately agreed to be interviewed. The researcher also leveraged personal connections and interviewees' professional networks to secure other interviewees who had enacted citizenship education efforts but not responded to the initial survey. Of this group two agreed to an interview, bringing the total number of interviewees to five.

Participants

To protect participants' privacy, all names have been replaced with pseudonyms. Data on participants' age group was not collected for the two interviewees, whose names are marked with an asterisk in the following chart, who did not complete the survey. Responses regarding subject and grade taught refer specifically to those for which the effort was implemented and do not represent participants' full courseload.

Participant	Gender identity	Race/ ethnicity	Age group	Years teaching middle school social studies	Subject taught	Grade taught	Effort described
Ms. Daniels	Female	White	25-34	2	U.S. History	8	First Amendment unit with mock trial of <i>Elonis v. U.S.</i>
Ms. Lewis	Female	White	25-34	3	General Social Studies	8	Food drive for local food pantry
Mr. Malorie*	Male	White	N/A	3	U.S. History	8	Curriculum surrounding race in the U.S.
Mr. Perry*	Male	White	N/A	5	General Social Studies	7	Election unit with mock 2020 presidential election
Ms. Waters	Female	White	45-54	17	U.S. History	7	Lesson discussing Jim Crow and Scottsboro Boys

Table 2: Phase Two Participant List

Data Collection

Data collection was informed by an adjustment to the study methodology in response to the first phase. The original methodology had established teachers' efforts (at the time called "projects") as the unit of analysis, but the low survey response rate suggested teachers may not think about connections to citizenship in their curricula in terms of projects. This focus was deemed too narrow to accurately gauge the diversity of approaches to citizenship among teachers. Given this, and bearing in mind the exploratory nature of the study, the scope of the study was expanded to study teachers themselves as the unit of analysis and examine approaches to citizenship of all varieties that evidenced themselves in their curricula.

Interview invitations were sent via email in January 2021 (see Appendix D: Interview Recruitment Letter) and interviews via Zoom were scheduled according to participants' availability between February and March 2021. Each took place over Zoom and lasted 30 to 90

minutes, structured loosely around the interview protocol (see Appendix E: Interview Protocol) but focusing on the particular circumstances surrounding participants' efforts. These circumstances covered a broad range—for example, some participants designed their efforts around a particular philosophy of citizenship while others designed them in response to the needs of their curricula. Interviews frequently included diversions from the interview protocol to support an in-depth discussion of participants' efforts and the factors they felt most affected them, so as to better understand the interviewees.

Data Analysis

A set of codes with which to analyze interview data was devised (see Appendix F: Interview Codebook). These codes were created before the interview process began and were revised according to trends observed in interviews that were not accounted for in the original codebook. The codes, which concerned the circumstances surrounding the implementation of teachers' efforts and the learning goals associated with those efforts, were organized into nine themes: (a) an effort's connection to citizenship, (b) the curricular context of an effort, (c) the factors affecting the effort's implementation, (d) aspects of an effort, (e) pedagogy employed, (f) dispositions gained by students, (g) skills gained by students, (h) content knowledge gained by students, and (i) other information.

Trends emerged from this analysis upon which the revised survey protocol (see Appendix H: Revised Survey Protocol) was designed. These were divided into two categories: teachers' approaches to citizenship education efforts and factors influencing those efforts. Within the first category, trends concerned the types of material used by teachers to critically analyze citizenship—specifically, they included the *historical events*, *current events*, and *community issues* observed among interviewees' efforts. Trends in the first category also concerned the

pedagogical choices used by teachers to critically analyze citizenship—these included the tendency among interviewees to discuss citizenship *formally* or *substantively*, as defined by Glenn (2011); to ask students to *see through history*, and analyze citizenship from the imagined perspective of others, or *act as themselves*, and draw from their own thoughts and experiences; and finally to lean *into political tension* or *away* from it when discussing citizenship. Trends in the second category, the factors influencing teachers' efforts, concerned external factors discussed by interviewees that affected their citizenship education efforts—they included the impact of *MLR 6-8 CG D1 (D2)*, *COVID-19*, and the fear of encountering political tension as it related to *geography* and *years teaching experience*.

Finally, interviewees' efforts were analyzed according to their engagement with the three dimensions of citizenship identified by Marshall (1949). They were sorted into one of the three Marshallian dimensions depending on which one their content most directly concerned.

Phase Three: Revised Survey

Participant Selection

The revised survey attempted to recapture the statewide focus around which the study was originally built. To accomplish this, the survey was sent via email (see Appendix G: Revised Survey Recruitment Email) to every teacher in the population save those who had already completed the initial survey and/or an interview. Participants had the option to enter a raffle for a \$10 Amazon gift card as a small incentive to participate in the survey. Invitees were also sent the informed consent form used for the initial survey (see Appendix B: Informed Consent). The invitation was sent to the population twice in June 2021.

Participants

Participant	Gender identity	Race/ ethnicity	Age group	Years teaching middle school social studies	Social studies subjects taught	Grades taught
1	Female	White	35-44	16	General Social Studies	6-8
2	Female	White	35-44	14	General Social Studies	7-8
3	Female	White	45-54	26	U.S. History, General Social Studies	7
4	Female	White	45-54	25	General Social Studies	6
5	Male	White	55-64	32	U.S. History, World History, General Social Studies	6-8
6	Female	White	55-64	31	U.S. History, General Social Studies	6
7	Female	White	35-44	7	General Social Studies	7-8
8	Female	White	25-34	4	General Social Studies	8
9	Male	White	45-54	6	Other [unspecified]	6-8
10	Male	White	18-24	2	General Social Studies	7-8
11	Female	White	45-54	5	General Social Studies	7-8
12	Female	White	35-44	5	General Social Studies	6-7
13	Female	White	45-54	10	U.S. History, General Social Studies	7-8
14	Female	White	35-44	19	Other: Geography	8
15	Female	White	25-34	2	General Social Studies	6

Table 3: Phase Three Participant List (cont. on following pages)

16	Female	White	45-54	19	General Social Studies	6-8
17	Female	White	35-44	6	U.S. History, World History, General Social Studies	7-8
18	Female	White	35-44	6	General Social Studies	6
19	Female	White	55-64	3	U.S. History, World History, General Social Studies	7-8
20	Female	White	35-44	22	World History	6
21	Female	Prefer not to say	45-54	3	General Social Studies	7-8
22	Female	White	25-34	2	General Social Studies	7
23	Female	White	45-54	4	General Social Studies	7-8
24	Male	White	35-44	4	General Social Studies	6
25	Female	White	25-34	2	General Social Studies	8
26	Female	White	55-64	10	General Social Studies	6-7
27	Male	White	25-34	5	U.S. History, General Social Studies	7
28	Male	White	55-64	7	U.S. History, General Social Studies	7-8
29	Female	White	45-54	24	General Social Studies	7-8
30	Female	White	25-34	3	General Social Studies	7-8
31	Male	White	25-34	11	General Social Studies	6-8
32	Female	Asian	45-54	5	Other: Maine Studies	8

Table 3: Phase Three Participant List (cont.)

33	Female	White	18-24	4	General Social Studies	6-7
34	Male	White	45-54	20	General Social Studies	8
35	Male	White	45-54	6	U.S. History	8
36	Female	White	45-54	6	General Social Studies	6-7
37	Male	White	18-24	2	General Social Studies	6-8
38	Female	White	35-44	3	General Social Studies	7
39	Male	White	25-34	3	General Social Studies	6-8
40	Female	White	45-54	3	General Social Studies	6
41	Female	White	45-54	4	World History	6
42	Female	White	55-64	5	General Social Studies	6
43	Female	White	25-34	5	General Social Studies	6
44	Male	White	45-54	6	General Social Studies	8
45	Prefer not to reply	Prefer not to say	45-54	6	U.S. History	8
46	Female	White	55-64	8	U.S. History, General Social Studies	7
47	Male	White	35-44	9	General Social Studies	7
48	Prefer not to reply	Prefer not to say	25-34	12	Other [unspecified]	6
49	Female	White	25-34	12	General Social Studies	6
50	Female	White	35-44	13	U.S. History, General Social Studies	7-8

Table 3: Phase Three Participant List (cont.)

51	Male	White	55-64	14	U.S. History	8
52	Female	White	35-44	15	U.S. History, World History, General Social Studies	6-7
53	Female	White	55-64	15	General Social Studies	7
54	Male	White	35-44	20	U.S. History	7-8
55	Female	White	45-54	22	General Social Studies	6-8
56	Male	White	Above 64	24	World History	8
57	Female	White	45-54	25	U.S. History, World History, General Social Studies	6-8

Table 3: Phase Three Participant List (cont.)

Data Collection

The revised protocol dramatically streamlined the survey process, reducing the survey to 20 questions derived from trends observed during the interview phase (see Appendix X: Revised Survey Protocol). These questions collected basic demographic information about teachers and examined their approaches to citizenship and the factors affecting those approaches.

Within the Approaches section, participants were asked to identify how often their students critically analyzed material related to citizenship. Critical analysis, as defined in survey prompts, involved "investigat[ing] how power operates in society" as opposed to didactic or noncritical explorations of citizenship. The section asked participants how often their students critically analyzed *historical events*, *current events*, and *community issues* to learn about each of the *civil*, *political*, and *social* dimensions of citizenship. The civil dimension was labeled "legal citizenship" to avoid potential confusion over the meaning of the word "civil." Participants

responded by filling out a five-point Likert scale for each question in which points one to five were, respectively: "Never," "Once in a while," "Sometimes," "Often," and "Always." Questions pertaining to each dimension of citizenship concluded with an optional open-ended prompt that asked participants to describe examples of citizenship education efforts they had enacted that dealt with that dimension. Teachers were also asked how often in their citizenship education curricula their students communicated their ideas and opinions, how often their students engaged with their community, and what assessment tools their students were given.

In the Factors section, teachers were asked to what extent, as measured by a five-point Likert scale in which one was "Never" and five was "Regularly," concerns about encountering political tension shaped their instructional practices. They were also asked to what extent, as measured by a similar Likert scale in which one was "Not at all" and five was "Extremely," their citizenship education curriculum was shaped by MLR 6-8 CG 1 (D2). Finally, in the demographics section, teachers were asked basic quantitative information about their race, gender, school district location, and years teaching social studies. School district location was used as the basis of a test on teachers' rurality.

Data collection for the portion of the Approaches section that examined connections to social citizenship was impacted by a temporary copying error in the survey design. The survey as originally shared with the population did not include the prompt "Students in my class learn about social aspects of citizenship by critically analyzing historical events" with a Likert-scale answering space. This error was corrected several hours after the survey opened, reducing the prompt's data set to the 31 respondents who completed the survey later out of the 57 total respondents. Data collection for the other two prompts in this portion was not impacted by the error.

Data Analysis

Data from the revised survey was analyzed in three ways. First, quantitative Likert-scale responses for engagement with material within the three dimensions of citizenship were collapsed into three categories—besides "Never," "Once in a while" and "Sometimes" were combined into an "Infrequent" engagement category and "Often" and "Always" were collapsed into a "Frequent" engagement category. This aided the task of examining on a broad level the extent to which teachers utilized different types of material and explored different dimensions of citizenship.

Secondly, qualitative open-ended examples of efforts were divided across the dimensions of citizenship to which they pertained and assigned a code for the categories of material they analyzed. Some efforts demonstrated analysis of more than one category (such as both historical and current events) and were categorized as such. A number of efforts included *conceptual* material, such as philosophy, to explore citizenship instead of one of the three categories anticipated in the survey; these efforts were coded and categorized as conceptual.

Finally, certain data in the factors category were analyzed through inferential statistics tests in response to hypotheses developed by the researcher. A Mann-Whitney U Test was conducted to compare teachers' fears of political tension to their geographic location. A Kruskal-Wallis Test was also conducted to compare fears of political tension to teachers' experience level as measured in three categories: novice (1-2 years), mid-career (3-10 years), and experienced (11+ years).

Chapter III: Findings and Discussion analyzes data from the revised survey and interview phase together, describing patterns observed in survey data and illustrating those patterns through

relevant examples in the interview data set. As mentioned above, data from the initial survey were not deemed relevant to the research question and are therefore not analyzed in that chapter.

Limitations

One significant limitation on the study was the difficulty of securing survey and interview participants, which limited the scope and depth of data the study was able to analyze. This was likely owed in part to the realities facing teachers during the Covid-19 pandemic: the pandemic had forced a highly stressful and time-consuming workload on teachers, limiting their capacity to participate in voluntary activities like research projects.

The low response rate in the first phase was likely also owed in part to the initial survey design (see Appendix X: Initial Survey Protocol). The survey was long, visually unappealing, and largely composed of open-ended prompts that required participants to write their answers. These factors likely limited teachers' interest. The second survey protocol attempted to respond to these issues by reducing the number of questions, making open-ended responses optional, and widening the scope of the survey from the potentially inaccessible "projects" label to any social studies curricula related to citizenship. The revised survey also included an incentive for completion, the \$10 Amazon gift card, that likely drove participation.

The study was also potentially limited by the types of citizenship education efforts that were able to happen in middle schools during the COVID-19 pandemic. COVID-era efforts faced organizational and pedagogical issues like distance learning that are not necessarily applicable to circumstances not impacted by the pandemic. Those efforts also responded to notions of citizenship in a time when direct involvement in students' community was impossible or severely limited. As a result, findings related to those projects may speak more to citizenship

education during COVID-19 than they do to citizenship education in a typical curricular environment.

Another limiting factor was the demographic composition of the respondents. All but one participant identified as White or preferred not to share their race; this may have affected the types of efforts and attitudes toward citizenship present in the data set. Similarly, no teachers from districts with a large non-White population participated in the study, limiting findings to schools with the overwhelmingly White student populations typical of the rest of Maine. This may also have affected the approaches and factors present in the data set. Given these factors, the study does not necessarily reflect all perspectives on citizenship, particularly as it pertains to race, that emerge in Maine middle school social studies classrooms.

CHAPTER III: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter summarizes data from interviews and the revised survey design to address the study's research question: "What are the approaches to citizenship education seen in Maine middle school social studies classrooms, and what are the factors affecting those approaches?" The chapter answers that question first by examining the variety of *curricular* approaches to citizenship in the data set—the connections to historical events, current events, and community issues—undertaken by participants against the civil, political, and social dimensions of citizenship that those efforts addressed. It then examines the *pedagogical* approaches to citizenship—the ways material is taught and presented—used by participants. Finally, the chapter discusses the potential factors that influenced the curricular and pedagogical findings and discusses the results of selected inferential statistics tests.

Curricular Approaches to Citizenship

Participants' citizenship education efforts are examined across the civil, political, and social dimensions of rights identified by Marshall (1949), depending on which dimensions their curricula focus on. Efforts are organized within each dimension across three categories of class material discussed in the revised survey: historical events, current events, and community issues. This section details the rate at which survey participants reported that their students critically analyzed each dimension of citizenship by engaging with material in these categories. It also draws from interview data and open-ended survey prompts to describe examples of citizenship education efforts across each dimension and category. Several survey participants described efforts that belonged to a category of material not anticipated by the researcher: the *conceptual* discussion of citizenship. Examples of efforts in this category are discussed alongside those in the three that were anticipated.

Civil Citizenship

Table 4 details the frequency of engagement with civil citizenship reported by the 57 revised survey participants across analysis of historical events, current events, and community issues. Table 5 details the types of material present in the 20 open-ended responses to the revised survey that described examples of engagement with civil citizenship, as expressed as relating to one or more types of material.

	Never		Infrequently		Frequently	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Historical	3	5.3%	37	64.90%	17	29.80%
Current	2	3.5%	39	68.40%	16	28.10%
Community	7	12.3%	44	77.20%	6	10.50%

Table 4: Frequency of Engagement with Curricular Material Related to Civil Citizenship

	<i>n</i>	%
Historical	9	45%
Current	3	15%
Historical + Current	3	15%
Community	0	0%
Conceptual	5	20%

Table 5: Incidence of Curricular Material Related to Civil Citizenship across Open-ended Responses

Overall, participants in this study reported that their students critically analyzed material related to civil citizenship infrequently, with historical events being analyzed slightly more frequently than current events and community issues being analyzed far less frequently. Two possibilities explain the infrequent engagement with civil citizenship. The first is that teachers are engaging with citizenship education of any kind infrequently—this is reflected in the high levels of infrequent engagement with all dimensions of citizenship (see chart). The second possibility is that, even with a general lack of engagement in mind, civil citizenship is analyzed less frequently than other dimensions in middle school classrooms. This is reflected across each category of material for political and social citizenship, where participants recorded more frequent engagement than with civil citizenship.

Within the civil dimension of citizenship, the disparity between engagement with historical or current events and engagement with community issues is notable. Participants' tendency toward historical and current events, with a particular focus in both categories on U.S. history material, may reflect a curricular culture that frames social studies through history instead of the other content areas discussed by Ross et al. (2014), such as social justice and informed social criticism. This may account for the prevalence of U.S. history material in open-ended survey responses, despite only seven of the 20 respondents to that prompt reporting that they taught U.S. History specifically.

The prevalence of historical and current events over community issues may also owe to a curricular tendency in how civil citizenship is approached. Teachers may be seizing obvious connections to civil citizenship in these two groups (e.g. historical and current issues concerning the Constitution) rather than drawing original connections to community issues. This tendency is

particularly reflected in open-ended survey data, of which no responses detail community-oriented material.

A neglect of the civil aspects of community issues and the role students play in addressing them could negatively impact students' identity as citizens. It may leave students unprepared to recognize and respond to lapses in civil rights in their community; more broadly, it may foster a detached sense of civil citizenship (Hudson & Whisler, 2007). Community issues, unlike many historical and current events, concern students' lives in a direct way—the critical analysis of these issues can lead to greater awareness of and involvement in community institutions (Hart et al., 2007). It has also been shown to increase efficacy toward civil issues in students' communities and elsewhere (Cody & McGarry, 2012; Hudson & Whisler, 2007; Quinn & Owen, 2016). Curricula that frame civil citizenship only through historical and current events without mention of its relevance to students' lives, such as some efforts described later in this section, do not provide that personal lens of analysis.

Of the nine participants who described efforts that used historical events to critically analyze civil citizenship, all but three reported that they did so in the context of U.S. history curricula. Some drew primarily from political historical artifacts—one person described examining "the Pledge of Allegiance, The American Creed, Locke/Hobbes, [the] I have a Dream Speech, Washington['s] Second [Inaugural Address], etc to form ideas on citizenship, rights and responsibilities." Others drew from civics-related historical events, such as by "talk[ing] about Supreme Court cases that impacted Free Speech laws." The three participants who reported having students critically analyze historical connections to civil citizenship not solely grounded in U.S. history dealt with the civil structures of ancient civilizations: one compared the governments of these civilizations between each other, and the other two compared them with

American government. A participant in the latter group connected ancient history to current events, as well, by "[c]omparing situations in history with [the] current state of affairs" in the United States.

Three of the six participants whose students critically analyzed current events did so in connection with historical events. Besides the effort discussing ancient history, these efforts concerned the contemporary implications of civics-related U.S. history. One participant "compar[ed] the Bill of Rights to modern day concerns" and the other discussed "current events that may occur" around the 14th Amendment. The three participants whose efforts concerned current events alone all discussed immigration, with one effort focusing on refugees and another discussing the naturalization process of immigrants. These efforts presumably focused on immigration into the U.S., though participants did not clarify.

This tendency toward U.S. history-based material could be owed to several factors. First, teachers may be working within a U.S. history-centered curriculum that limits the kinds of connections they can make to other content areas. Secondly, they may not see connections to other historical or current events that illustrate civil citizenship as directly as U.S. history does. To an extent, this is expected: teachers cannot adequately capture the evolution of civil rights in the U.S. without drawing from rights movements, landmark Supreme Court cases, and so on. An exclusive focus on U.S. history may limit students' understanding of civil citizenship, however, by neglecting other historical and current events that speak to students' civil identity as American citizens.

Students' understanding of citizenship may also be shaped by the perspective from which the material is explored and the connections drawn between the material and students' civic identity. Among efforts analyzing civil citizenship, as is the case for the other two dimensions,

two broad perspectives are identified: investigating citizenship through content knowledge, and investigating it through the application of content knowledge in students' lives. These perspectives foster different understandings of students' role in the material they study. Examples from the interview data set illustrate these differences.

An example of the former approach is seen in the unit described in Ms. Daniels's interview. Ms. Daniels designed the unit, a week-long series of lessons about First-Amendment rights culminating in a mock trial of the 2014 Supreme Court case *Elonis v. United States*, around the goal of expanding her students' civics content knowledge. She felt that her students needed to know "what the heck the Supreme Court was" as well as have a basic understanding of the First Amendment, which she considered "the most important" in the Bill of Rights. To achieve this, she guided students through the critical analysis of historical political cartoons and landmark Supreme Court cases that concerned the various freedoms of the Amendment. She then tested their knowledge with the *Elonis* trial, in which students wrote and delivered arguments on the case's questions of freedom of speech while acting as participants in the real trial. At every stage, students engaged with the First Amendment and its implications for citizenship through historical material, as opposed to investigating the role of the Amendment in their own lives. The unit framed civil citizenship solely through the acquisition of content knowledge.

This approach is contrasted with the lesson described in Ms. Waters's interview, an example of an effort that investigated citizenship through the *application* of content knowledge in students' lives. The lesson, a critical analysis of civil abuses the Scottsboro Boys received in 1931 Alabama, focused both on the unconstitutionality of Jim Crow and its legacies in the modern justice system. Ms. Waters commented on the dual focus of the lesson:

The Scottsboro Boys hits into the Constitutional Amendments, like the 14th Amendment

and the 6th Amendment, so we're able to go in that direction, [while] we jumped forward to see some results of the Jim Crow laws....It does connect [to contemporary issues of race and sex], because of racism and in the actions that resulted from that.

The lesson used historical material to reveal and explore an insight about race in students' lives, as opposed to limiting its scope to just the historical event being discussed. In this way, it may have prepared students more fully for citizenship than Ms. Daniels's First-Amendment unit—it connected the civic content being discussed to their own world, preparing them to understand the impact of both civil citizenship and history in their lives. Ms. Daniels's effort instead gave students a theoretical, detached understanding of civil citizenship, not revealing its relevance to the issues in students' lives.

Both perspectives are supported by evidence in the literature of helping to develop civil citizenship. Some researchers have identified a link between content knowledge and civic engagement (Cohen & Chaffee, 2013; Torney-Purta, 2002), suggesting that even if efforts do not address students' lives, they may prepare them for the critical analysis of civil citizenship outside the classroom. Gaining content knowledge may also be helpful for the obvious reason of establishing a basis for future explorations of citizenship—Ms. Daniels noted in her interview that many students had no experience with the First Amendment or the Supreme Court and had to learn some basic information before they could explore those topics more thoroughly. However, the content-knowledge-centered investigation of citizenship is also limited in several ways. Damanik (2016) and Malin (2017) noted that a lack of focus on students' lives can bore them and foster an understanding of citizenship in which they are detached from historical and contemporary civic issues. Furthermore, several researchers have identified a link between efforts that connect to students' lives, particularly those that emphasize student voice in analyzing

citizenship, and future community engagement (Cody & McGarry, 2012; Galston, 2007; Green et al., 2011; Quinn & Owen, 2016). This link has not been observed as strongly with content-knowledge-centered efforts (Green et al., 2011).

The two perspectives may be present among open-ended survey responses as well as among interviews. In general, however, the open-ended responses provide too little information to judge whether students simply gained content knowledge or also connected that content knowledge to their own lives. The only responses in which the perspectives can be plausibly measured are those in a final group of five participants who discussed efforts grounded in the critical analysis of *conceptual* material related to citizenship, as opposed to historical, current-events, or community-oriented material. Two of these efforts took the form of a hypothetical scenario in which students role-played various aspects of civil citizenship—for instance, one participant described "creat[ing] a fictitious town/city or county with different buildings representing the different roles [the] town/city and county require from citizens." Other efforts presented philosophical issues to students about the meaning of citizenship, such as one which gave students "a document where 17 rights have been pulled from the [Bill of Rights]" and asked them to choose "5 they would never be able to give up and why...[a]nd 5 they would have no problem giving up and why." Another effort asked students to debate "voting [as a] privilege or responsibility." Efforts in the first group can be interpreted as focusing on content knowledge, framing an exploration of civil systems through hypothetical situations, while efforts in the second group can be interpreted as using content knowledge and hypothetical situations to probe students' personal relationship with the content.

Political Citizenship

Table 6 details the frequency of engagement with political citizenship reported by the 57 revised survey participants across analysis of historical events, current events, and community issues. Table 7 details the types of material present in the 16 open-ended responses to the revised survey that described examples of engagement with political citizenship, as expressed as relating to one or more types of material.

	Never		Infrequently		Frequently	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Historical	1	1.8%	36	63.2%	20	35.1%
Current	1	1.8%	33	57.9%	23	40.4%
Community	4	7%	43	75.4%	10	17.5%

Table 6: Frequency of Engagement with Curricular Material Related to Political Citizenship

	<i>n</i>	%
Historical	4	25%
Current	8	50%
Historical + Current	1	6.25%
Community	1	6.25%
Conceptual	2	12.5%

Table 7: Incidence of Curricular Material Related to Political Citizenship across Open-ended Responses

Overall, participants in this study reported that their students critically analyzed material related to political citizenship infrequently, with current events being analyzed slightly more frequently than historical events and community issues being analyzed far less frequently. Across the three dimensions of citizenship, however, participants engaged with political citizenship overall most frequently. Two possibilities explain participants' relatively high engagement with this dimension. The first is that teachers draw more connections to the political process than other types of citizenship, perhaps since voting is a basic and important piece of citizenship with which students are likely familiar. The second possibility, which is related, is that the 2020 presidential election shaped citizenship education efforts in the school years studied. Both possibilities are reflected in open-ended survey responses, several of which discuss political parties, elections, and current events related to the 2020 election. They also explain the relatively frequent analysis of current events seen in the data set.

The infrequent analysis of community issues may be explained by a curricular tendency similar to the one described for civil citizenship: teachers may be seizing obvious connections to political citizenship (e.g. 2020 election material) rather than exploring the political aspects of community issues. This is reflected in open-ended survey data, of which only one response can be interpreted as potentially analyzing community issues. A neglect of community issues in favor of more immediately relevant material may be ill-conceived—Hart et al. (2003) reported a relationship between community engagement for high school students and increased likelihood of future voting. These findings may apply to middle school students, as well. Other researchers have disputed the effect on voting of traditional material, such as historical and current events (Cohen & Chaffee, 2013; Galston, 2007).

Open-ended survey responses illustrate the prevalence of election material in connections to political citizenship. Six of the eight participants who described efforts that used current events to critically analyze political citizenship did so in the context of the election, with some implementing mock elections, one studying "election misinformation," and another "read[ing political news] articles from NEWSELA, NPR, etc." with their students. The two connections to current events not centered on the election concerned aspects of immigration: one participant "discuss[ed] the power of Congress over immigration [into the U.S.]" and the other analyzed the "citizenship test used for new immigrants."

Connections to historical events similarly focused on the U.S. political system, with participants discussing the historical basis of political citizenship and historical moments in politics. One participant, for example, noted studying the "[f]ormation of [American] of government" and analyzing the "influence" of "former presidents." Only one participant analyzed historical events outside of U.S. history, instead discussing the political systems of ancient civilizations. Similarly, the sole participant to discuss both historical and current events compared the historical events of ancient civilizations with current events in the U.S.

One participant described an "Active Citizenship Unit" that could potentially be understood as connecting to community issues. Kennedy (2007) defined "active citizenship" education as efforts that "seek to identify the behaviours and attitudes of 'active citizens', often in relation to better understanding the status and causes of 'active citizenship' within the community" (p. 308). The effort is labeled as pertaining to community issues under the assumption it follows this definition, though the participant did not clarify the details of the effort.

Regardless, the data set indicates an overwhelming tendency toward election-based material when discussing political citizenship. This tendency may be due to several factors. First, as was discussed above, teachers may be drawing their approaches to political citizenship from a U.S. history-based curriculum that favors references to U.S. politics and limits references to other content areas. Secondly, teachers may be seizing obvious connections to political citizenship, such as presidential elections, instead of drawing original connections for students to consider. Teachers may prefer election material because of the convenience with which it can be applied in the classroom, as well as the cultural and historical significance the material holds for students. And, as was the case with U.S.-history connections to civil citizenship, this is expected: political citizenship education must include some discussion of presidential elections, the Electoral College, etc., as most students will be expected to vote as adults. A focus on presidential elections can also prepare students to parse stances on current events issues, read and watch political news, identify the biases of advertisements, and engage in other skills necessary for political citizenship.

Certain instructional practices associated with election material may aid students' sense of political citizenship, as well. Feldman et al. (2007) studied the impact of a student-centered program called Student Voices in which students analyzed a current election through "deliberative discussions, community projects, and informational use of the Internet" (p. 75). The study revealed a link between these practices and an increased sense of political efficacy in students. This efficacy included critical awareness of political current events and self-reported likelihood of future voting (Feldmen et al., 2007). Syvertsen et al. (2009), who also studied the program, noted that students' increased efficacy was limited to traditional forms of political engagement such as voting and not non-traditional or creative ones like organizing and

participating in boycotts. Nevertheless, the student-centered instructional practices associated with the program have been shown to increase students' future political participation (Feldman et al., 2007; McDevitt & Chaffee, 2000; Lin, 2015; Syvertsen et al., 2009). In light of this research, the student-centered instructional practices such as mock elections seen in this study seem promising for the development of students' political citizenship.

By limiting explorations of political citizenship *solely* to presidential elections, however, teachers may hamper other aspects of students' political citizenship. Students may not understand how to determine their vote in state and local elections, which often lack the media attention and resources for voters associated with presidential elections. Students may also not understand the specific nature of American democracy without comparing it with other political systems. Finally, students may be limited by an understanding of political citizenship that only draws from historical and current events in the U.S. The survey participant who described a comparison of American and ancient political systems illustrates that any historical material can connect to students' political citizenship—approaches like this one may help to cultivate a holistic understanding of political citizenship that situates students' rights and responsibilities not just in U.S. history and presidential elections but in the context of other world events (Komalasari, 2009).

Approaches within the political dimension of citizenship seen in this study may fall into the perspectives identified for the civil dimension: investigating citizenship through content knowledge, or connecting that content knowledge to students' lives in a broader way. It is possible that some efforts described in open-ended survey responses, such as "[d]iscussions about political parties" and "read[ing current events] articles" belonged to the former category, investigating citizenship in a way that was detached from students' lives, but the responses do not

include enough information to say definitively. However, there is an in-depth example of the *latter* category among interview responses: the election unit undertaken by Mr. Perry, which used the election to investigate students' opinions about the political process and introduce a critical awareness of political media.

Mr. Perry implemented the unit in the month leading into the 2020 election, closing the unit with a mock election in which students voted for president and Maine's members of Congress. The unit addressed different aspects of political citizenship, specifically preparing students to understand the organization of the political process, evaluate and debate the positions held by candidates, and correctly fill out a ballot. Mr. Perry organized the unit around the critical analysis of current-events artifacts related to the election—students watched and read news pieces, assessed the "types of propaganda tools...being used in" commercials for presidential and congressional candidates, and discussed the issues raised by candidates. In doing so, Mr. Perry also sought to develop students' political awareness and consciousness, encouraging them through class discussion and debate to consider their individual stances on the election. This grounded the unit in students' thoughts and opinions about the election even though the material did not involve them directly.

Much like the strategies discussed by Feldman et al. (2007) and Syvertsen et al. (2009), Mr. Perry's unit leveraged the presidential election to help students develop an awareness of their own thoughts, feelings, and observations about the political process. For a number of reasons, this may have prepared them for political citizenship more effectively than material that did not connect to their lives. First, it recognized their future role in the political process, preparing them for each step in participating in presidential elections. This approach has practical value in ways

a detached analysis of the election would not. Furthermore, the approach may have engaged them more than a detached analysis of the election.

A final group of two participants discussed efforts grounded in the critical analysis of conceptual material related to political citizenship. Both efforts examined political citizenship philosophically, with the former participant "discuss[ing] how voting is important to maintain a democracy" and the latter examining the nature of politics. The latter attempted to divorce political citizenship from its association with political current events, instead describing how "everything is political, and that politics does not need to be a dirty word....[P]olitical ideology and conflict between political parties is not all politics is." Both efforts grounded their analysis in the kind of political efficacy seen in Mr. Perry's unit, using content knowledge to illuminate the impact of political citizenship in students' lives and providing the tools to engage with it more thoughtfully.

Social Citizenship

Table 8 details the frequency of engagement with social citizenship reported by the 57 revised survey participants across analysis of historical events, current events, and community issues, with the exception of the 31 responses available for historical events discussed in the previous chapter. Table 9 details the types of material present in the 28 open-ended responses to the revised survey that described examples of engagement with social citizenship, as expressed as relating to one or more types of material.

	Never		Infrequently		Frequently	
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%	<i>n</i>	%
Historical*	1	3.2%	15	48.4%	15	48.4%
Current	1	1.7%	28	49.1%	28	49.1%
Community	6	10.5%	46	80.7%	5	8.8%

*31 respondents

Table 8: Frequency of Engagement with Curricular Material Related to Social Citizenship

	<i>n</i>	%
Historical	7	25%
Current	9	32.1%
Historical + Current	1	3.6%
Community	4	14.3%
Community + Current	2	7.1%
Conceptual	4	14.3%
Community + Conceptual	1	3.6%

Table 9: Incidence of Curricular Material Related to Social Citizenship across Open-ended Responses

Overall, participants in this study reported that their students critically analyzed material related to social citizenship infrequently. Bearing in mind the adjusted tally for historical events, participants engaged with historical and current events at similar rates and at equal levels of frequency and infrequency. The levels of engagement with historical and current events, which are highest for social citizenship across all dimensions, are explained by two possibilities. The first is that teachers are in general more likely to recognize social connections to historical and current events than they are to recognize civil and political ones. This is reflected in the wide range of social connections described in open-ended survey responses. The second possibility is that the particular social upheavals of the timeframe studied, namely the COVID-19 pandemic and the racial reckoning of summer 2020, influenced teachers' approaches to historical and current events. This is reflected in the attention paid to racism in response to the Black Lives Matter movement described in Mr. Malorie's interview, which is discussed below.

Participants' students analyzed community issues even less frequently for social citizenship than for the other two dimensions. Beyond the possible curricular tendency toward historical and current events related to U.S. history discussed above, the COVID-19 pandemic may have acutely affected engagement with community issues for social citizenship. Community engagement with social citizenship typically involves efforts like service-learning and students' interaction with community members (Ballistoni, 1997; Charles, 2000; Lin, 2015). The lockdowns and closures brought on by the pandemic may have made these efforts difficult. This is reflected in Ms. Lewis's interview, which is discussed below—Ms. Lewis had intended to organize another version of her food drive project, which was originally done in fall 2019, for the 2020-21 school year but had to cancel the project due to COVID-19 restrictions.

As was noted for the other dimensions, a neglect of community issues in social citizenship may negatively impact students' identity as citizens. Interaction with community issues is one of the primary aspects of social citizenship (Dewey, 1916), and students may suffer from a lack of proper training in recognizing and responding to those issues. Students may also be deprived of the benefits that relate to other dimensions of citizenship, such as the increased likelihood of future voting and sense of civic efficacy observed by Hart et al. (2003) that is cultivated through community engagement.

Despite participants' infrequent engagement with community issues, however, community-oriented efforts make up a significant portion of the efforts described in open-ended survey data. Of the four efforts that explore community issues alone, two plausibly investigated citizenship through content knowledge and the other two plausibly used content knowledge to foster a deeper understanding of citizenship's place in students' lives. As was the case for responses related to other dimensions, not all efforts are described in enough detail to adequately gauge their focus.

Both efforts in the former group involved service-learning, with students in one carrying out a service project unspecified by the participant and students in the other researching possible projects to pursue. These efforts appear to have investigated social citizenship through content knowledge alone, as they seemed to focus on the content of the service-learning projects without details about personal reflection—one participant described the project culminating in students examining "what the organization does, why they're important in the community, and how to get involved." Even though these results involve reflection on how students might contribute to the organization, they appear to focus on the content knowledge alone instead of applying that knowledge in other areas of students' lives.

Efforts in the latter group instead appear to have investigated social citizenship through that kind of broader application. One effort was a curriculum based on "Trait[s] of the Month," such as gratitude and empathy, that students analyzed through their application in various community organizations. Students were also "expected to show examples of gratitude or empathy or kindness...in an effort to be a valued citizen in their school, community, and society in general." The other participant guided students through writing "thank you notes for nonprofit organizations in [their] community." These efforts, more than focusing on students' content knowledge about community organizations and the services they provide, stressed students' moral and developmental relationship with the material. "These...projects give them the opportunity to see that making a change is possible," the second teacher noted.

Efforts that analyzed both community issues and other categories of material were also split between focusing on content knowledge and applying content knowledge to students' lives in a broader way. The two efforts to analyze community issues alongside current events concerned content knowledge about social movements. The one to analyze community issues alongside *conceptual* ideas instead asked students to consider "what [community] mean[s],...how do we show it[,] and how can we make it better," extending the content into students' personal experience of community.

The two perspectives are not necessarily mutually exclusive, especially when applied to service-learning. Service-learning efforts have been shown to increase students' "sense of social agency, responsibility for the moral and political dimensions of society, and general moral-political awareness" (Lapsley & Navaruez, 2007, p. 27), strengthening both students' knowledge of social issues and their capacity to respond to issues they recognize in their own lives. These efforts have furthermore been shown to increase students' compassion and

sensitivity toward community issues (Bernacki & Jaeger, 2008; Hart et al., 2007; Hoge, 2002), providing character education alongside the pragmatic work of service.

The effort described in Ms. Lewis's interview, a food drive service-learning project for a local food pantry, illustrates the link between service-learning and internally-focused character education. The project both responded to a need in students' community, giving them the tools to address and combat a community issue, and developed their sense of compassion and responsibility toward community issues more broadly.

The specific choice to conduct a food drive came from the students. Ms. Lewis and the students had previously "[visited] the bank and the post office and the library" as well as the food pantry to learn about services provided to the community. Upon reflection of which services were most needed, the students conceptualized and then organized the food drive—Ms. Lewis noted that she guided their discussion and outlined the goals of the food drive for the students, but "once those steps were laid out, it was in the students almost entirely." The students took turns campaigning for canned food in their school and community, in total collecting 840 cans for the pantry.

The food drive balanced concrete action with students' moral development as members of their community. Ms. Lewis commented on the developmental results of the project:

Understanding that these issues aren't just elsewhere allowed the students to have sort of this feeling of being a stakeholder in their community. A lot of them, more than I think they realize, ...do utilize those services like the...food bank, so I think being in the position to support others allows them to see...the steps that you take to make a change. They can sort of understand a little bit more how you help other people in appropriate ways and how you make your voice heard.

She also noted students' increased self-efficacy from organizing and carrying out the project, which she believed prepared them to address other community needs. The project typifies the connections to both concrete content and broader awareness available in social citizenship efforts.

Of all social citizenship efforts described in interviews and open-ended survey responses, the community-oriented character education efforts discussed above were the only ones that connected solely to students' development as citizens. In other words, all other efforts analyzed traditional social studies material, be it in combination with a broader sense of citizenship or primarily to develop students' content knowledge. Of the seven efforts that analyzed historical events, six concerned the social implications of moments in U.S. history. The last effort compared the social roles of ancient Greek citizens with American ones. Among these efforts, some focused on content knowledge—one participant, for example, listed "[u]nderstanding the Constitution, Bill of Rights, and Doctrines and Documents from our History." Others applied the material to students' lives to illustrate citizenship—one participant analyzed civil rights in terms of "reflecting on how much change has occurred over the years."

Several current-events connections to social citizenship also focused on the material's relevance in students' lives. Of the nine efforts described in the open-ended survey prompt that analyzed current events, seven did so to illuminate the material's relevance. One participant described analyzing how "current Supreme Court cases have the potential to impact [students]" another attempted to make the news "real" for students by "making real world connections;" and so on. Three of these efforts focused on culture specifically, with one participant "look[ing] at intersectionality in culture" to examine "what makes us, us" and the others comparing American culture to others around the world. Two participants discussed efforts that analyzed current

events to learn about citizenship through content knowledge instead of also connecting the content to students' lives more broadly. One effort analyzed news pieces, and the other "discuss[ed] social citizenship responsibilities" related to the 2020 election. Finally, one effort concerned both historical *and* current events, analyzing the history of colonialism and its impacts today.

An effort described in Mr. Malorie's interview demonstrates the use of both historical and current events when learning about social citizenship. The effort, a year-long curriculum designed in response to the racial reckoning of summer 2020, sought to help Mr. Malorie's students better understand race in relation to the contemporary impacts of the Reconstruction Era. Mr. Malorie designed the curriculum around 100 questions about race submitted by students at the beginning of the year—questions included, for example, "When did racism start?," "How does racism in America compare with racism in other countries?," and "What does racism mean for the future?" Each lesson of the school year attempted to answer at least one question by introducing a historical component of the United States' relationship with race and examining its effects in current events.

The curriculum attempted to reveal the interactions between history and modern-day racism that may not have otherwise been obvious to Mr. Malorie's racially homogenous student group. In investigating these issues, Mr. Malorie hoped to instill a critical awareness of both history and current events that extended beyond the classroom. Imagining the perspective of his students, he posed in his interview:

How do we make this relevant in [a Maine town] when you know we're 98% white, when we are not even understanding our own particular views on things and we're hearing so

much from our parents—how do we truly understand what it means to be a citizen [and] what it means to have an opinion?

The curriculum represents the most intensive application of content knowledge to students' lives in the data set, with Mr. Malorie not only offering his own connections between the two but basing the content itself on students' observations. In this sense, the curriculum shares similarities with Dewey's laboratory school, in which school material was based in part on students' interests and curiosities and the purpose of school was to prepare students for the particular circumstances of their lives (Dewey, 1916; Shutz, 2000). Mr. Malorie's curriculum applied these principles in a traditional academic environment, illustrating that the curricular freedom associated with social studies (Ross et al., 2014) can allow teachers to explore meaningful topics within the constraints of the contemporary school system.

Finally, as was the case for the other two dimensions of citizenship, a number of participants described efforts based on the analysis of conceptual material alone. Of the four efforts in this category, two concerned the social importance of responsibilities such as voting, one centered on "[d]iscussions of equality," and the last involved "simulations activities" unspecified by the participant. The responses lack the level of detail necessary to draw conclusions about their relationship to content knowledge and students' lives.

Pedagogical Approaches to Citizenship

Interviews provided in-depth data with which to analyze teachers' pedagogical approaches to citizenship education alongside their curricular ones. These approaches, which represent different motivations with which participants carried out their efforts, can be examined through three continua: a *formal* versus *substantive* perspective of rights; students *seeing through history* versus *acting as themselves*; and teachers *leaning into political tension* or *away from it*.

Within each continuum, teachers' efforts are seen to respond to different aspects of effective citizenship education and shape students' understanding of citizenship in distinct ways. These findings reveal the ways teachers' pedagogies shape their citizenship education efforts, their instructional choices having as significant an effect on students' civic development as their curricular choices.

Formal and Substantive Approaches

The use of the terms *formal* and *substantive* in this section is derived from Glenn's (2011) framework, in which formal citizenship is the legal guarantee of rights across civil, political, and social dimensions and substantive citizenship is the reliable application of those rights in society. Applied to citizenship education efforts, a formal approach analyzes a right as it legally exists (e.g., the civil right of Black people to vote) while a substantive approach analyzes it within the inequalities that affect its application (e.g., poll taxes and other institutional racially-motivated voter suppression techniques). A substantive approach furthermore provides students the intellectual and social tools necessary to combat those inequalities and recognize other factors that impair the equitable distribution of rights.

The interview data set contains examples of both formal and substantive approaches to citizenship. To illustrate two positions on the continuum, this section analyzes Ms. Daniels's unit on First-Amendments rights and Ms. Waters's lesson on the Scottsboro Boys. Ms. Daniels's unit examined the First Amendment from a formal perspective, analyzing its legal parameters and the clarification of its protections through landmark Supreme Court cases but not extending its focus to the Amendment's application in students' lives. Ms. Waters's lesson, by contrast, analyzed the Sixth and Fourteenth Amendments from a substantive perspective by situating those Amendments in the racial inequalities that shaped their usage historically and continue to affect

them today. The two perspectives affected the way students interacted with the material and, by extension, citizenship itself—Ms. Daniels's lesson framed the application of Bill-of-Rights protections outside students' experiences and potential observations about their use, but Ms. Waters's lesson invited students to imagine the application of those protections for themselves and others in everyday life.

The choice to formally or substantively analyze material seems to be linked among participants with the choice to investigate citizenship through content knowledge or the application of content knowledge in students' lives. A formal approach focuses inquiry inward toward the content and a substantive one expands that focus outward. A substantive approach also invites students to consider the application of rights in their communities and examine the relationship between their application and social inequality. The two approaches may influence the effectiveness of the efforts: though this study did not examine the depth of student learning, interview data regarding student response suggest deeper engagement with substantive efforts than formal ones.

Other researchers have observed a link between substantive approaches to citizenship and an increased sense of civic identity (Solhaug, 2013; Torney-Purta et al., 2001). Solhaug (2013) noted that students respond particularly to the constructive knowledge-building in substantive approaches more than to the one-sided distribution of knowledge in formal ones. This is reflected in the different levels of student engagement between Ms. Daniels's and Ms. Waters's efforts. Ms. Daniels noted that students responded mostly to the roleplay element of the unit and not the exploration of citizenship itself, sharing that she had incorporated the roleplay primarily "because they're engaged" with that tool. Ms. Waters instead created student engagement by inviting her students to draw connections between the material and larger themes of systemic

racism, validating the students' observations and creating a space for them to explore politically tense ideas. Ms. Waters reflected on students' participation in the lesson, commenting that "the connections [the students made] between the two [were] pretty powerful" and that the students had engaged deeply with the material. Kahne et al. (2013) noted that this trusting exploration of ideas between students and teachers is an essential component of effective citizenship education and that it is far more effective at cultivating civic engagement than strictly formal approaches. Though the content knowledge associated with formal approaches is seen to increase future voting behavior to an extent (Cohen & Chaffee, 2013; Kahne et al. 2013), substantive approaches to citizenship appear to foster a deeper sense of civic identity.

Seeing through History versus Acting as Yourself

Teachers' approaches to citizenship education in this study can also be described as either inviting students to *see through history*, and exercise empathy to assume the role of historical figures, or to *act as themselves*, and respond to the material from their own perspective. Interviewees' efforts that adopt the seeing-through-history perspective include Ms. Daniels's mock trial, Ms. Waters's analysis of Jim Crow laws, and Mr. Malorie's exploration of racism. All three efforts placed students in the shoes of others, be they real figures in the case of the Scottsboro Boys or generalized members of history in the case of the *Elonis* court, resting on students' willingness to imagine the thoughts and feelings of the people they inhabited. Students may have still drawn connections to their own lives, such as through the introspection about race inherent to Mr. Malorie's curriculum, but the material centered on the perspectives and experiences of others. Mr. Perry's mock election and Ms. Lewis's food drive, by contrast, centered on the perspectives of students and rested on the notion that they would act as themselves.

Action itself may be the factor that distinguishes efforts in the former category from those in the latter. Mr. Perry's mock election and Ms. Lewis's food drive were built on student action, necessarily requiring students to act as themselves as they engaged with the material, whereas efforts that saw through history involved no call for student action. Granted, students did play an active role in all three efforts that saw through history—students in Ms. Daniels's mock trial cast votes as members of the Supreme Court, for example—but this engagement was not tied to literal action in the way engagement for Mr. Perry's mock trial and Ms. Lewis's food drive were. Efforts observed here that saw through history ultimately analyzed citizenship from a passive perspective, in the sense that they focused on critical consciousness more than the development of skills related to exercising that consciousness. Efforts in which students acted as themselves instead focused on the development of such skills.

A combination of the two perspectives may be necessary for effective citizenship education. Parker (2008) observed that "democratic citizens need both to *know* democratic things and *do* democratic things," arguing that "proper" citizenship education "proceeds in both directions in tandem" (p. 65). Students must be able to develop critical consciousness, such as the kind seen in Mr. Malorie's curriculum, and then apply it in their lives, such as through the kind of action seen in Ms. Lewis's food drive. Approaches seen in this study appear to focus on one perspective or the other, inviting students to either *know* and reflect on the rights of citizenship by seeing through history or *do* and reflect on the duties of citizenship by acting as themselves.

Political Tension

Teachers' approaches to citizenship education in this study can finally be described as either leaning into or away from political tension. Concern of political tension may have

influenced participants' willingness to discuss current events around which there is significant political controversy, such as presidential elections, immigration, and issues related to racism. Responses to the revised survey prompt "Concerns about encountering political tension shape my instructional choices," which measured concern on a five-point Likert scale where one was "Never" and five was "Regularly," indicate appreciable concern:

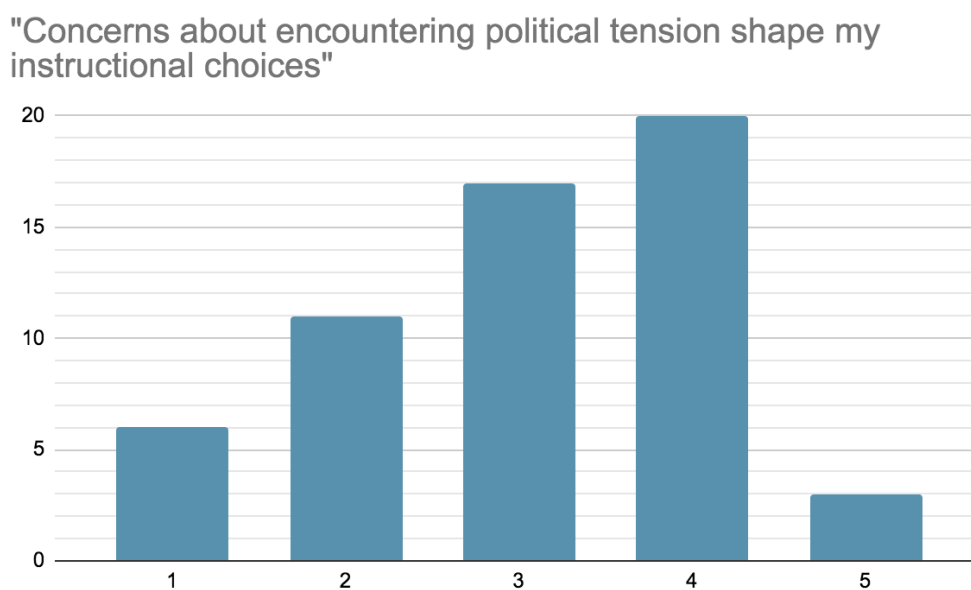


Figure 1: Participants' Concern about Encountering Political Tension

This apprehension toward political tension reflects a trend that has been documented elsewhere. Mirel (2002) noted that teachers have grown more concerned about political tension in recent decades—this has correlated with a rise in political polarization in society that has been widely observed (Galston, 2007; Heltzel & Laurin, 2020; McAvoy & Hess, 2013; Rogers, et al., 2017). Rogers et al. (2017) reported that teachers felt more stress about political tension and concern about bringing it into the classroom during the Trump era particularly than during previous eras in recent history, as the political climate of the era was especially hostile toward controversial

ideas. Many teachers during the Trump era also feared that stating any political stance could be construed as endorsing the position (Geller, 2020).

However, concern about political tension may undermine teachers' citizenship education efforts. Kahne et al. (2013) observed a link between students' good-faith engagement with divergent political perspectives and increased civic awareness. Similarly, Feldman et al. (2007) and Syvertsen (2009) found that the deliberative political discussions included in the Student Voices curricular program increased students' political efficacy. Shying away from political tension may also undermine teachers' citizenship efforts by leaving uncorrected the noncritical civic awareness instilled into students by society and the media. Rogers et al. (2017) noted a dramatic increase from students during the Trump era in viewing citizenship through misinformation and conspiracy theories. As one teacher included in the study lamented: "It has been a terrible year for helping kids understand the structure of government. They come in ready to fight, full of bad information from Twitter and Facebook" (Rogers et al., 2017, p. 15). Assuming the tension of the Trump and post-Trump eras is not incurable, teachers may be able to seize the positive effects of confronting that tension articulated by Feldman et al. (2007), Kahne (2013), and Syvertsen (2009) and foster a healthier sense of citizenship.

Interviewees' responses in this study illustrate a number of perspectives on the role of political tension in citizenship education, framing it both as a positive and negative influence on students' development of citizenship. Ms. Lewis expressed the strongest disinterest in political tension among interviewees, viewing the social citizenship in her curriculum as transcending the political fray: "I really tried to focus on what it means to have a civil conversation about being a citizen in a place and what your civic duties are, and I focus a lot of my civic space education on human rights because I feel like that's not political." Mr. Perry instead framed political tension as

betraying a "neutral" tone necessary for productive discussion, quelling bursts of tension among students as they arose and refusing to reveal his own political beliefs. This perspective was matched by Ms. Waters. Ms. Daniels held a neutral perspective on political tension, viewing "devil's advocates in the room [as] so much more interesting" than one-sided conversations but not wanting personal opinions to derail her lesson plans. Mr. Malorie held the sole position among interviewees in favor of political tension, asserting that "getting [students] understanding that it's okay to be uncomfortable sometimes" was a "big piece" in advancing tense and controversial aspects of his curriculum. Mr. Malorie further noted that addressing his own discomfort with racism helped to build camaraderie with students and encourage them to explore political tension, as well. These responses illustrate the diversity of approaches to political tension in citizenship education efforts and the negative power it often holds over teachers' efforts. Approaches like Mr. Malorie's may harness that power for students' benefit and prepare them for thoughtful political participation more effectively than approaches that ignore or avoid tension.

Factors Affecting Citizenship Education

A number of external factors impacted the approaches toward citizenship education undertaken by teachers in this study. Among them are the effects of political tension in teachers' communities, the expertise level of teachers included in the study, the impact of the MLR on curriculum design, and the adverse effects of COVID-19 on the 2019-20 and 2020-21 school years. This section details findings about these factors.

Inferential Statistics Tests on Potential Relationship with Political Tension

The researcher developed a hypothesis that a positive correlation existed between the rurality of a school district and the extent to which a teacher reported on the survey that their

instructional choices were shaped by concerns about encountering political tension. To test this, a Mann-Whitney U Test was conducted to compare answers to that survey prompt against respondents' location. Rurality was determined on a binary scale based on 2010 Census data, in which townships below Maine's median population density were marked rural and those above were marked urban. The test yielded no statistically significant differences in concerns about political tension between urban and rural districts. This result may owe to a number of possibilities. One is that teachers are not motivated by concern of political tension any more or less in different areas of the state. More specifically, this possibility suggests that the political milieus of the state's largely-Democratic urban communities affect teachers no more or less than those of the state's largely-Republican rural ones. Another possibility, which is grounded in the time frame of the study, is that the ideological extremity of the Trump era affected teachers' concerns of encountering tension regardless of location. This is supported in Geller's (2020) analysis of the effects of the Trump administration on social studies teachers nationwide, which found a universally heightened concern for encountering political tension that was not based on teachers' location.

The researcher also developed a hypothesis that a negative correlation existed between teachers' experience level and the extent to which they had reported concern about encountering political tension. To test this, a Kruskal-Wallis Test was conducted, running concerns about political tension against the experience level of teachers as measured in three categories: novice (1-2 years), mid-career (3-10 years), and experienced (11+ years). The test yielded no statistically significant differences in concerns about political tension and the experience level of participants. This result may owe to the same possibilities discussed for the geographic relationship to political tension: either teachers respond no differently to political tension as they

gain expertise, or the political circumstances of the Trump era affected teachers' concern regardless of expertise level.

Influence of the MLR

The revised survey included the prompt: "To what extent is your curriculum surrounding citizenship designed in response to...[MLR 6-8 CG 1 (D2)]?" The MLR attempted to institutionalize citizenship education efforts in social studies classrooms and its impact was of interest to the study. Responses to the prompt, which measured influence of the MLR on a five-point Likert scale where one was "Not at all" and five was "Extremely," indicate an overwhelming lack of influence:

Influence of the MLR

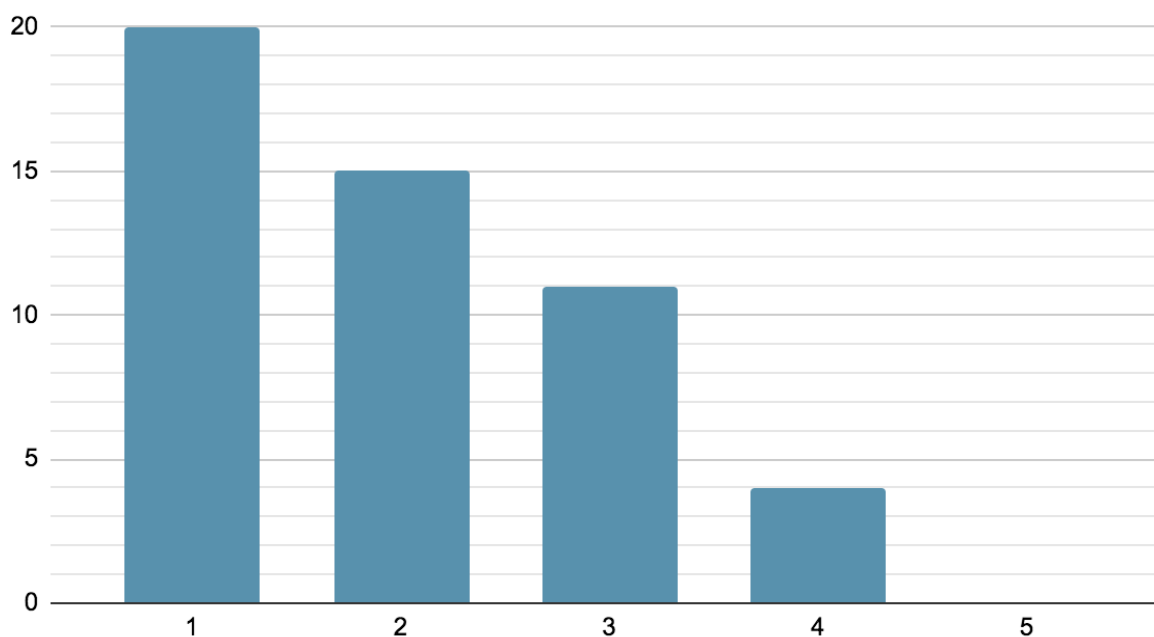


Figure 2: Influence of the MLR on Curriculum Design

This result is not unexpected. MLR 6-8 CG 1 (D2) was introduced at the beginning of the 2019-20 school year, the first of the two school years analyzed in this study, and participants likely had not implemented it into their curricula yet. Participants may also have not planned to

implement the standard at all. MLR 6-8 CG 1 (D2) is disadvantaged by the general relationship between the population and social studies standards: since social studies standards carry no accountability measures like those for English-Language Arts and mathematics, teachers have no institutional expectation or incentive to implement them. Additionally, taking into account the effect of the COVID-19 pandemic on teachers' capacity to implement new curricula, teachers may not have been inclined to design efforts in response to the standard for the majority of the time frame studied.

Participants' Suggested Supports

Given the Maine Department of Education's apparent interest in cultivating citizenship education in middle schools, however, the Department may wish to implement other measures to support the development of such efforts. Potential supports are discussed in Chapter IV: Implications; a number were also suggested by participants in this study. During the interview phase, participants were asked which institutional supports would most aid their citizenship education efforts and those of other teachers—three suggestions emerged, all of which were presented by multiple participants. First, participants suggested implementing professional development seminars to show teachers the elements of effective citizenship education. Second, they suggested that the MDoE provide teachers lesson plans and other materials such as mock election ballots. Finally, they suggested that the MDoE increase teachers' access to Joe Schmidt, the Department's Social Studies Content Specialist, as his expertise may aid the design and implementation of citizenship education efforts.

Impact of COVID-19

The COVID-19 pandemic affected all aspects of education in profound ways during the 2019-20 and 2020-21 school years (Black et al., 2020; Kasamali, 2021). Several factors related

to the pandemic specifically impacted teachers' approaches to citizenship education, and these factors can be categorized across two categories: disruptions to the structure of schooling, and disruptions to society generally.

In the former category, participants commented on the difficulty of implementing efforts through distance and hybrid learning models, choosing not to pursue highly interactive efforts that may have been included in their curricula previously. Participants also faced a need to slow down and simplify their instruction, especially during the spring 2020 transition to distance learning. Ms. Daniels, whose mock trial unit occurred in fall 2019, commented on the impact of this transition on efforts during spring 2020. "[W]e didn't get [to a civil rights roleplay unit] because of the pandemic. So, that theoretically is in my curriculum, but I just didn't do it last year because we were very explicitly told to slow down." Similarly, Mr. Perry noted that his mock election unit, which took place during fall 2020, was dramatically stripped down from previous iterations to focus solely on "the basics of the election" instead of broader and more abstract connections to citizenship.

In the latter category of COVID-19 impacts, disruptions to society generally, participants commented on the difficulty of interacting with community members when accounting for pandemic restrictions. Restrictions impacted participants' interaction *in* the community—Ms. Lewis, whose food drive occurred in fall 2019, noted that the unit was scrapped entirely in fall 2020 due to the logistical difficulties of visiting community institutions and collecting food during COVID-19. Restrictions also impacted participants' interaction within their own schools—Mr. Perry described the typical version of his mock election unit against the COVID-era iteration:

In a normal year, we would actually have voting booths set up in our [combined] middle school and high school lobby...so both [the] high school and middle school would be able to participate in that mock election. They would vote on, you know, a real-looking ballot from the state.... [In this iteration,] we didn't...have the voting booths and all that. These factors shaped participants' efforts in particular ways and limited the depth to which students could interact with each other, their teachers, and their community. Participants' curricular and pedagogical decisions may have also been influenced by the difficult transition to remote teaching, a medium with which most teachers were not experienced before the pandemic (Black et al., 2020; Kasamali, 2021; Marshall, 2020).

Conclusion

Findings in this study reveal a variety of curricular contexts, pedagogical framings, and learning results associated with approaches to citizenship education, each cultivating a different aspect of students' civic identity. Curricular approaches are broadly organized into two categories: investigating citizenship through content knowledge, or investigating it through the application of content knowledge in students' lives to illustrate broader notions of citizenship. Pedagogical approaches are categorized across three continua of instructional devices: teaching citizenship formally or substantively, inviting students to see through history or act as themselves, and leaning into or away from political tension. These approaches each foster aspects of a relationship to citizenship in which students see themselves as either passively or actively participating in democratic society. Findings in this study also reveal the overwhelming influence of some factors, such as COVID-19, on the curricular and pedagogical approaches taken by teachers and the minimal influence of others, such as MLR 6-8 CG 1 (D2). In the

following chapter, findings are contextualized through their implications for citizenship education in Maine and the citizenship education literature more broadly.

CHAPTER IV: IMPLICATIONS

Recommendations

The findings of this study and their implications inform recommendations for school practitioners, policymakers, and researchers interested in the implementation of effective citizenship education both in Maine middle schools and elsewhere.

For Teachers and Other Practitioners

The findings offer several examples of approaches to citizenship education that teachers can adapt to their own curricula. For instance, Ms. Waters's lesson on the Scottsboro Boys, which highlighted civil citizenship, illustrates the real-world connections to students' lives and contemporary issues surrounding civil citizenship that teachers can find in U.S. history material. Likewise, Ms. Lewis's food drive serves as a model for student-driven service-learning projects and the connections to social citizenship that can arise from serving the needs of students' community. The efforts described in this study reveal applications of citizenship education that may be useful to teachers across the state.

Furthermore, the findings reveal the varieties of scale at which teachers can implement citizenship education efforts. Efforts can span an entire curriculum, as was the case for Mr. Malorie, or be as brief and informal as a single lesson, as was the case for Ms. Waters. Connections to citizenship can be drawn from any social studies material, as well—though most efforts described here concerned U.S. history, a number connected to ancient history, current events, conceptual ideas, or community issues not related to any traditional content areas.

The findings suggest that more teachers should implement community-oriented content to take advantage of positive effects of community engagement on citizenship identified by Hart et al. (2003). Administrators can play a role in this, as well: administrators may have more

resources than teachers to spearhead service-learning projects, connect students to local organizations, provide transportation from the school to community establishments, and so on. A collaboration between teachers, administrators, and community leaders will be necessary to fully implement efforts that help students recognize their civic relationship to their community.

For Policymakers

The findings of this study reveal little impact of MLR 6-8 CG 1 (D2) on teachers' engagement with citizenship education. Since social studies standards do not share the accountability measures (e.g., standardized tests) that shape engagement with English-Language Arts, mathematics, and science standards, teachers may need supports from the Maine Department of Education to encourage and guide the policy's implementation. These supports may take the form of lesson plan materials made publicly available to teachers by the MDoE. Supports may also include professional development on the content of effective citizenship education and the pedagogical strategies useful in implementing it. These resources may prepare teachers to fulfill the requirements of the standard and, in doing so, effectively advertise MLR 6-8 CG 1 (D2)'s existence, since teachers have no incentive to notice or implement the standard as it currently exists.

The MDoE could also create networks to connect teachers across the state so that teachers who have engaged in limited ways with citizenship education are able to learn from those who are implementing exemplary citizenship education efforts. A number of participants in this study, including Mr. Malorie and Ms. Lewis, have created highly effective learning experiences that other teachers would benefit from learning about—by sharing their experiences, these teachers may spread interest in citizenship education more effectively than the MDoE could alone.

For Researchers

This study builds on existing citizenship education research by examining curricular and pedagogical efforts across civil, political, and social dimensions of citizenship. The framework may provide a useful model for other researchers as they examine citizenship education in differing demographic and geographic contexts. Researchers may also find the organization of efforts as pertaining to historical events, current events, and/or community issues useful.

Limitations

There are several limitations to the study due to the study design and the context in which it occurred. The interview and survey-based methodologies have limitations, as they relied on participants' recollection of their engagement with citizenship. This may have resulted in participants misremembering or otherwise inaccurately describing their efforts. Teachers' definitions of citizenship may have differed from the researcher's, as well, leading to the misreporting of efforts. This was seen in Mr. Malorie's interview—Mr. Malorie entered the interview believing his curriculum did not involve citizenship, when in fact the curriculum had deep ties to social citizenship. While every effort was made in the survey design to be clear about the researcher's definitions of citizenship, it is possible that other participants may have similarly misunderstood the definitions guiding the study. Some survey participants who described examples of efforts also provided too little information to accurately categorize them.

The timeframe in which the study occurred has limitations, as well. Several participants who explored political citizenship described efforts in the context of the 2020 presidential election—these approaches may not represent the full diversity of their political citizenship curricula outside election cycle years. Several participants also described efforts in the context of

the COVID-19 pandemic—the approaches and pedagogical strategies available during this period may not represent those available during years not affected by the pandemic.

There are also limitations to the generalizability of the study's findings. The racial makeup of the participants, all of whom identified as White or chose not to share their race, is representative of Maine, in which 95% of people identify as White, but not of the country more broadly. The cultural and political circumstances of Maine may also differ from other regions of the country. These factors may have affected participants' approaches to citizenship education in ways that separate them from other populations.

Suggestions for Future Research

Future research should analyze the state of citizenship education, as well as the effect of policy on citizenship education, in other geographic areas. Shapiro and Brown (2018) noted rigorous Civics and Government standards in states like Colorado and Idaho—the diversity of approaches to citizenship in those states and their relationship to the standards may be of interest to researchers. Furthermore, researchers may compare the approaches seen in this study to those seen during other timeframes, with particular interest paid to efforts and pedagogies present outside the context of COVID-19 and the 2020 election cycle. Future researchers may also choose to consider observational methodologies as opposed to interview and survey ones, so as to avoid the reporting limitations discussed above.

Finally, future researchers should examine the role of student creativity in effective citizenship education. Creativity, when framed as an expression of student voice, is shown to increase students' critical awareness (Adams, 2013), civic participation (Cody & McGarry, 2012), and deep understanding of citizenship (Beaudoin, 2013; Cody & McGarry, 2012; Quinn & Owen, 2016). This study does not address the role of creativity in students' engagement with

citizenship, however, so its effect in Maine middle schools and with respect to the findings' generalizability is unmeasured. Future research could focus on the creative pedagogies by which students engage with citizenship, such as creative writing, music, and interaction with digital media. It could also investigate the material through which students creatively explore citizenship.

Conclusion

Taken together, the findings of this study reveal a state of citizenship education in Maine middle schools in which teachers overall engage with the civil, political, and social dimensions of citizenship infrequently and not in relation to the MLR, but also do so through a diverse set of curricular and pedagogical approaches that develop students' citizenship in valuably unique ways. Since efforts within each dimension were seen to focus on specific aspects of citizenship without addressing others (such as the tendency of efforts within civil citizenship to focus on governmental structures and not, for example, community service), effective citizenship education may involve the implementation of a number of curricular and pedagogical approaches across the three dimensions. Participants' infrequent engagement with citizenship education and their wide variety of curricular approaches may both owe to the ineffective rollout of MLR 6-8 CG 1 (D2)—since the standard has not been supplemented by the MDoE with lesson plans, professional development seminars, examples of effective citizenship education, and so on, it has not created a unified culture of citizenship education in Maine middle schools. Infrequent engagement may also owe to the impact of COVID-19 on the feasibility of typical citizenship education efforts and the unusually onerous task of navigating political tension in the time frame studied. Despite teachers' minimal interaction with the MLR, the diversity of approaches observed in this study may be the MDoE's greatest asset in creating a culture of unified

citizenship education: by elevating the efforts being conducted independent of the MLR through professional development and networks between teachers, the Department can illustrate highly engaging, original connections to citizenship that other teachers can adapt to their own classrooms. This may tap into an interest in effective citizenship education for more teachers who simply are not aware of its place in the curriculum currently. Effective citizenship education does exist in Maine middle school social studies classrooms and it has the potential to shape active, critical citizenship among students—the MDoE must leverage these instances that exist currently to help teachers cultivate citizenship statewide.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A:
INITIAL SURVEY RECRUITMENT LETTER

Hi _____,

You are being invited to participate in a research study exploring how Maine's middle school social studies teachers have implemented *citizenship education* projects into their curriculum. The study is being conducted by Tom Adams, an undergraduate student studying Secondary Education at the University of Maine, and Dr. Rebecca Buchanan, an Assistant Professor in the UMaine College of Education and Human Development.

Participation includes one online survey that will take 20–30 minutes to complete. You may also be invited to participate in a 20–30-minute Zoom interview during a day and time that is convenient for you. The survey and interview will explore a citizenship education project you either conducted last school year or plan to conduct this year. The survey will also ask for your contact information, as well as the school where you work and how long you have taught.

If you are selected to participate in an interview, the interview will take place over Zoom and will be recorded. All data will be kept confidential. No identifying information will be shared.

Please review the attached consent form for more information about the study. If you have any questions, please email Tom Adams at thomas.adams@maine.edu.

Thank you for your consideration,

Tom Adams, principal investigator

APPENDIX B: INFORMED CONSENT

You are invited to participate in a research project being conducted by Tom Adams, undergraduate student in Secondary Education at the University of Maine, and Dr. Rebecca Buchanan, an Assistant Professor in the UMaine College of Education and Human Development.

The purpose of this research is to explore how Maine's middle school social studies teachers have implemented citizenship education projects in response to the 2019 revision of the Maine Learning Results Civics and Government standards, which asks that teachers "implement...a civic action or service-learning project based on a school, community, or state asset or need, and analyze the project's effectiveness and civic contribution." You must be 18 years or older to participate.

What Will You Be Asked to Do?

Participation includes one online survey that will take between 15 and 20 minutes to complete. You may also be asked to participate in a Zoom interview during a day and time that is convenient for you. The survey and interview will explore a citizenship education project you either conducted last school year or plan to conduct this year. Sample questions include:

- To what extent did participation in the project lead students to understand the organization and function of political and/or social systems?
- How does this project connect to your Civics and Government curriculum?

Risks

The risks of participation are your time and inconvenience.

Benefits

While there are no direct benefits of participation for you, it may be beneficial for you to reflect on your own engagement with citizenship education to better understand its place in your curriculum. The benefit of this research to the field is to better understand the quality and types of citizenship education projects happening in Maine's middle schools.

Confidentiality

All data will be confidential. If you participate in an interview, your Zoom call video will be recorded and transcribed by Mr. Adams and Dr. Buchanan. All survey and interview data will be stored on a password-protected external hard drive and destroyed by August 2021.

Identifiable information (such as names and school districts) within the transcripts will be replaced with pseudonyms in all publications. The key that links the research ID to participants will be password-protected and stored on an encrypted external hard drive until August 2021, at which point it will be destroyed. All research reports written based on the analysis of this data will replace your name with a pseudonym. Any other information that may be identifying will not be included in publication.

Voluntary

Participation is voluntary. If you choose to take part in this study, you may stop at any time. You may also choose to skip interview questions or topics you are not comfortable discussing.

Contact Information

If you have any questions about this study, please contact Mr. Adams at thomas.adams@maine.edu or Dr. Buchanan at rebecca.buchanan@maine.edu. If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact the Office of Research Compliance, University of Maine, (207) 581-2657 (or e-mail umric@maine.edu).

APPENDIX C:
INITIAL SURVEY PROTOCOL

Note: the survey branched into two versions depending on whether a participant chose to discuss a project they completed in the 2019-20 school year or one they planned to complete in the 2020-21 school year. This document follows the former option, in which all project-related survey questions (indented on the page) are past-tense. The questions in the other option were identical, save for future-tense phrasing.

X = open-ended response.

What is your name?

- X

What is your current gender identity? (Check all that apply.)

- Male
- Female
- Transgender female / trans woman (or Male-to-Female (MTF) transgender, transsexual, or on the trans female spectrum)
- Transgender male / trans man (or Female-to-Male (FTM) transgender, transsexual, or on the trans male spectrum)
- Non-binary, genderqueer, or genderfluid
- Gender identity not listed:
- Prefer not to reply

Select your race/ethnicity.

- Caucasian
- African-American
- Latino of Hispanic
- Asian
- Native American
- Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
- Two or more
- Other/unknown
- Prefer not to say

Select your age group.

- 18-24
- 25-34
- 35-44

- 45-54
- 55-64
- Above 64

How many years have you taught?

- X

How many years have you taught middle school social studies?

- X

Highest education level achieved

- Bachelor's
- Master's
- PhD
- EdD
- Other

Which subjects are you certified to teach?

- X

Name your school and district.

- X

Which subjects do you teach?

- U.S. History
- ELA
- Health
- Math
- PE
- Science
- World History
- Other

Which grade levels do you currently teach? (Check all that apply)

- K
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10
- 11

- 12

How many class periods do you teach?

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8

What is your average class size?

- X

How many students do you teach in total?

- X

This survey seeks to explore citizenship education projects undertaken by Maine middle school teachers. A citizenship education project is any activity that asks students to analyze their role as citizens in the political and social structures that affect their lives. A project could take the form of a mock election or service-learning activity, for example.

A portion of this survey will ask you to describe a project you've implemented in your curriculum — if you didn't complete a project last school year, you will have the option to discuss one you plan to do this year. You will be discussing one project in this survey, so please select the one that best represents your curricular engagement with citizenship education.

How many citizenship education projects did you pursue last school year?

- X

How many do you plan to pursue this school year?

- X

If you completed a citizenship education project last school year, we would like you to discuss that project for this survey. If you did not complete a project this year but are planning to implement one this school year, please discuss that project.

- I am discussing a project I implemented last year.
- I am discussing a project I plan to implement this year.
- I did not implement a project last year and do not plan to implement one this year.

Describe the citizenship education project you implemented.

- X

What type of citizenship education activity is this project?

- Service-learning
- Other [space for write-in]

If service-learning:

Which community partners if any were involved in the design and implementation of the project?

- X

To which Maine Learning Results Civics and Government standard(s) did this project connect? Select all that apply.

- (CG1 F1) Explaining that the study of government includes the structures and functions of government and the political and civic activity of citizens
- (CG1 F2) Describing the structures and processes of the United States' government and government of the State of Maine and how these are framed by the United States Constitution, the Maine Constitution, and other primary sources.
- (CG1 F3) Explaining the concepts of federalism and checks and balances and the role these concepts play in the governments of the United States and Maine as framed by the United States Constitution, the Maine Constitution and other primary sources.
- (CG1 D1) Comparing the structures and processes of U.S. government with examples of other forms of government.
- (CG1 D2) Comparing how laws are made in Maine and at the federal level in the United States.
- (CG1 D3) Analyzing examples of democratic ideals and constitutional principles that include the rule of law, legitimate power, and common good.
- (CG2 F1) Explaining the constitutional and legal status of "citizen" and providing examples of rights, duties, and responsibilities of citizens.
- (CG2 F2) Describing how the powers of government are limited to protect individual rights and minority rights as described in the United States Constitution and the Bill of Rights.
- (CG2 D1) Analyzing examples of the protection of rights in court cases or from current events.
- (CG2 D2) Analyzing how people influence government and work for the common good including voting, writing to legislators, performing community service, and engaging in civil disobedience through selecting, planning, and implementing a civic action or service-learning project based on a school, community, or state asset or need, and analyze the project's effectiveness and civic contribution.

How did this project connect to your Civics and Government curriculum?

- X

What skills did you want students to develop from this project?

- X

What dispositions or attitudes did you want students to develop from this project?

- X

Were there any learning goals associated with this project not discussed above? If so, please describe them.

- X

How was the project topic determined?

- X

To what extent did student input shape the content, design, and implementation of the project?

- Not at all
- Slightly
- Moderately
- Very much
- Extremely

Describe the nature of student input.

- X

Did you collaborate with other teachers in the content, design, and/or implementation of the project? If so, describe the collaboration.

- X

What challenges did you face in designing and implementing the project?

- X

To what extent was this project designed in response to the 2019 revision to the MLR Civics and Government standards, which states that teachers "implement...a civic action or service-learning project based on a school, community, or state asset or need, and analyze the project's effectiveness and civic contribution?"

- Not at all
- Slightly
- Moderately
- Very much
- Extremely

How long did the project take to complete?

- X

How much of students' work happened at home or outside school (vs. in a class session)?

- None
- A little
- A moderate amount
- A lot
- All of it

What kinds of reflection and/or assessment strategies were used to evaluate student learning? (Checklist)

- Class discussion
- Reflective essay
- Presentation such as powerpoint
- Exam
- Other [write-in]

To what extent did participation in the project lead students to understand the organization and function of political and/or social systems?

- Not at all
- Slightly
- Moderately
- Very
- Extremely

To what extent did participation in the project lead students to critically analyze political and/or social systems?

- Not at all
- Slightly
- Moderately
- Very
- Extremely

To what extent did participation in the project lead students to critically analyze their role as citizens in effecting change in those systems?

- Not at all
- Slightly
- Moderately
- Very
- Extremely

Select the degree to which you agree with the following statements.

It is important for students to understand the mechanics of political and social structures.

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

It is important for students to analyze the societal impact of political and social structures.

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree

- Agree
- Strongly agree

It is important for students to understand the role of the citizen in political and social structures.

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

It is important for students to critically examine how power moves through political structures and which groups hold control over the political process.

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

Social studies should help students develop awareness of political issues and social inequities.

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

Students should meaningfully interact with their local community and develop awareness of their role as members of the community.

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

I structure my class in a way that promotes the open expression of ideas.

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

I structure my class in a way that promotes social justice.

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

I structure my class in a way that supports a diversity of viewpoints.

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

I structure my class in a way that encourages conformity.

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

Students' opinions about how the class should be run are equally as important as mine.

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

Civics education is important for students' development as citizens.

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Neither agree nor disagree
- Agree
- Strongly agree

How much of your course curriculum explicitly focuses on citizenship education?

- None
- A little
- A moderate amount
- A lot
- All

What does good citizenship education look like to you?

- X

Does the culture of practice at your school support the design and implementation of citizenship education projects? If so, how? If not, in what ways does it hinder the design and implementation of citizenship education projects?

- X

What institutional supports would you recommend to assist teachers in pursuing citizenship education projects?

- X

The researchers may want to interview you at a time of your convenience to further discuss your citizenship education curriculum.

Would you be willing to participate in a 20–30-minute interview over Zoom to discuss your project?

- Yes
- No

What is your preferred email address?

- X

APPENDIX D:
INTERVIEW RECRUITMENT LETTER

Good afternoon, _____!

I'm Tom Adams, an undergraduate student at the University of Maine conducting research on the implementation of citizenship education projects in Maine middle schools. A few months ago you completed my survey talking about your _____ and said you'd be willing to participate in an interview to discuss it in more depth — thanks so much! I'm reaching out today to see if you're free for an interview via Zoom in February.

The interview will be 30-45 minutes in length and will focus broadly on the X you wrote about in the survey. I have some specific questions about the project, but in general it will be a loosely structured conversation.

Please refer to the link below to schedule a time that's convenient for you. If none of these options work for you, please send me a message and we can find other possibilities.

Appointment scheduler: [link to calendar]

Thank you for your time, and I look forward to learning more about your project!

Best,

Tom Adams

APPENDIX E:
INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

- Tell me how you got involved in teaching social studies.
- Which SS classes do you teach, and what role does citizenship education play in each?
- How do you approach designing projects that teach citizenship skills and dispositions?
 - Lesson design
 - Pedagogy
 - Learning goals
 - Integration with other material
 - Place in year-long curriculum
- Tell me about [x project from survey].
- Did the project achieve the learning goals you set?
- What external resources (such as government databases, local museums, etc) if any did you use to aid your project?
 - What effect did they have on its success?
 - Which were most helpful for you and your students?
 - How do you typically find helpful tools?
- If you've done this project before, how have you had to adjust the nature of the project to accommodate distance learning?
 - Has that impacted its effectiveness?
 - If community members are involved in any way, how have you adjusted their involvement?
- How often do you collaborate with other teachers on projects? In what capacity?
- How much control do you feel you have over the design of your curriculum?
 - Any resistance from the school?
 - From the district?
 - From the community?
- What resources or institutional supports could help teachers design and implement citizenship education projects?

APPENDIX F:
INTERVIEW CODEBOOK

Theme A: Connection to citizenship

- Framework: government
- Framework: community
- Student-driven
- Democratic development
- Civic knowledge
- Civic purpose
- Critical awareness
- Political empathy
- Social empathy
- Debate
- Voting
- Human rights
- Public speaking

Theme B: Curricular context

- General social studies
- U.S. History
- World history
- Current events
- Integrated curriculum

Theme C: Factors

- Time
- Parent response
- District support
- Student buy-in
- Student comprehension
- Disruption by covid
- Political tension
- Location
- Designing project

Theme D: Project aspects

- Time allotted
- Service-learning
- In school
- In community
- Community stakeholders
- Readers theater
- Collaboration

Theme E: Pedagogy

- Traditional
- Student-centered
- Student creativity

- Democratic
- Student voice
- Assessment: essay
- Assessment: oral
- Assessment: creative project
- Assessment: differentiated
- Class norms
- Outside resources

Theme F: Dispositions addressed

- Creativity
- Interdisciplinary viewpoint
- Self-actualization

Theme G: Skills addressed

- Reading historical texts
- Discussion
- Writing: argumentative
- Writing: persuasive
- Writing: informative
- Debate
- Inquiry
- Active listening
- Leadership
- Confronting uncomfortable ideas
- Reading comprehension

Theme H: Content knowledge addressed

- Civics: branches of government
- Civics: Constitution
- Civics: Bill of Rights
- Civics: Non-American
- Trump administration
- Civil disobedience
- U.S. History: Revolutionary period
- U.S. History: Constitutional convention
- U.S. History: Civil War
- U.S. History: Reconstruction
- U.S. History: 19th-century rights movements
- U.S. History: Suffrage
- U.S. History: Civil Rights movement
- U.S. History: Vietnam
- U.S. History: 9/11
- Geography
- Current events
- Race
- World history
- Other

Theme I: Other

- Beliefs
- Influence
- Project development
- Collaboration with other teachers
- Trust with students

APPENDIX G:
REVISED SURVEY RECRUITMENT LETTER

Hi!

You are being invited to participate in a research study where we are exploring how students learn about citizenship in Maine's middle school social studies classrooms.

Participation includes one online survey that will take 5-10 minutes to complete.

The survey asks about your approach to teaching about citizenship over the last two years. If you participate, you can be entered into a raffle for a \$10 Amazon Gift Card.

The study is being conducted by Tom Adams, an undergraduate student studying Secondary Education at the University of Maine, and Dr. Rebecca Buchanan, an Assistant Professor in the UMaine College of Education and Human Development.

Please click here to participate. [survey link]

If you have any questions, please email Rebecca Buchanan at rebecca.buchanan@gmail.com.

Thank you for your consideration,

Middle School Citizenship Education Research Team

APPENDIX H:
REVISED SURVEY PROTOCOL

What is your gender identity? (Check all that apply.)

- Male
- Female
- Transgender female / trans woman (or Male-to-Female (MTF) transgender, transsexual, or on the trans female spectrum)
- Transgender male / trans man (or Female-to-Male (FTM) transgender, transsexual, or on the trans male spectrum)
- Non-binary, genderqueer, or genderfluid
- Gender identity not listed:
- Prefer not to reply

Select your race/ethnicity.

- Caucasian
- African-American
- Latino of Hispanic
- Asian
- Native American
- Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander
- Two or more
- Other/unknown
- Prefer not to say

Select your age group.

- 18-24
- 25-34
- 35-44
- 45-54
- 55-64
- Above 64

How many years have you taught middle school social studies?

- X

Name your school district.

- X

Which subjects do you teach?

- U.S. History
- ELA
- Health
- Math
- PE

- Science
- Social Studies (general)
- World History
- Other: [fill in]

Which grade levels have you taught in the past two school years? (Check all that apply)

- K
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10
- 11
- 12

How many class periods did you teach in the previous two school years?

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8

This portion of the survey asks you to consider how students critically analyze, or investigate how power operates in society, the social aspects of citizenship. These aspects include, for example, race and gender.

Students in my class learn about social aspects of citizenship by critically analyzing historical events

- Never
- Once in a While
- Monthly
- Weekly
- Daily

Students in my class learn about social aspects of citizenship by critically analyzing current events

- Never
- Once in a While
- Monthly
- Weekly

- Daily

Students in my class learn about social aspects of citizenship by critically analyzing needs and issues in their community.

- Never
- Once in a While
- Monthly
- Weekly
- Daily

This portion of the survey asks you to consider how students critically analyse the legal aspects of citizenship. These include, for example, the relationship between the three branches of government.

Students in my class learn about legal aspects of citizenship by critically analyzing historical events.

- Never
- Once in a While
- Monthly
- Weekly
- Daily

Students in my class learn about legal aspects of citizenship by critically analyzing current events.

- Never
- Once in a While
- Monthly
- Weekly
- Daily

Students in my class learn about legal aspects of citizenship by critically analyzing needs and issues in their community.

- Never
- Once in a While
- Monthly
- Weekly
- Daily

This portion of the survey asks you to consider how students critically analyse the political aspects of citizenship. These include, for example, political parties and elections.

Students in my class learn about political aspects of citizenship by critically analyzing historical events.

- Never
- Once in a While
- Monthly
- Weekly
- Daily

Students in my class learn about political aspects of citizenship by critically analyzing current events.

- Never
- Once in a While
- Monthly
- Weekly
- Daily

Students in my class learn about political aspects of citizenship by critically analyzing needs and issues in their community.

- Never
- Once in a While
- Monthly
- Weekly
- Daily

Students in my class learn about citizenship by engaging with members of their community (e.g., service learning).

- Never
- Once in a While
- Monthly
- Weekly
- Daily

Students in my class learn about citizenship by developing their personal beliefs and communicating their perspectives.

- Never
- Once in a While
- Monthly
- Weekly
- Daily

Students in my class communicate their thoughts about citizenship through activities and assessments like... (check all that apply)

- essays
- discussion
- debate
- role-play
- readers theater
- artistic works
- volunteer work
- public advocacy
- civil disobedience
- other:

Concerns about encountering political tension schape my instructional choices.

- 1 (Never)
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 (Regularly)

APPENDIX I: IRB APPROVAL

APPLICATION COVER PAGE

- *KEEP THIS PAGE AS ONE PAGE – DO NOT CHANGE MARGINS/FONTS!!!!!!!!!!*
- *PLEASE SUBMIT THIS PAGE AS WORD DOCUMENT*

APPLICATION FOR APPROVAL OF RESEARCH WITH HUMAN SUBJECTS
Protection of Human Subjects Review Board, 400 Corbett Hall

(Type inside gray areas)

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Thomas Adams EMAIL: thomas.adams@maine.edu
CO-INVESTIGATOR: EMAIL:
CO-INVESTIGATOR: EMAIL:
FACULTY SPONSOR: Dr. Rebecca Buchanan, PhD EMAIL: rebecca.buchanan@maine.edu
(Required if PI is a student):
TITLE OF PROJECT: Analyzing the Implementation of Citizenship Education Policy in Maine Middle Schools

START DATE: 8/17/2020 PI DEPARTMENT: College of Education

STATUS OF PI: FACULTY/STAFF/GRADUATE/UNDERGRADUATE: Undergraduate

If PI is a student, is this research to be performed: for an Honors thesis
for an honors thesis/senior thesis/capstone? for a master's thesis?
for a doctoral dissertation? for a course project?
other (specify)

Submitting the application indicates the principal investigator's agreement to abide by the responsibilities outlined in Section I.E. of the Policies and Procedures for the Protection of Human Subjects.

Faculty Sponsors are responsible for oversight of research conducted by their students. The Faculty Sponsor ensures that he/she has read the application and that the conduct of such research will be in accordance with the University of Maine's Policies and Procedures for the Protection of Human Subjects of Research. REMINDER: if the principal investigator is an undergraduate student, the Faculty Sponsor MUST submit the application to the IRB.

Email this cover page and complete application to UMRIC@maine.edu

FOR IRB USE ONLY Application # 2020-07-15 Review (F/E): E Expedited Category:
ACTION TAKEN:

X Judged Exempt; category 2 Modifications required? Yes Accepted (date) 8/17/2020
Approved as submitted. Date of next review: by Degree of Risk:
Approved pending modifications. Date of next review: by Degree of Risk:
Modifications accepted (date):
Not approved (see attached statement)
Judged not research with human subjects

FINAL APPROVAL TO BEGIN

Date 8/17/2020

10/2018