EDUCATING FOR CITIZENSHIP: WHAT TEACHERS SAY AND WHAT TEACHERS DO

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Teachers' characterizations of citizenship education pedagogy in Canada and England were explored in this study. Preferred learning goals reflected liberal/civic republican tendencies represented in contemporary conceptions of citizenship education. Preferred pedagogical practices exposed an array of teaching methods, assessment approaches, and classroom environment considerations. Eclectic and distinctive tendencies were noted in relation to the goals given priority and practices used to facilitate student learning. These tendencies cut across various curricular perspectives (e.g. transmission, transactional, and transformational), privileging (and neglecting) certain curricular learning goals and signaling a level of ambiguity between 'what teachers say' and 'what teachers do.'

Key words: citizenship education, pedagogy, curriculum perspectives, instruction

Cet article porte sur les définitions que donnent les enseignants de l'éducation à la citoyenneté au Canada et en Angleterre. Les objectifs d'apprentissage privilégiés reflètent les tendances libérales ou républicaines représentées dans les conceptions actuelles de l'éducation à la citoyenneté. Parmi les pratiques pédagogiques préférées figure tout un éventail de méthodes d'enseignement et d'évaluation ainsi que de considérations ayant trait à la classe. L'auteur fait état de tendances éclectiques et bien définies en lien avec les buts auxquels on donne priorité et les méthodes utilisées pour faciliter l'apprentissage. Ces tendances relèvent de diverses prémisses fondant les programmes (axées, par exemple, sur la transmission ou la transformation, ou encore de type transactionnel), qui négligent ou privilégient certains objectifs d'apprentissage et qui témoignent d'un haut niveau d'ambiguïté entre « ce que les enseignants disent » et « ce que les enseignants font ».

Mots clés : éducation à la citoyenneté, pédagogie, approches des programmes, enseignement.

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Interest in citizenship education has escalated worldwide in the last decade. Some view this dimension of education as an opportunity to prepare young people to understand and become involved in the civic life of their community(ies), from the local to the global. Others view it as a way to respond to a range of existing social and civic concerns. Whatever the reason(s), there has been a proliferation of research studies, formal discussions, and curriculum initiatives throughout the world as teachers, policy-makers, and researchers attempt to understand and assess the complex processes by which young people learn about democratic citizenship.

THE STUDY

This study, begun in spring 2001, was completed in spring 2004. Broadly stated, the study illuminated how a sample of specialist secondary school teachers characterized citizenship education pedagogy in formal secondary school curriculum courses/programs in Ontario and England. The following question framed the study: In what ways do specialist secondary school teachers characterize educating for citizenship and why? Subsidiary questions included: What learning goals do specialist secondary school teachers prefer to nurture in formal secondary school curriculum courses/programs when educating for citizenship? What preferred pedagogical practices do these teachers communicate and/or exhibit in formal secondary school curriculum courses/programs to achieve these goals? And, why do these teachers advocate these goals and practices when educating for citizenship?

RATIONALE

The study was prompted by ongoing discussion about citizenship education's location and representation in school curricula and concerns raised by researchers about a general lack of empirical research on citizenship education pedagogy (Davies, 2000; Edwards & Fogelman, 2000; Hébert & Sears, 2001; Kerr, 2003; Kerr, Cleaver, Ireland, & Blenkinsop, 2003; Sears, Clark, & Hughes, 1999). Useful studies that do exist have tended to consider distinct aspects of pedagogy (Avery, 1997; Bickmore, 1992; Evans & Saxe, 1996; Merrifield, 1998; Pike & Selby, 2000). Studies that consider teachers' characterizations of citizenship education

pedagogy more broadly are rare and only a few national and international studies are available to provide guidance (e.g., Council of Ministers of Education, Canada, 2001; Davies, Gregory, & Riley, 1999; Hahn, 1998; Kerr, Cleaver, Ireland, & Blenkinsop, 2003; Torney-Purta, Schwille & Amadeo, 1999). These studies, while helpful, tend to portray what Davies (2000) refers to as "a confusing and confused situation" (p. 93). Each draws attention to the rather limited research base for citizenship education pedagogy and a certain lack of clarity about what is being practised in the name of citizenship education in classrooms and schools in both countries.

Interest in this focus was further prompted by a growing recognition among education researchers that "what teachers know and do is one of the most important influences on what students learn" (Darling-Hammond, 1998, p. 6). Research on pedagogy has suggested the need for a more sophisticated conceptual understanding of pedagogy that connects technical competencies with different kinds of knowledge bases and contextual circumstances (Cole & Knowles, 2000; Joyce, Weil, & Calhoun, 2000; Marzano, 2003; Mortimore, 1999; Turner-Bisset, 2001). Similarly, comparativists (Alexander, 1999; Broadfoot, 2004; Crossley, 2002) have voiced concerns about the general lack of empirical research on pedagogy and identified pedagogy as an important and substantive research direction. Alexander (1999), for example, has commented that "comparativists have largely ignored school and classroom processes and have tended to concentrate on national systems and policies" and that this imbalance needs to be corrected and that "pedagogy" ought to be "a central focus for educational research" (p. 109).

Reasons for choosing to undertake this study in Canada and in England were primarily academic and professional, but also pragmatic. Canada and England, with shared traditions and challenges, and a similar educational focus on citizenship education, provided rich research contexts to inform both the theoretical and practical aspects of pedagogy in this curriculum area. Existing versions of citizenship education in both contexts were sufficiently similar to allow for an interesting and valid exploration of responses to common issues and it was anticipated that a comparative orientation would offer important insights into this educational undertaking.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Initially, contemporary characterizations of citizenship education in Canada and England were reviewed with attention to three broad themes: conceptual perspectives, policy directions, and pedagogical practices. This review distinguished among different notions of and approaches to citizenship education and revealed some of the central issues underpinning this area of inquiry.

Conceptual Perspectives

Contemporary conceptions of citizenship education reflect a certain level of ambiguity. Dominant views of citizenship—the civic republican (responsibilities-based) and the liberal (rights-based)—offer varied understandings about what it means to educate for citizenship (Heater, 2000) while other perspectives (e.g., communitarian, social democratic, multiculturalist, post-national) further complicate the situation (Davies, 1999; Ichilov, 1998; Kymlicka, 1995; Sears, 1996; Shafir, 1998). Nevertheless, these perspectives provide conceptual guidance and indicate the contradictions inherent in terms of conceptual understanding (e.g., individualist vs. collectivist, political rights vs. social rights, local vs. global).

In Canada, for example, Sears, Clarke, and Hughes (1999) argue "there has not been a single conception of democratic citizenship that has formed the basis for civic education but rather differing conceptions which exist along a continuum from elitist to activist" (p. 124). Osborne (2001, p. 42-43) puts forward the notion that education for democratic citizenship should meet what he describes as the "twelve C's" (e.g., a focus on the *cosmopolitan* nature of the world as a whole, thinking critical*y* and creatively, and becoming informed and involved in one's communities, locally, nationally, and globally). Strong-Boag (1996) forefronts pluralist and inclusive dimensions of citizenship and laments that a variety of groups (e.g., feminists, First Nations peoples, working-class groups) in Canada have largely been ignored in conversations about citizenship in education.

In England, varying conceptions have been explored. Some scholars have emphasized knowledge about government structures and processes while others have included notions of identity, cultural diversity, and political literacy (Lister, 1998; Osler, 2000; Ross, 2001). Bousted and Davies (1996), for example, offer four models of political learning: citizenship education, cultural studies, global education, and political literacy. Heater (1990, 2000) refers to "a globally relevant" framework that encourages consideration of a "universal expression" of the citizenship principle and respects diverse historical traditions and contexts. Heater's (1990) "Cube of Citizenship" includes three dimensions: elements, location, and education. McLaughlin (1992) identifies a way of understanding the concept of educating for citizenship that takes into consideration its complex and contested nature within the context of a diverse, pluralistic, democratic society. In particular, he points to the challenge that societies face in seeking to balance "elements of social and cultural diversity with those of cohesion, an aspiration which invokes (among other things) a familiar distinction between 'public' and 'private' values and domains" (p. 37).

Policy directions

Both Canada and England have developed official curriculum for citizenship education. Although Canada has no national curriculum, all provinces and territories have some form of citizenship education in their elementary and secondary curricula. A recent study of educational policy across Canada, *Education for Peace, Human Rights, Democracy, International Understanding and Tolerance* (Council of Ministers of Education, Canada, 2001) outlines variances in citizenship education curricula across Canada but also suggests a common trend: a shift from traditional conceptions of citizenship education to goals and practices that forefront its transformative and global character. The report of the Committee for Effective Canadian Citizenship, *Educating Canada's 21st Century Citizens: Crisis and Challenge (1994)*, Celebration Canada's *Components of Citizenship Education: Initiating Action (1998)*, and more recently, the reform of curricula in various provinces across Canada are illustrative of this shifting vision. In Ontario, for example, the release of the Ontario Ministry of Education and Training's *Social Studies, Grades 1-*

6; History and Geography, Grades 7 and 8 (1998), *Canadian and World Studies, Grades 9 and 10* and *Canadian and World Studies, Grades 11 and 12* (Ontario Ministry of Education and Training, 1999, 2000), and the *Ontario Secondary Schools Grades 9 to 12, Program and Diploma Requirements* (Ontario Ministry of Education and Training, 1999) signaled a renewed emphasis on educating for citizenship. In addition, a compulsory grade 10 Civics (1999) course was introduced as a requirement for graduation that highlighted "informed, purposeful, and active" strands of citizenship.

Interest in educating for citizenship escalated in England during the 1990s. "Citizenship education", according to Kerr, "has been at the heart of a major debate and policy review concerning its purpose, location, and practice in schools and colleges over the last decade" (Kerr, Cleaver, Ireland, & Blenkinsop, 2003, p. 2). The introduction of citizenship education as a non-statutory, cross-curricular theme with the establishment of the National Curriculum (1988); the establishment of the Citizenship Foundation in London (1989); the report *Encouraging Citizenship* of the Speaker's National Commission on Citizenship (1990); and involvement in major studies like the *International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) Civic Education Study* (1994, 1999) are illustrative of this escalating attention. The work of the Advisory Group on Citizenship (The Crick Report, 1998), *Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools* led to the subsequent announcement by the Department for Education and Employment/Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (DFEE/QCA 1999) that citizenship be a statutory component of the National Curriculum, and signified what Kerr (2000) referred to as "an historic shift in educational policy in this area" (p. 73). The *Citizenship* Order (DFEE/QCA, 1999), which created citizenship education as a new foundation subject for pupils 11 to 16, from September 2002, also became part of a non-statutory framework alongside Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE) for pupils 5 to 11 from September 2000, built on the Advisory Group's recommendations. The new statutory *Citizenship* Order set out the anticipated learning outcomes along three broad dimensions: knowledge and understanding, developing skills of enquiry

and communication, and developing skills of participation and responsible action.

Pedagogical practices

Reforms to citizenship education curricula across Canada and England sparked increased attention to pedagogical practice. In Canada, educators have been exploring classroom and school-based pedagogical approaches that accommodate the complex learning goals associated with citizenship education (Evans & Hundey, 2000; Osborne, 1997; Pike & Selby, 2000; Sears, 2004). Various websites, texts, and resource materials (e.g. UNICEF Canada's *Global Schoolhouse*; CIDA's *Youth Zone*; Evans, Slodovonik, Zoric, & Evans' text *Citizenship: Issues and Action* [2000]; and Classroom Connections, *Cultivating a Culture of Peace in the 21st Century* [2002]) have been developed and provide an array of classroom applications. Initiatives with a strong pedagogical emphasis like Case's *Critical Challenges Across the Curriculum* series, the Canadian International Development Agency's (CIDA) *Global Classroom Initiative*, and the Library of Parliament's *Teachers' Institute on Parliamentary Democracy* provide helpful ideas for analysing and designing effective citizenship education pedagogy. Case analysis, public issue research projects, model town councils, peace-building programs, community participation activities, public information exhibits, online international linkages, and youth forums make up the types of classroom and school-wide activities being encouraged.

England has also experienced a flurry of pedagogical interest and activity. The Citizenship Foundation, for example, has developed a range of activity-based teaching ideas and source materials that have been piloted in schools (Huddleston & Rowe, 2001; Supple, 2000; Thorpe, 2001, 2005). The Centre for Citizenship Studies in Education at the University of Leicester developed a range of curricular and pedagogical materials to support teachers' work in schools. The newly established Association for Citizenship Teaching (ACT) provides professional support and its journal, *Teaching Citizenship*, reviews and reports current developments in citizenship education pedagogy. In addition, various texts, resource materials, and support websites (e.g., The Hansard Society's resources on parliamentary democracy, OXFAM's *Cool Planet*

website, the British Youth Council's peer education and youth councils materials, and The Institute for Citizenship's *Activate Series*) have been developed, reflecting significant pedagogical work underway. A variety of professional learning activities have been initiated to encourage professional development. The establishment of the citizED network (Citizenship Education, funded by the Teacher Training Agency), in particular, is noteworthy in this regard.

RESEARCH ORIENTATION

A qualitative orientation guided the study's design and implementation. A comparative dimension was infused to bring into focus teachers' contrasting perspectives and practices. Non-probability, purposive sampling was used. Specialist teachers were selected on the basis of specific criteria related to their ability to provide the most valuable data, given the specific purposes of the study. These criteria included a good working knowledge of secondary curriculum and citizenship education curriculum in their respective area (e.g., Key Stages 3 and 4 in England, Grades 9-12 in Ontario); evidence of substantive and effective teaching experience; varied views about the purposes and practices of citizenship education; and evidence of ongoing professional development and curriculum leadership.

Data were collected through a variety of research methods and sources. Twenty-two specialist secondary school teachers from across England and twenty-two specialist secondary school teachers from Canada (Ontario) were identified and invited to complete a questionnaire. Thirty-three were returned, seventeen from the Canadian teachers and sixteen from the English teachers. Three teachers were then selected from schools in the Canadian sample and three from schools in England (Yorkshire) for further investigation. A minimum of five interviews and four classroom observations was undertaken with each of these selected teachers. Interviews were taped and transcribed. Each interview infused a blend of the standardized, open-ended interview and interview guide approaches. Questions were open-ended but constant probes were used to pursue particular topics and issues raised by the interviewer. Observation notes were recorded. During visits to the schools, pertinent curriculum documents (e.g., school-based curriculum

documents) were reviewed. Relevant contextual information in which the research was conducted was also considered.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Analysis of data focused primarily on the central question of the study: In what ways do specialist secondary school teachers characterize 'educating for citizenship' and why? Particular attention was given to teachers' characterizations of preferred learning goals, pedagogical practices, and factors that appeared to inform their goals and practices. Lastly, these characterizations were analyzed in terms of broader theoretical curriculum perspectives.

Learning Goals

Questionnaire and interview data suggested that preferred learning goals of teachers in both countries extended well beyond more traditional civics perspectives and were reflective of certain liberal/civic republican tendencies represented in many contemporary conceptions of citizenship education and in the core learning strands expressed in related, official curricula. Data also revealed that teachers talked about their preferred learning goals in four general areas: knowledge acquisition and being informed about civic issues; developing skills required of citizenship; exploring diverse beliefs, values, and notions of social justice; and becoming involved in civic life.

Teachers emphasized knowledge acquisition (e.g., an understanding of core concepts like rights and duties, civic involvement, and on being informed about issues related to civic life) as a central goal. Variations existed in relation to core concepts and public issues to be given priority, the time frame (historical and contemporary), contextual emphases (from the local to the global), and issues of depth and breadth. Respondents in the English group, for example, tended to put a slightly stronger emphasis on one's duties and legal responsibilities rather than on one's rights. Skill development was also viewed as a central goal. Teachers identified aspects of thinking, enquiry, and collaboration as important skill areas to nurture. They placed less emphasis on skill sets often associated with civic literacy (e.g., negotiating, mediating conflict). Variations existed in relation to skills to be given priority (e.g., academic

understanding, social critique). Canadian teachers, for example, talked about a breadth of skills, whereas teachers in the English sample encouraged a greater emphasis on depth of understanding and critical thinking skills.

Most teachers expressed goals to explore diverse beliefs and values underpinning civic decisions and to introduce notions of social justice. Variations existed, however, in relation to the values focus (e.g., value dilemmas, diverse cultural values), notions of justice (e.g., moral, legal), and perspectives of a good citizen. Canadian teachers, for example, tended to focus on beliefs and values related to a culturally diverse milieu, whereas English teachers directed more attention to other forms of diversity such as social class. Teachers in this sample also viewed involvement in civic life as an important learning goal. Variations were apparent in relation to the nature and extent of involvement (e.g., service, political action), the purposes of involvement (learning about change through service, bringing about change through action), and the types of issues to be addressed (e.g., from the local to the global). Respondents in both countries emphasized learning about participation through service learning. A few Canadian respondents, however, advocated for a more activist intent. Interestingly, voting as a form of political involvement received little attention. Teachers across the sample saw classrooms and schools as principal sites for practising participation although they also encouraged participating in civic life beyond the classroom.

Pedagogical Practices

Questionnaire, interview, and observational data suggested that teachers tend to translate their learning goals into pedagogical practices through ways in which they shape their classroom environments, use discrete and performance-based instructional practices, and approach assessment. Pedagogical practices, either reported or observed, appeared to be expressed predominantly in the classroom context and there was little evidence of school-wide and/or community-based practices taking place. Ontario teachers tended to talk about educating for citizenship largely through the compulsory grade-10 Civics course or through its infusion in other parts of the History or Social Science curriculum,

whereas English respondents tended to talk about educating for citizenship through various subject areas as well, but mostly in Key Stage 3 History, Religious Education, and PSHE courses.

Shaping the classroom environment. Preferred practices used to shape the classroom learning environment tended to take on the following forms: practices that nurtured conditions for student involvement and inclusion; the use of classroom space to facilitate an awareness of citizenship themes and issues; selective resource access and support; and teacher modeling democratic practices. Again, variation was apparent across the entire sample and between national samples. Approximately one third of the Canadian respondents and about one half of the English teachers indicated nurturing conditions for student involvement and inclusion in the classroom. Activities included student input into classroom decisions and rules and expectations, seating plans that encouraged more open discussion, voting on certain issues, student choice on projects, or encouraging pupil voice through student school councils. English teachers, for example, discussed the classroom as a context to encourage multiple perspectives on different historical themes and issues and stressed the importance of teacher direction and authority. Canadian teachers, in contrast, tended to discuss opportunities for student input into such things as classroom rules and expectations.

Approximately two-thirds of the teachers across the sample talked about how they used classroom space to nurture a sense of citizenship learning. Comments from Canadian respondents included using walls to display students' work, highlighting on bulletin boards current issues from magazines and daily newspapers, and organizing desks in particular ways to facilitate discussion. Teachers in the English sample discussed the use of classroom space to a lesser extent. Visits to their classrooms, however, revealed more attention to this practice than one might have anticipated from the questionnaire data. Data sources also revealed that most classroom environments included a range of newspapers, textbooks, magazine articles, and videos to support knowledge acquisition and skill development. Textbooks, in many cases, informed the course framework and provided core information. Newspaper articles and videos, in particular, were viewed as important sources of information to complement texts, to provide information

about contemporary issues, and to support skill development (e.g., reading for the main idea). Most resources were selected and organized by teachers for students. A small number of teachers identified community resources (e.g., political parties pamphlets, NGO literature, guest speakers) as important sources of information; there was little mention of the use of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) or CD ROMs. In instances where projects were more student-directed, a wider use of community resources and Internet was apparent. Very few discussed the use of non-mainstream resource support.

Instructional practices. Teachers made use of an array of discrete and performance-based instructional practices when educating for citizenship. Discrete activities (e.g., a questioning sequence on rights and responsibilities, a mind map on the concept of democracy) were most evident and tended to focus on a specific learning goal. Both Canadian and English teachers acknowledged the use of performance-based strategies (e.g., radio interview on the concept of human rights, simulation of local government decision making) but evidence of these strategies was less noticeable in practice. There was a sense amongst the respondents that these types of practices, as pedagogical theorists have suggested (Bennett & Rolheiser, 2001; Joyce & Weil, 2000; Marzano, 2003), would assist students to learn knowledge, skills, and beliefs and values in more integrated ways.

All teachers emphasised instructional practices that aimed to increase student knowledge. Both groups outlined teacher-directed activities used to encourage content acquisition, conceptual understanding, and an awareness of current events. In most cases, information was largely transmitted from the teacher to the student through different mediums. Teachers highlighted themes such as rights and responsibilities, democratic processes, forms of political participation, and current events, whereas they gave less attention to themes often found in traditional Civics courses (e.g., structures of government, constitutional matters). Data revealed varying emphases among teachers in relation to concepts and/or issues forefronted, temporal and contextual considerations, and the relative importance of depth and/or breadth of understanding. The majority of teachers reported having students read engaging excerpts from newspapers or

view TV news for pertinent content. Many also referred to teacher-led, chalk-and-talk discussions. Only a few teachers discussed approaches that were more student-directed. There appeared to be stronger tendencies across the Canadian sample to encourage an understanding of contemporary issues and global themes, whereas the English sample appeared to place a stronger emphasis on deeper conceptual understanding and historical themes.

Teachers also identified and exhibited a number of instructional practices that encouraged the development of thinking and enquiry skills related to aspects of civic life. Again, they identified rather discrete activities to develop specific skills or combinations of skills. They used discrete teaching activities to develop collaborative skills, but to a lesser extent. In most cases, small-group activities appeared to focus on knowledge acquisition and sharing information rather than the development of particular collaborative skills. In a few instances, teachers used more sophisticated cooperative learning structures to nurture social skills and support community building. They also acknowledged using more complex instructional strategies such as enquiry-based research assignments or issue-based investigations to support not only the development of foundational knowledge but also the development of skills related to analysis and enquiry. Varying emphases, both across the sample and between national groupings, were noted. Canadian teachers, for example, tended to put an emphasis on the use of cooperative learning structures to develop social skills, whereas English teachers tended to focus more on developing students' thinking skills, perhaps suggesting a more academic emphasis.

Fewer than half the teachers from either Canada or England reported using instructional practices to encourage students to explore beliefs, values, and/or notions of social justice underpinning civic decisions and actions. Teachers who did provide examples of practices in this area tended to highlight practices that they used to explore personal beliefs and values through historical and contemporary themes and issues. In most instances, variation was evident. Moral dilemmas, sample scenarios, cooperative learning structures, circle activity, and case studies reflected the eclectic range of practices used. Teaching practices identified among the Canadian respondents tended to infuse a

considerable emphasis on cultural diversity, whereas English teachers tended to consider value dilemmas within a broader social context. For example, Religious Education teachers in England discussed practices in this dimension much more than other teachers across the entire sample. In comments about notions of social justice, some teachers highlighted moral codes while others talked more about legal codes (e.g., Charter of Rights).   Observations of classes revealed even less attention to instructional practices that explored beliefs and values underpinning aspects of civic life or that nurtured understandings of social justice.

Most teachers reported using an assortment of instructional practices to nurture an awareness of involvement in civic life and tended to view the classroom as the most important location for students to learn about and practise participation. Teachers tended to talk about strategies that allowed students to investigate and analyze how citizens and groups participate in decision making around current civic and historical issues and events. In practice, however, these strategies were less prominent than those discrete activities and strategies used to emphasize knowledge acquisition and skill development. Some teachers did indicate that their schools had introduced citizenship education initiatives at the school level, but that most of the emphasis continued to be subject-based and mostly within the classroom context. Real involvement in civic affairs beyond the classroom, a key feature of citizenship education curricula in both contexts, was even less evident. Those few teachers in the Canadian sample who went beyond the classroom tended to emphasize involvement that ranged from service contributions to political action. Respondents from England tended to highlight the value of community volunteerism and charity work as preferred emphases for encouraging participation in civic life. Teachers did not appear to be opposed to establishing school-wide or community-based initiatives, but rather, during implementation, teachers appeared to implicitly reject certain goals because they viewed them as simply unmanageable in their current circumstances.

Approaches to assessment.   In the questionnaire and interview data, teachers articulated a preference for two main types of assessment: paper-and-pencil short answer/essay answer and performance-based types of assessment. They most often cited paper-and-pencil short

answer (e.g., multiple choice tests, fill-in-the-blank tests, true-false tests) and essay answer types (e.g., analytical paragraphs, short essays) of assessment. They valued paper-and-pencil types of assessment because they perceived these types to provide useful data about student learning in two central learning goal areas introduced earlier, the acquisition of knowledge and the development of skills. An analysis of actual paper-and-pencil practices revealed primary attention to knowledge and skills strands of learning, with much less attention to the beliefs, values, and notions of social justice and participation strands. Teachers' use of these practices tended to occur within the context of specific courses taught and their focus tended to reflect context-specific curriculum policy requirements. There appeared to be increasing attention to, and use of, performance-based types of assessment (e.g., criteria-based rating scales, assessment rubrics) to complement paper-and-pencil assessments, suggesting a growing attention to the more interactive and participatory learning goals. Teachers believed that these types of assessment could capture a broader range of learning goals in an integrated manner (e.g., participatory criteria in combination with other learning goal areas). They gave limited attention to types of assessment that encouraged self-reflection or showed evidence of ongoing personal learning (e.g., self assessment, reflective journals, portfolios).

This heightened emphasis on knowledge acquisition and basic skills, although somewhat incongruous with stated learning goals, was not surprising if one considers teachers' assessment practices more generally. Literature suggests that teachers tend to rely on paper-and-pencil forms of assessment to assess knowledge acquisition and basic skill development and rarely move beyond these learning dimensions, even when official learning goals are more broadly stated and intended (Earl & Cousins, 1996; Linn & Gronlund, 2000). This situation is, however, problematic if one considers the broader learning goals associated with citizenship education. There appears to be an urgent need to develop effective assessment approaches that align more directly with the broader learning goals associated with this curricula area (Jerome, 2004: Kerr, 2002; Myers, 2004; Osborne, 2001).

Factors Relating to Preferred Learning Goals and Pedagogical Practices

Findings tended to confirm recent research that suggests that teachers' preferred learning goals and pedagogical practices, in general, are informed and guided by a variety of overlapping factors, or what Cole and Knowles (2000) have referred to as "a variety of ways of personal, professional, and contextual knowing" (p. 7). (See too Darling-Hammond, 1998; Mortimore, 1999; Shulman, 1987; Turner-Bisset, 2001). Teachers across the sample identified a mixture of factors that they believed related to their preferred learning goals and pedagogical practices, albeit with variant levels of understanding and emphasis. Five main factors (in no particular order) were identified: personal understandings of citizenship education, personal background experiences, learner characteristics, views of teaching and learning, and contextual factors.

Certain factors appeared to be more evident in relation to preferred learning goals or areas of pedagogical practice among teachers in this study. Teachers emphasized learner characteristics, teachers' personal views of teaching and learning, and school-based contextual circumstances as core factors relating to their preferences for particular instructional practices. Such notions as active learning, enquiry, positive reinforcement, high standards, and inclusion made up the rather eclectic range of core ideas underpinning teachers' preferences for particular instructional practices. Contextual factors related to the school (e.g., school ethos, status of citizenship education, qualified teachers) received considerable attention. Personal experiences (e.g., immigrant background, professional learning experiences) were evident but in very discrete and respondent-specific ways. Interestingly, there was limited reference to understandings of citizenship as a significant factor in determining one's instructional practices. Understandings of citizenship tended to more strongly relate to what learning goals teachers highlighted rather than the pedagogical practices they used to achieve these goals. Overall, data appeared to provide a rather uncertain sense of the relationship between factors and preferred pedagogical practices. Certain combinations of factors were made explicit while others were less evident. Determining a direct relationship between these factors and

teachers' preferred goals and practices was not possible from the data collected.

Teachers' Characterizations and Curriculum Perspectives

Across the sample, teachers' preferred learning goals tended to forefront a blend of transmission, transactional, and transformative curriculum perspectives. Attention to the cognitive dimension of learning was particularly prominent among these broad tendencies, confirming findings from earlier studies (Council of Ministers, Canada, 2001; Davies, Gregory, & Riley, 1999; Kerr, Cleaver, Ireland, & Blenkinsop, 2003). Within this dimension, teachers appeared to give preference to goals related to knowledge acquisition, understandings of contemporary and/or historical issues, and the development of thinking and enquiry skills. They also encouraged goals that promoted understandings of diverse beliefs and values, notions of social justice, and civic involvement, suggesting teacher support for (at least in their stated goals) the broader learning mandate of contemporary notions of citizenship education.

Teachers' preferred pedagogical practices across the sample, on the other hand, reflected a more narrowly defined set of curriculum tendencies and tended to support recent findings in phase 1 of the Citizenship Longitudinal Study (Kerr, Cleaver, Ireland, & Blenkinsop, 2003), "that teacher-led approaches to citizenship-related topics were predominant in the classroom, with more participatory, active approaches much less commonly used" (p. 48). Data sources revealed that teachers' practices reflected a stronger blend of transmission and transactional tendencies. They highlighted practices that encouraged academic understanding and the development of thinking skills. Practices that encouraged understandings of identity and diversity, forms of civic involvement, or skills of social critique were less noticeable than what may have been anticipated from teachers' stated goals sets. Assessment practices, in particular, suggested a further deepening of transmission-oriented tendencies, revealing further levels of incongruity with stated learning goals. Transformative tendencies were notably less evident in practice.

Teachers' personal orientations were both distinctive and eclectic. Most teachers' personal orientations appeared to forefront transmission and transactional tendencies while a few teachers' personal orientations suggested a stronger transactional and transformative mixture. One teacher's practice, for example, tended to align more prominently with the transmission perspective, albeit with strong transactional tendencies. His learning goals and pedagogical practices fostered knowledge acquisition and the development of thinking and enquiry skills that enabled students to fit into and be contributing members of their local communities. Another teacher's goals and practices appeared to more evenly blend transmission and transactional tendencies. Her personal orientation emphasized knowledge acquisition and academic understanding but also the development of critical thinking and enquiry skills. She encouraged an understanding of diverse beliefs and values, and notions of justice, through the study of historical human value dilemmas and issues. A third teacher's goals and practices appeared to infuse a stronger blend of transmission, transactional, and transformative tendencies. In her pedagogical practices, she gave distinctly more attention to learning strategies to promote understandings of issues, skills, and values necessary to critique and improve society.

A blend of curriculum perspectives appeared to underpin the array of goals and practices that teachers communicated and exhibited both across respondents' responses and within personal responses, confirming curriculum theorists' observations that pedagogy is often nested within more than one curriculum perspective and rarely neutral (Kelly, 2004; Miller, 1996; Miller & Seller, 1985; Pratt, 1994; Ross, 2000). Dominant tendencies were apparent as were disjunctions both across the sample and within personal orientations. Transmission and transactional curriculum tendencies were clearly forefronted, suggesting that certain learning goals were being privileged, while others were being given less attention or simply being ignored. Assessment practices, in particular, mostly reflected knowledge acquisition and the application of cognitive skill applications. Underscoring these practices were two variant views of learning: one that appeared to view knowledge as largely fixed and another that viewed knowledge as something that is constantly changing

and can be manipulated.

CONCLUDING REFLECTIONS

Five broad propositions are offered below as concluding reflections to illuminate understandings of educating for citizenship as expressed through this sample of teachers.

Learning Goals: Breadth, Depth, and Ambiguity

Teachers' characterizations of learning goals captured the breadth of intent represented in contemporary conceptions of citizenship education and core strands of the respective policy contexts. Variation existed, however, in terms of the goals given priority and depth provided, suggesting ambiguity and raising questions about what types of learning students might experience and what types might be silenced or ignored. Participation in civic life, for example, widely asserted in contemporary conceptions of citizenship education, and clearly expressed in policy documents as a core dimension of citizenship education, was largely neglected in practice. The breadth of understanding revealed in the comments that teachers made did not lead them to question the specific omissions—or more limited characterizations—in their practice.

Learning Goals, Pedagogical Practices, and the Issue of Congruency

Examples of incongruity between rhetoric (what teachers say) and practice (what teachers do) were evident in the data. This general issue can be given more specificity in relation to two key areas of teachers' practice. First, teachers communicated less about those practices in which they emphasized "beliefs, values, and notions of social justice" and "participation in civic life." Second, teachers' assessment practices forefronted knowledge and a limited range of skills. In both examples, incongruities between stated goals and preferred practices may be seen as problematic. It is difficult to ascertain why this was the case, but it appeared that there were at least, a few possible explanations. One possible explanation is that the breadth of learning goals is so broad that teachers simply make choices to cover certain elements of the curriculum in ways that are workable for the day-to-day classroom realities. Whatever the reason, it was clear that certain core learning goals were

not being addressed through teachers' communicated or exhibited pedagogical practices.

An Uncertain Gap between Theory and Practice

Teachers characterized "educating for citizenship" in a variety of ways, reflecting varying levels of theoretical and practical sophistication. Instructional practices ranged from specific and discrete activities to reasonably intricate interactive and performance-based strategies. Paper-and-pencil, short answer and essay answer assessment, and to a lesser extent, performance-based assessment, were the preferred assessment approaches. And, they used a variety of practices to shape aspects of the classroom learning environment, to facilitate student learning, and in some cases, to infuse certain democratic principles. Interestingly, the naming of theoretical pedagogical frameworks was indeed rare in teachers' explanations of their pedagogical preferences. Although it would be probably unrealistic to expect teachers to refer directly to these frameworks, it does suggest an uncertain gap that may not be helpful between what could broadly be referred to as theory and practice.

Related Factors Matter

A variety of factors, with varied levels of emphasis, appeared to relate to teachers' preferred goals and practices. Data did not suggest, however, any direct linkages. One aspect of teachers' work might be considered here. Teachers work in institutions where the stated goals and ethos may conflict with the expected goals and practices. Schools, organizationally, have tended to reinforce norms of hierarchical control, and in doing so, have undermined curricular reform that encourages democratic citizenship. This is not to suggest that this study has uncovered this particular contradiction but rather to reaffirm that teachers act in complex ways and that this complexity perhaps can be explained at least in part by the tensions they have to deal with each day. If one is to understand pedagogy in its most comprehensive form, one needs to be mindful of the complex and overlapping factors that appear to relate to one's pedagogy.

Dominant Tendencies and Disjunctions

Teachers' personal orientations tended to reveal both eclectic and distinctive tendencies that cut across various curricular theoretical perspectives. Across the sample, two distinctive, and overlapping, orientations tended to be forefronted, albeit with some disjunctions from the dominant tendency: a dominant and blended transmission/transactional orientation; and to a much lesser extent, a blended transactional/transformative orientation. These preferred and exhibited orientations suggest a privileging of certain curricular learning goals and policy context. Curriculum theorists' observations that pedagogy is often nested within more than one curriculum perspective and is rarely neutral were apparent. In particular, transformative tendencies were less evident in practice.

Hopefully these findings will be able to address some of the gaps in our tacit understanding of teachers' characterizations of what it mean to "educate for citizenship." My concluding reflections in this section therefore are not anything very specific that would suggest that I have discovered a way forward but rather that attention needs to be given to a more deeply integrated conceptualization of citizenship education pedagogy if the goal is to nurture democratic citizenship in classrooms and school communities.

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