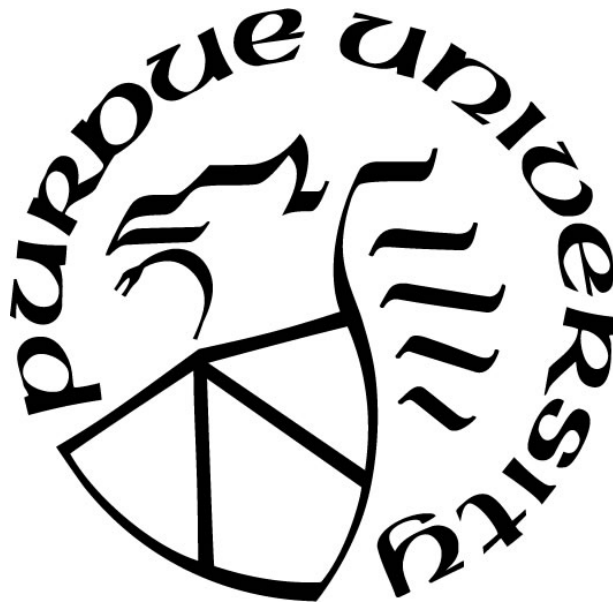# A CULTIVATION OF CIVIC IDENTITY IN TEACHER EDUCATION:
STORIES OF PRESERVICE TEACHERS

by

Erin N. Vaughn

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Faculty of Purdue University

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Curriculum & Instruction

West Lafayette, Indiana

December 2018

THE PURDUE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL
STATEMENT OF COMMITTEE APPROVAL

Dr. Kathryn Obenchain, Chair

      Department of Curriculum & Instruction

Dr. Anatoli Rapoport

      Department of Curriculum & Instruction

Dr. JoAnn Phillion

      Department of Curriculum & Instruction

Dr. Phillip VanFossen

      Department of Curriculum & Instruction

Approved by:

      Dr. Janet Alsup

            Head of the Graduate Program

To my former students at Sierra Vista Elementary School, who taught me that children are, indeed, capable of transforming the world.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

One truly does not earn a Ph.D. on his or her own. I would have to write a book in order to thank each and every person who has supported me beyond measure throughout the most challenging - but also most rewarding - journey of my life.

First and foremost, I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Kathryn Obenchain, whose support made so much of this accomplishment possible. She encouraged me to take a leap, leave the familiarity of my hometown, and pursue my degree at a top research university, through which I grew immensely as both an academic and a human being. From the second I stepped onto Purdue's campus, Dr. Obenchain made sure that I was on the path to becoming an influential scholar. She extended every opportunity available to strengthen my skills as a researcher and nurtured my ideas as I developed inquiries of my own. I am especially grateful for the time and attention she paid throughout the duration of my dissertation. We made it, Kathy!

I would also like to thank the rest of my committee members – Dr. JoAnn Phillion, Dr. Anatoli Rapoport, and Dr. Phillip VanFossen. I was fortunate to work with nationally renowned scholars who collaborated effectively together and whose guidance and expertise have contributed to my growth as a scholar. I could not have asked for a better dissertation experience with these wonderful people.

Next, I would like to acknowledge my fiancé, my "rock", and the man who experienced the day-to-day realities of earning a doctorate degree along with me. Earning a Ph.D. consumed me both physically and emotionally and Andy Piedmont supported me wholeheartedly and without doubt or resentment every step of the way for the past six years. I am forever grateful for this amazing human being and excited for the next phase of our lives together!

I would also like to thank both of my parents for their unwavering love and support. Despite the 2,000 mile distance between us, they were there if I needed to cry, if I needed a bill paid, and to celebrate my many accomplishments from afar. I love you both so much!

Finally, I thank the endless list of friends and fellow graduate students who listened, encouraged, and supported me all the way to the finish line. I am unbelievably blessed to have such a strong support crew.

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ABSTRACT

Author: Vaughn, Erin, N. PhD
Institution: Purdue University
Degree Received: December 2018
Title: A Cultivation of Civic Identity in Teacher Education: Stories of Preservice Teachers
Major Professor: Kathryn M. Obenchain

The United States continues to become increasingly more diverse, demanding civic engagement that extends beyond personal responsibility such as obeying laws and voting and requiring a citizenry capable of disrupting the status quo and enacting social change that contributes to a more equitable and just society. Education plays a vital role in this civic development; therefore, preservice teachers must be prepared to teach for critical citizenship education. Using narrative inquiry, this study explored how five preservice teachers with more critical civic identities made sense of their teacher education experiences in relation to civic identity development. The findings of the study revealed how teacher education programs fostered uncomfortable, but transformative, learning experiences that promoted the preservice teachers' senses of understanding and empathy for those whose identities and lived experiences were different than their own. Additionally, the findings illuminated the preservice teachers' understandings of the interplay between identity and power as they examined how their own civic values and engagement contributed to patterns of privilege and/or oppression in society. The study builds on the literature base that explores preservice teacher civic identity and continues the conversation regarding what type of teacher education experiences foster the construction of more critical civic identities.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

The demographics of the United States have become increasingly more diverse, rendering the ongoing reconstruction of the democratic republic an increasingly complex task (Parker, 2003). According to the United States Census Bureau (2015), 38% of the total population in 2014 was comprised of citizens from ethnic minorities and consistent trends have predicted this to surpass the 50% mark over the next four decades. More than half of the nation's children are expected to be part of a minority race or ethnic group in the 2020 report (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). By the year of 2044, "no group will have a majority share of the total and the United States will become a 'plurality' of racial and ethnic groups" (Colby and Ortman, 2015, p. 9). Furthermore, 350 total languages were found to have been spoken throughout the nation, including those spoken less widely such as Pennsylvania Dutch, Ukrainian, and Turkish, as well as Native American languages including Dakota and Apache (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). The religious landscape in the United States has also undergone a dramatic transformation and is more diverse today than at any time since modern sociological measurements began (Cox and Jones, 2017). Additionally, approximately 2.5% of adults older than the age of 18 identified as something other than heterosexual (National Health Interview Survey [NHIS], 2013). In essence, the cultural fabric of the United States has continued to become a smorgasbord of differing lived experiences, knowledge bases, skillsets, and value systems.

While scholars have argued that cultural pluralism is a democratic necessity (Banks, 2001; May & Sleeter, 2010; Parker, 2003), such diversity has often been at the foundation of social, economic, and political inequality. How one identifies with, or is "thrown into", different

social groups such as race, gender, social class, sexual orientation, etc., can either enable or

constrain the life possibilities before them (Parker, 2003, p. 95). Much of the oppression suffered

by individuals and marginalized groups occur through the typical processes of everyday life in,

often, well-intentioned liberal societies (Young, 1990). This is evident in the United States. As of

2016, 40.6 million U.S. citizens of all racial categories were reported to live below the poverty

threshold, including approximately 18% of children under the age of 18 (U.S. Census Bureau,

2017). This reality was more probable for households considered non-White and for women

(U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). Although the gender wage gap has decreased considerably since

1980, women full-time workers still earned only 79% of what men did on an annual basis in

2014 (Blau & Kahn, 2017). Additionally, the National Sexual Violence Resource Center

(NSVRC, 2015), an organization that deemed sexual violence a social justice issue rooted in

power inequities and multiple forms of oppression that value certain people or groups over

others, reported that 91% of the victims of rape and sexual assault are female and that one in five

women will be raped at some point in their lives. To address such social ills in pursuit of a more

equal and just society, citizens need to engage in their communities in ways that extend beyond

what Westheimer and Kahne (2004) deemed to be personally responsible, such as voting, paying

taxes, and serving for jury duty.

A democracy with a commitment to social justice requires citizens who possess what

Freire (1970) described as a "critical consciousness" (p. 35), or an awareness of systemic

domination and oppression and how it serves to maintain cultural stereotypes and hierarchies, as

well as an understanding of their own socialization into such systems. It requires that citizens

examine issues of injustice in their communities at all levels and work collectively "to interrupt

and change oppressive patterns and behaviors in themselves and in the institutions and

communities of which they are a part" (Bell, 2016, p. 4). It requires citizens who feel connected

to those different than themselves and deeply committed to transforming society in ways that

extend rights and opportunities to all citizens.

In order to do this civic work, one must embody the identity of a more critical citizen. An

individual's civic identity, or one's sense of belonging and responsibility to a community

(Kirshner, 2007), is developed through the knowledge of and engagement in those communities

(Atkins & Hart, 2003). Civic identity is constructed through experiences that are socially,

historically, and culturally situated and influence how one makes sense of what it means to be a

citizen and participant in the civic life of a democracy (Rubin, 2007). The educational setting,

where the cultivation of democratic citizens is arguably the primary purpose (Dewey, 1916), is a

powerful context for the civic identity development of young people.

Consequently, teachers must be prepared to teach for critical citizenship education,

requiring a shift in how many young people are currently prepared for democratic citizenship in

schools (DeJaeghere, 2009; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Contemporary models of citizenship

education generally treat the concept of democracy in the U.S. as something to be celebrated and

preserved – as something that has already been achieved (Parker, 2003). Civic engagement in

such models typically includes emphasis on behaviors such as voting, obeying laws, and

volunteering, as well as the development of character traits such as honesty and respect

(Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). While such behaviors "have the potential to strengthen a

democracy by fostering social trust and a willingness to commit to collective efforts…. [they] are

not *inherently* about democracy" (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004, p. 244). Parker (2003) describes

democracy as a continuous "path" that requires citizens who are equipped to participate in its

ongoing reconstruction through informed deliberation and decision-making in order to meet the

needs of an ever evolving social, economic, and political society (p. 21). This means that today's youth must perceive democracy as a work in progress and visualize themselves as political actors capable of impacting change. Furthermore, students should feel compelled to move beyond basic moral dispositions, such as respecting diverse others, in ways that are "motivated by concerns for a more just and humane world" (Johnson & Morris, 2011, p. 79). Adolescents and young adults should learn how to question and critique institutional structures that may or may not serve the common good (Marri, 2005), and participate in discussions that focus on changing the functioning and equity of societal structures (DeJaeghere, 2009). In addition, young people should be given educational opportunities to do more than just talk about democracy, but to practice democracy (Parker, 2003), by taking action in their schools and communities.

How preservice teachers perceive and act as citizens have significant implications for citizenship education (Alviar-Martin, 2011; Patterson, Doppen, Misco, 2012). Existing studies have indicated that pedagogical decisions are influenced by both personal and professional experiences (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Beijaard, Meijer, & Verloop, 2004; Rodgers & Scott, 2008) – including civic experiences (DeJaeghere, 2008). This means that preservice teachers' understanding of and experiences as citizens will impact how citizenship education is implemented in their future classrooms. Existing research has revealed that preservice teachers perceived the concept of citizen through a more traditional, as opposed to a critical lens (Castro, 2013; James & Iverson, 2009, Martin, 2012), and many described a citizen as one who obeys laws and volunteers, to the exclusion of disrupting the status quo and fostering social change (O'Brien, 2011). This civic dimension of preservice teachers' identities "holds powerful implications for the preparation of today's young citizens" (Alviar-Martin, 2011, p. 46) as they become future decision makers in elementary school classrooms. Therefore, exploring how

preservice teachers make sense of the experiences in teacher education that have contributed to their development as citizens will have implications for developing stronger programs (Alsup, 2006; Danielewicz, 2001), and as a result, may benefit the communities eventually served by those teachers.

Reflecting on My Development as a Citizen

Throughout my doctoral program, I have learned an incredible amount about the teaching of social studies and the complexity surrounding its focal point - citizenship education. (Engle & Ochoa, 1988; National Council for the Social Studies, 2010). Questions that I can continue to ask include: What kind of citizen should we prepare our students to be? How do we best prepare our students for democratic life? Based on my experiences as a child, a student, and a teacher, I have established the philosophy that we cannot prepare our students for democratic life unless we prepare them to work for social justice and that the best way to accomplish this is to teach our preservice teachers to be wise and skillful curriculum decision makers who are prepared to teach for critical citizenship education. Thus, I focused this work on the civic experiences of preservice teachers throughout their teacher education programs.

As the graduate student teaching instructor for the elementary social studies methods course for many semesters, I found that most of my former students understood what it meant to be a citizen in traditional ways. One's citizenship was granted by legal status and civic engagement was limited to voting, paying taxes, recycling, and sometimes volunteering. Most of my students admitted that they had never thought about issues of social justice or felt compelled to work for social change during their lifetimes, thus far. Dr. Obenchain and I spent a significant amount of time each semester immersing our preservice teachers in the examination of historical and current events that illuminate how every day citizens work collectively in the pursuit of a

more equal and just society. We sought to disrupt the notion that citizens merely engage in personally-responsible ways and broaden their perceptions about what it means to be a citizen in a democratic society. We found that they do consider the concept of citizen in more critical ways when engaged in meaningful and intentional learning experiences. Therefore, I felt compelled to explore how particular experiences throughout teacher education contributed to these more critical understandings. Because the current literature base has investigated preservice teachers with more traditional perceptions of what it means to be a citizen, I sought to understand the experiences of those with more critical civic identities.

I argue that the endeavor of fostering critical civic identity development in teacher education and preparing preservice teachers to teach for critical citizenship extends beyond the social studies methods course. The purpose of social studies education in the United States focuses on the development of democratic citizens and the methods course is a necessary and important context for such learning to occur; however, I learned through my work with the preservice teachers of this study that they learned about what it means to be a citizen in many other curricular contexts. Some learned about citizenship in settings more typical for this type of work, such as social studies methods and/or multicultural education; others did not. Some felt that their civic identities were strengthened in literacy and science courses, study-abroad programs, and clinical experiences. The nature of identity development, and more particularly, civic identity development is not limited to any one social context. Therefore, this dissertation transcends the line of social studies education in order to gain a broader understanding of civic identity development in teacher education programs.

Purpose Statement and Research Question

My central goal for conducting this research is to understand the nature of the experiences in teacher education that contribute to the ongoing construction of a preservice teacher's critical civic identity. With the development of democratic citizens at the heart of public education and an ever-increasing diverse citizenry in the United States, preservice teachers' roles in preparing youth as citizens empowered and capable to strive for an equal and just society is profound. To foster more critical notions of citizen in elementary contexts, it is vital that preservice teachers are provided opportunities to grapple with the complexities of what it means to be a citizen in the 21st century, that they engage in learning experiences that challenge traditional ideas, and continuously self-reflect on their evolving identities as teachers of citizenship education. Because the university is a powerful place for the identity development of preservice teachers (Alsup, 2006; Danielewicz, 2001), it is imperative to understand how these experiences serve to expand, or not expand, their critical consciousness.

Another aim of this research is to explore teacher education experiences specifically through the lenses of preservice teachers who possess some capacity of critical civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions, contributing a new perspective for understanding preservice teacher civic identity. Currently, a wide literature base documents the more traditional conceptions of citizenship held by preservice teachers. This study seeks to build on and fill a gap in that research base by illuminating how preservice teachers with an established commitment to social justice make sense of their experiences in teacher education programs in relation to their ongoing civic identity development.

My long-term goal is to transform teacher education programs to foster course experiences that will better prepare preservice teachers to teach for critical citizenship in future

elementary school classrooms. To do so requires an understanding of their cross-curricular experiences in teacher education that promote the construction of critical civic knowledge, skills and dispositions. Thus, the following research question frames the current study:

1. How do preservice teachers make sense of their experiences teacher education in relation to their ongoing and evolving critical civic identity development?

Overview of Dissertation

This dissertation is comprised of five chapters, including the introduction. The introduction chapter presented the nature of the problem and justified that the diverse, democratic republic of the United States requires citizens who engage in their communities beyond traditional or personally-responsible civic actions such as voting, paying taxes, and serving on jury duty. Instead, a citizenry committed to social justice principles need develop the knowledge, skills, and dispositions to identify and analyze systems of oppression and work collectively to dismantle such systems. To prepare future teachers for this endeavor, both as citizens and as teachers of citizenship education, it is imperative that teacher education programs foster the evolving civic identity development of preservice teachers in ways that encourage more critical and social justice-oriented notions of citizenship.

The second chapter presents the conceptual framework, which draws from scholarship that theorizes democracy as a "a mode of associated living" (Dewey, 1916, p. 101), encompassing the nature of how citizens live together as part of a collective and diverse society, rather than merely as a form of representative government (Crick, 2008). The framework draws from political theorists who emphasized citizenship as shared membership of a community rather than as formal and legal status of a nation-state (Joppke, 2007). It also draws from those who reconceptualized social justice beyond Rawls' distributive theory to include cultural recognition

(Fraser, 1995) and the active disruption of domination and oppression (Young, 1990). Reconceptualizing these concepts helps to build a foundation for critical citizenship education. A review of relevant literature illuminates the role of teacher education programs in the identity development of preservice teachers, particularly in regard to civic identity development. Empirical studies are synthesized to present the current literature base on preservice teacher civic identity development and to build the argument that preservice teachers with more critical civic identities is a voice currently missing from the literature.

Chapter three explains why and how narrative inquiry was the most appropriate methodology through which to conduct this research, as it seeks to understand the nature of lived experience through the study of narratives, or stories (Polkinghorne, 1988; Clandinin, 2013). The participants included five preservice teachers nearing the final year of the teacher education program at two different universities who were purposefully selected because they exhibited civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions that reflected more critical civic identities. Data collection and analysis included the use of semi-structured interviews and relevant documents and artifacts to explore the civic nature of preservice teachers' experiences in teacher education.

Chapter four is comprised of five participant narratives and a cross-case analysis that present the results of the study. Each of the participant narratives illuminate the unique, diverse, and contextualized nature of his or her experiences. The cross-case analysis gleans thematic patterns across participants to advance the understanding of how teacher education programs can best foster preservice teachers' construction of more critical civic identities.

Chapter five provides an overview of the findings in relationship to the research question. It undertakes a discussion of key conclusions and explains how the findings of this study contribute to the scholarly conversation regarding preservice teacher civic identity development

and critical citizenship education. I conclude the chapter by posing suggestions for future

research and recommending implications for teacher education programs.

CHAPTER 2. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to ground the study in major concepts that undergird critical citizenship education and to review existing literature while building the argument for the necessity of this research. The chapter begins with the conceptual framework that defines philosophical constructs pertinent to understanding critical citizenship and critical citizenship education. A review of relevant literature explores the broader concept of identity as a basis for understanding both teacher identity and preservice teacher civic identity.

Conceptual Framework

The following sections reconceptualize the concepts of democracy, citizen and citizenship, and social justice in ways that provide a foundation for critical citizenship education. I then analyze how citizenship education has evolved in the United States over time in order to support the need for more critical models of citizenship education in schools.

Reconceptualizing Democracy

Democracy is a complex concept to define. At its basic core, notions of democracy include universal suffrage and representative government, allotting citizens in a society equal shares in political power through the election of representative officials (Crick, 2008; Davies, 1999; Emerson, 2002; Miller, 1978). Yet, early democracy in the United States was "certainly not egalitarian" (Isakhan & Stockwell, 2011, p. 5) and social variables such as gender and race forbade a vast number of citizens from participation in the democratic virtue of shared governance. Although the Constitution was ratified in 1789, it would take almost two centuries

before women and African Americans were granted the right to play an equal and unobstructed

part in voting processes. Still, some citizens face restrictions. Others have defined democracy as

the entitlement to economic and social, in addition to political rights (Crick, 2008; Davies, 1999).

However, this notion has been criticized for being limited to a more formal and legal

understanding of citizenship in a democratic society, raising controversial questions regarding

how and to whom rights are distributed, particularly with minority and "non-citizen" populations

(Joppke, 2007, p. 42). Still, others have argued that, "in order for democracy to work, we must

look beyond its institutionalized structures and dynamics" (Dahlgren, 2006, p. 272), and treat

democracy as more than a system of government (Urban, 2013). Dewey (1916) characterized

democracy as a "mode of associated living" (p. 1396), encompassing the nature of how citizens

live together as part of a collective and diverse society. In this sense, democracy is expanded to

focus on how citizens understand, value, and deliberate with diverse others in all civic spaces.

A more nuanced understanding of democracy illuminates its dynamic nature. While

government institutions are, indeed, essential components, "if they are not filled by real flesh-

and-blood people with relevant values, virtues, and competencies, democracy will become

merely a hollow formalism" (Dahlgren, 2006, p. 272). Democracy is only as good as the citizens

who continue to uphold it. Historic victories, such as those experienced by citizens during the

fight for women's suffrage and the dismantling of Jim Crow, "hardly closed the book on

democracy" (Parker, 2003, p. 22). Rather than an achieved outcome, democracy is

conceptualized as an ongoing journey – one in which its ideals are continuously reevaluated,

reimagined, and reconstructed with each generation of citizens (Dewey, 1916; Hyslop-Margison

& Thayer, 2009; Isakhan and Stockwell, 2011; Keiser, 2005; Parker, 2003). For the purposes of

this study, democracy is defined not as a static entity but as an evolving, reconstructive process,

one that requires the participation of its citizens in meeting the social, economic, and political needs of all its members.

Reconceptualizing Citizenship and Citizen

This vision of democracy requires citizens who engage in their communities beyond personally-responsible actions, such as voting and paying taxes, and instead demands those who work collectively in the pursuit of a more equal and just society (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). It requires society to reconceptualize what constitutes citizenship, as well as who is considered to be a citizen, beyond traditional definitions. This research interprets the concepts of citizenship and citizen through a lens of social justice.

Throughout time, the concept of citizenship has often been limited to the legal status of a member of a nation-state and is confirmed by a citizen's national documentation (Bellamy, 2008; Stewart, 1995). Others have conflated the concept of citizenship with the entitlement to various institutional rights - from constitutional to welfare (Bellamy, 2008; Joppke, 2007; Oldfield, 1990). However, citizenship defined as status and/or as an entitlement to rights has been criticized by more progressive scholars for being exclusionary and for lacking an emphasis on one's civic responsibilities to society (Oldfield, 1990), limiting a deeper and more critical understanding of what it means to be a citizen. Still, others have perceived the concept of citizenship to denote the shared membership of a community and the practice of citizens as they contribute to its overall well-being (Lister, 1998; Oldfield, 1990; Stewart, 1995). As Stewart (1995) argued, "Citizenship is an explicitly political activity, in which people who are equals address collective and general concerns" (p. 76). In this sense, citizenship is understood as one's commitment to and participation in the continuous improvement of the community of which he

or she is a part, without the requirement of formal and legal status. This study operates from this particular perception of citizenship.

Furthermore, society must reconceptualize how they understand one to be a citizen in ways that better support democracy as a shared and reconstructed path. Again, this requires a perception of citizen that extends beyond an individual's country of origin or possession of legal documentation, and one that holds citizens accountable for more than personally-responsible civic engagement (Levinson, 2012; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Rather, a *citizen* should be acknowledged as one who works collectively in the improvement of his or her shared communities (Levinson, 2012); however, a democratic society rife with social inequalities, such as the U.S., is in need of more justice-oriented citizens (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). It is essential that citizens work collectively to address social justice issues and that they possess the knowledge, skills, and dispositions to identify, problem-solve, and dismantle institutional systems that oppress others (DeJaeghere, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011). It is from this perspective that I define the concept of citizen throughout this dissertation.

Reconceptualizing Social Justice

There are differing conceptions of social justice. At its most broad understanding, social justice is the concern for equality and freedom in society (Reisch, 2002); however, the multifaceted nature of the concept has created tension among competing ideas regarding a pragmatic approach to addressing these concerns. The concept of social justice is often undertheorized in education literature, although scholars have more recently sought to illuminate how inequalities are produced, reproduced, and resisted through educational policies and pedagogies (Cazden, 2012; Gewirtz, 1998). Due to the complexity in defining the concept of social justice, it is important to narrow down an operational definition to better understand the

terminology as referenced in this work. To preface, it is important to acknowledge that composing a definitive conceptualization of social justice is a continuous, evolving, and complex process, as it is situated in concrete social and political practices (Young, 1990) and rooted in the experiences of the very society that seeks to define it.

Historically, the concept of social justice focused primarily on the economic redistribution of material and non-material goods (Rawls, 1971; Reisch, 2002; Young, 1990). This included a fair distribution of wealth and income as well as non-tangible goods such as power, opportunity, and the rights and duties entitled to those living in a cooperative society (Gewirtz, 1998; Miller, 1978). This was based on the presupposition that all citizens had the capacities to enable them to be "fully cooperating members of society" (Rawls, 1993, p. 20). While a broad consensus throughout the 20th century agreed that a distributional dimension of social justice was necessary (Reisch, 2002), others argued that the theory eliminated room for discussions concerning power and the domination and oppression of social groups and ignored the social structures and institutional context that often help determine distributive patterns. It failed to answer questions of decision-making that attend to "what gets distributed, how it gets distributed, who distributes, and what the distributive outcome is" (Young, 1990, p. 20), a conversation necessary in the pursuit of social justice that seeks to include more equal participation of non-dominant social groups. Another criticism suggested that the theory was too economically structured, problematically reducing concepts like power and opportunity to matters of distribution (Gewirtz, 1998), which Young (1990) argued were characterized by human relationships and could not be treated as static things to be traded, exchanged, and distributed. A theory of social justice required a wider scope that also considered the complex nature of human relationships.

A relational theory of social justice considered the role that culture played in the redistribution of privileges and burdens in society (Fraser, 1995; Gewirtz, 1998; Young, 1990). It allowed scholars to theorize about issues of power and how social injustices were embedded in unintentional, dominant cultural practices that "lie as the normal background of our liberal democratic society" (Young, 1990, p. 152) through everyday social interactions and as mediated by institutions such as the state and market (Gewirtz, 1998). A relational theory of social justice complicated the theory of distribution as it acknowledged that the symbolic meanings that people attached to culture and the oppression of unconscious cultural assumptions and stereotypes affected social status and opportunity (Young, 1990). A recognition of culture as a central aspect of social justice would strive to include those systemically denied full participation in civic life, requiring historical and contemporary examinations of both group privilege and oppression (Fraser, 1995). Furthermore, it would promote equality and respect among social and cultural group differences, advocating for cultural pluralism as opposed to assimilation (Young, 1990). Thus, any theory of social justice should examine both distributional and relational aspects, as the two are mutually connected.

For the purposes of this study, I employ an operational definition using Lynch and Baker's (2005) framework for an equality of condition, which synthesized both distributional and relational aspects of social justice and is rooted in the belief that all people should have equal prospects for a good life.

> If equality of condition were adopted as an objective, it would involve the development of an egalitarian society which would be committed to equality in the living conditions of all members of society (both citizens and non-citizens) taking due account of their heterogeneity be it arising from gender, ethnicity, disability,

religion, age, sexual orientation or any other attribute…. it would involve the equalization of wealth, power, and privilege. It would mean having substantial equality in working conditions, job satisfaction and income across different occupations; an educational system devoted to developing equally the potentials of every member of society; a radically democratic politics which aimed at the equal participation and influence of all citizens; and a restructuring of family and personal life for the sake of enriching the personal relationships of every individual (p. 24).

The concept of social justice reflects this operational definition throughout the study.

To synthesize, democracy, citizenship, and social justice are essential philosophical constructs that provide the foundation for critical citizenship education. However, each has been reconceptualized beyond more traditional definitions to support a democratic republic that is collectively reconstructed in ways that alleviate domination and oppression, while improving the quality of life by – and for – all of its citizens. The next section provides a historic backdrop of citizenship education in order to better support a framework for critical citizenship education within the current social, economic, and political context.

Traditions of Citizenship Education

The development of democratic citizens is, arguably, at the heart of public education (Dewey, 1916; Lybarger, 1991). However, determining the essential civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions with which to ground citizenship pedagogy has been an ambiguous endeavor. Westheimer and Kahne (2004) asked a vital question underpinning contemporary citizenship education, "What kind of citizen do we need to support an effective democratic society?" (p. 239). The answer to this question has evolved with ideological shifts and changes to the social, economic, and political context. Citizenship education goals in the United States have typically

been rooted in two political traditions: civic republicanism and political liberalism. Historic events such as World Wars I and II influenced strong waves of patriotism and national loyalty, and citizenship education was rooted in a civic republican philosophy characterized by a strong commitment to community and the common good. The postmodern era and the Vietnam War gave rise to competing philosophies for citizenship education as educational models rooted in political liberalism placed more prominence on autonomy through the preservation of individual liberties and advocated for cultural pluralism with the belief that all citizens merit respect and reserve the right to choose their own civic ideals (Bellamy, 2008; Kaestle, 2000). Both traditions have served different purposes throughout history in society. Civic republicanism has offered a sense of cohesiveness in a diverse nation and has been especially prominent in schools following political crises, such as 9/11. Political liberalism, on the other hand, has promoted a greater sense of cultural diversity and individual autonomy, and has arguably dominated models of citizenship education during the 21st century (Knight Abowitz & Harnish, 2006). Still, both civic visions, which continue to shape citizenship education in the United States, fail to address a critical dimension of what it means to be a citizen. Knight Abowitz and Harnish (2006) proclaimed that "much of our schooling in citizenship fails to reflect the continuing struggles of democratic politics" (p. 657), as it omits "the civic tensions and conflicts that spring from racial, ethnic, class, or gender divisions and hierarchies" (p. 660). A more critical model of citizenship education treats democracy as an evolving entity and emphasizes the need to continuously reconstruct society in the face of domination and oppression in order to ensure a more equal and just society for all citizens.

A Framework for Critical Citizenship Education

Critical citizenship education advocates for students' development of civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions that empower them to understand and engage with the underlying causes of social problems in a multicultural society (DeJaeghere, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011). Critical citizenship education is framed by principles of critical theory that "begin with the premise that men and women are essentially unfree and inhabit a world rife of contradictions and asymmetries of power and privilege" (McLaren, 2003, p. 193), and supports a discourse of social transformation and emancipation in schools. When applied to the school context, critical theory serves as the foundation for critical pedagogy, which is "fundamentally tied to a struggle for a qualitatively better life for all through the construction of a society based on nonexploitative relations and social justice" (McLaren, 2003, p. 194). Critical pedagogy seeks to engage youth in meaningful conversations regarding the interrelationships between power and privilege in society and the link to class, race, and gender issues (Giroux, 1980), while empowering them to become agents of change. A framework for critical citizenship argues against preparing youth to maintain the existing sociopolitical system, and instead encourages them to grapple with the complexities of what it means to be a citizen, to "develop new meanings of civic membership and participation, while critiquing the ways in which citizenship has not been developed, either historically or in the present, around democratic principles of freedom, equality, and justice" (DeJaeghere, 2009, p. 227). As DeJaeghere (2009) argued, this does not mean that traditional perceptions of citizenship should be disregarded but rather analyzed, critiqued, and explored through multiple perspectives, allowing for new and differing constructions of what it means to be a citizen.

Summary

Throughout time, citizenship education in the United States has prioritized civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions that sought to maintain the current democratic structure rather than to transform it, which fails to reflect the ongoing struggle of democratic politics (Knight Abowitz & Harnish, 2006). Fostering a more critical citizenry requires the reconceptualization of democracy, citizenship and citizen, and social justice beyond traditional definitions and as collectively reconstructed in ways that alleviate domination and oppression, while improving the quality of life for all its citizens (see Figure 1). The following figure illustrates the relationship among these three concepts in support of critical citizenship education. This conceptual framework provides a lens through which I perceive and ground my research and will guide my analysis and interpretation of the data.
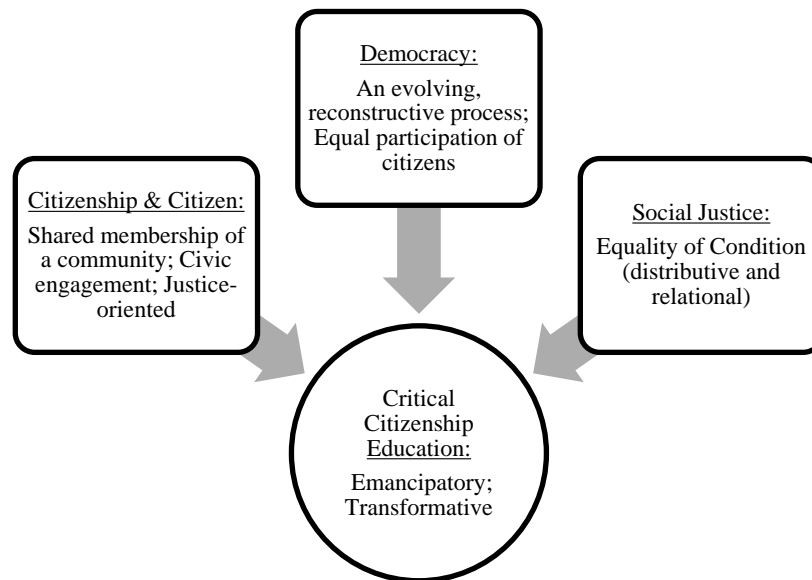
Figure 1: A Conceptual Framework for Critical Citizenship Education

Review of Relevant Literature

The following sections of this chapter review relevant literature in order to synthesize studies in the field as it pertains to my research and to build the case for the necessity of this work. I begin the review with the broader concept of identity as a basis for understanding both teacher identity and preservice teacher civic identity and follow with an analysis of the empirical work that explores how teaching identities are developed in preservice teacher education. The subsequent sections highlight the role of civic identity in the teaching of citizenship education and examine how preservice teachers understand the concepts of citizenship and citizen and construct elements of more critical civic identities through particular learning experiences in teacher education. I conclude with a justification for how the current study contributes to and advances the field.

Identity Development

Identity development is a complex process. Rooted in a psychosocial tradition (Erikson, 1963; Erikson, 1970), identity development is concerned with how the social world impacts the psychological makeup of each individual. Identity, or how one situates his or herself in relationship to numerous discourses in society, (McLean, Pasupathi, & Pals, 2007) is not something that one achieves, but rather cultivates with continued experiences in the social world. It is a process that is not static or fixed, but continuously evolving (Erikson, 1970; MacLure, 1993). People construct identities depending on the different social interactions in which they engage, including their relationships with people and groups, and their experiences with institutions in society. This means that a person develops many identities throughout a lifetime (Beijaard, Meijer, & Verloop, 2004). Identity is the way that people understand their own individual experiences and how they act and identify with various groups (MacLure, 1993;

Sachs, 2005); however, MacLure (1993) suggested that identity should not be perceived as something that one has, but rather as "something they use, to justify, explain, and make sense of themselves in relation to other people, and to the contexts in which they operate" (p. 312). The construction of identity is a slow and temporal process and they evolve over time with one's continued experiences in the social world. Teacher education programs are one context in which identity is constructed.

Teacher Identity Development

Teacher is one identity that many embody. Through the development of a teacher identity, educators come to understand "how to be, how to act, and how to understand their work as teachers" (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009, p. 178). However, a teacher identity is more than behavior, alone. It is a way of being, a sense of self constructed by a person. It impacts how individuals perceive and express themselves as teachers in classrooms, and consequently, how others understand them as teachers (Beijarrd et al., 2004; Connelly, Clandinin, & He, 1997; Danielewicz, 2001; Korthagen, 2004). This includes people at the local level such as administrators and community members, but also the larger societal expectations of what it means to be a teacher. A teaching identity evolves over time and is constructed in a variety of personal and professional social contexts, including teacher education programs.

Undergraduate education is a critical time for the identity development of preservice teachers and should provide opportunities for them to construct, negotiate, reconstruct, and renegotiate their identities in different contexts (Alsup, 2006; Danielewicz, 2001). Experiences that foster the identity development of preservice teachers should be rooted with the premise that identities of any kind are never finished or complete, but rather, that they are continuous works in progress that evolve and shift with one's personal and professional experiences. Additionally,

teacher education programs should not foster a single construction of a teacher identity but should welcome and encourage diverse and more pluralist notions in preservice teachers' understandings of what it means to be a teacher (Weber & Mitchell, 1995). Learning exercises and activities used to facilitate this process should expand on teaching instructional methods and assigning lesson reflections to include rich and open discourse that encourages dialogic, reflexive, and agentic discussion (Danielewicz, 2001). Teacher educators should be willing to share their own challenges in developing professional identities and create learning environments that encourage preservice teachers to work through their vulnerabilities in productive ways.

Furthermore, as preservice teachers work through the messy, complex, and lifelong process of developing a teacher identity, they should self-reflect on their roles within the larger institution of school and examine how their educational philosophies may or may not be consistent with traditional social norms (Connelly & Clandinin, 1999; Danielewicz, 2001; Flores & Day, 2006; Kelchtermans & Ballet, 2002). Sometimes these conflict, causing teachers to feel tension between personal expectations and professional obligations. Encouraging and facilitating preservice teachers as they wrestle with such tensions can help them learn how to navigate professional expectations with their own experiences, values, and priorities that inevitably impact their teaching practices.

Teacher Identity Development and Preservice Teacher Education

Existing research has explored a number of dimensions in the developing professional identities of preservice teachers in the attempt to understand their evolving perceptions of teaching and learning (Lutova & Kaasila, 2011; odriguez & Cho, 2011). One common thread among the findings suggested that preservice teachers' willingness and confidence to teach particular subjects using newly learned instructional methods was partially a result of their

previous experiences in schools (Lutova & Kaasila, 2011; Sieger, 2016). For example, the

negative perceptions about teaching and learning mathematics held by preservice teachers in

Lutova and Kaasila's (2011) study stemmed from challenges they had experienced in the public-

school system. This was similar for the preservice teachers in Rodriguez and Cho's (2011)

research who reflected on their experiences of marginalization as immigrant students and English

language learners in high school. Their stories demonstrated a commitment to teaching in ways

that refrained from reducing student identities to negative labels, such as "minority" or "non-

native", that impact how they are perceived by others (p. 499). These studies highlight the impact

of personal experiences on the development of a teaching identity.

In several studies, preservice teachers initially described teaching using authoritative

language and/or drawings; however, their perceptions evolved following experiences

intentionally focused on identity development in teacher education courses (Mensah, 2011;

Phillips & Carr, 2007). This finding supports the literature that suggests identities evolve over

time through one's social experiences. This was evidenced in the study of Phillips and Carr

(2007) as the preservice teachers and instructors shared dialogue journals to challenge

assumptions and to document the evolution of their thinking over the course of the semester. One

preservice teacher found that her initial assumptions about teaching study skill techniques were

challenged as the goals for the lesson evolved to include a more inquiry-based approach. Phillips

and Carr (2007) stated, "this required transformation on Kate's part… and it appears to be a

beginning towards developing a critical stance in teaching" (p. 569). Similarly, in a science

methods course, Mensah (2011) found that the participants' drawings of the *ideal* science teacher

had transformed to include more non-traditional images, such as the teacher as a facilitator rather

than as an authoritative figure, the cultural diversity of students, and more female representation.

This research illuminates the potential to disrupt more traditional assumptions that preservice teachers may possess regarding teaching and learning, an important finding as teacher educators seek to expand preservice teachers' more traditional perceptions of what it means to be a citizen and a teacher of citizenship education.

Civic Identity Development

A civic identity is developed through one's knowledge of and engagement in a community, as well as through the adoption of civic dispositions such as justice and the protection of individual liberties (Atkins & Hart, 2003). These elements of civic identity development contribute to one's sense of belonging and sense of responsibility to a community (Kirshner, 2009) and shapes the individual efficacy by which an individual believes he or she can impact political change (Levinson, 2012). Throughout the ongoing and evolving process of developing a civic identity, people test differing ideological positions that are either rejected or upheld (Youniss, McLellan, & Yates, 1997) as they come to identify with transcendent values and ideologies (Kirshner, 2007). These values and ideologies shape how people engage in their communities throughout the remainder of their adult lives, which can be problematic if they deter the construction of a more equal and just society. A well-developed civic identity promotes one's "establishment of individual and collective senses of social agency, responsibility for society, and political-moral awareness" (Youniss et. al, 1997, p. 620). Due to the experiential and contextual nature of civic identity development, this implies that individuals must have opportunities to collaborate with others in order to solve community based social problems if society is to embody a more critical citizenry. Educational institutions are one context that can provide powerful opportunities for civic identity development.

Much of what is known about civic identity development in educational settings has been conducted with young people, more recently with those in low-income settings and with youth of color (Kirshner, 2009; Rubin, 2007; Youniss & Hart, 2005). The studies revealed that youth from marginalized groups are more prepared and motivated to engage civically and participate in constructive social change as adults if they engage in opportunities to work collaboratively with peers and adults on relevant social issues (Flanagan & Christens, 2011; Kirshner, 2009; Rubin, 2007; Youniss & Hart, 2005). Such community-based learning opportunities enabled youth to develop the political skills necessary to take civic action, such as organizing meetings, rallies, and developing action plans (Rogers, Mediratta, & Shah, 2012; Youniss & Hart, 2005). However, the key attributes in youth programs that succeeded in empowering their students to take civic action were well-designed programs in which leaders and/or mentors held high expectations and used skillful facilitation (Youniss & Hart, 2005). For example, Kirshner's (2009) study illuminated how adult organizers of a youth civic campaign modeled and coached high school students from low-income settings as they learned to organize opportunities for critical civic engagement. The program goals concentrated on their students' development of sociopolitical awareness and group solidarity as they led discussions, deliberations, and a series of community-based projects. Rubin's (2007) participants shared that many of their justice-oriented perceptions about civic engagement were developed through classroom experiences that engaged them in lessons focused on civil rights, civil processes, and social action including simulations, discussions, and purposeful writing activities. These findings imply that pedagogy designed to engage youth in considering problematic aspects of U.S. society can expand the civic perceptions and efficacy of students, particularly with those from marginalized groups. However,

teachers must possess a commitment to and skillset for teaching more justice-oriented citizenship education.

Teacher Civic Identity and Citizenship Education

Teaching is an inherently political practice (Ginsburg, Kamat, Raghu, & Weaver, 1995; Gutmann, 1999; Hess & McAvoy, 2014; Kincheloe, 2008; Shor, 1992). Described by Keiser (2005) as "stewards of American democracy," teachers prepare youth to participate in the civic life of a rapidly changing and increasingly diverse society (p. 42). Thus, schools serve as political contexts. However, schools are not value neutral. Teachers navigate ideologically driven power relationships within schools and the broader society that impact the curricular and pedagogical decisions that determine how future citizens are educated (Ginsburg et al., 1995; Gutmann, 1999; Hess & McAvoy, 2014). These decisions, from the organization of classrooms to their interactions with students, are a form of political activity (Ginsburg et al., 1995) as they influence the life opportunities of students and help shape how they perceive their future roles in structuring and administering society (Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009). Through teacher pedagogy, engagement with content, and relations with others in the classroom, the school context is a powerful site for the civic identity development of adolescents and young adults (DeJaeghere, 2009; Rubin, 2007).

A substantial literature base has indicated that teachers' pedagogical decisions are influenced by their personal and professional identities (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009; Beijaard, Meijer, & Verloop, 2004; Rodgers & Scott, 2008). This includes civic identity, which means that "citizenship education may be mediated by educators' personal constructions of citizenship" (DeJaeghere, 2008, p. 358). The instructional choices made by teachers when it comes to citizenship education are typically influenced by their own knowledge, beliefs, expectations,

biases, and experiences (Giroux, 1980), and studies have affirmed that preservice teachers

generally perceived the concept of citizen through the lens of civic republicanism and political

liberalism to the exclusion of more critical understandings (Castro, 2013; James & Iverson,

2009). Citizenship education that does not encourage students to question knowledge, society,

and experience tacitly endorses and supports the status quo (Shor, 1992, p. 13), and as a result,

schools often serve as sites for social reproduction, "a process that mediates the social practices

and cultural beliefs necessary to maintain the dominance of certain groups and power structures"

(Giroux, 1980, p. 333). This passive approach counteracts the goals of critical citizenship

education and denies students learning opportunities that prepare and empower them as agents of

change in their communities. Additionally, citizenship education devoid of a critical foundation

sends the message that democracy is fixed, stable, and without need for revision. Giroux (1980)

argued that the first step in reforming citizenship education is to expand the critical

consciousness of educators, "to make educators better informed citizens and more effective

agents for transforming the wider society" (Giroux, 1980, p. 352). Therefore, it is necessary that

researchers seek to understand how teachers develop and enact their civic identities in

educational spaces.

     Civic identity is a dimension of a teacher's professional identity that plays a role in the

teaching of citizenship education (Alviar-Martin, 2011; DeJaeghere, 2008; Obenchain, Balkute,

& Vaughn, 2016). A relatively unexplored construct, the "civic dimension of teacher

professional identity," or the "CDTPI" (Obenchain et al., 2016, p. 258), draws from the literature

in both teacher identity and civic identity development in that it is continuously reconstructed

and renegotiated with one's continued personal and professional civic experiences. In addition,

pulling from both literature bases provides a platform from which scholars can begin to

understand how teachers perceive themselves as civic beings, as well as how their civic identities are enacted in their professional teaching practices (DeJaeghere, 2008; Obenchain et al., 2016). How teachers perceive themselves as citizens and how they engage in civic spaces in their communities can have "tremendous impact on the sorts of citizenship learning experiences students receive… and these conceptualizations may pose barriers" (Patterson, Doppen, & Misco, 2012, p. 204). These barriers are created when teachers limit their students' learning to a singular understanding of what it means to be a citizen. The shift towards a more critical model of citizenship education will require teachers who embody and enact civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions that challenge and disrupt rather than uphold the status quo, and those who provide more intentional learning experiences that problematize the concepts of citizenship and citizen (Patterson et al., 2012), creating a pathway for more critical perceptions.

Although few studies have explored the CDTPI, findings indicated that teachers' civic identities did influence their pedagogical practices (Alviar-Martin, 2011; DeJaeghere, 2008; Obenchain et al., 2016). Two of the studies were conducted in international contexts, which likely contributed to the global and transnational foci of the teachers' instructional decision-making (Alviar-Martin, 2011; DeJaeghere, 2008). In a study conducted by Alviar-Martin (2011), both of the participants admitted that teaching in an international context led them to reflect more on their civic identities and the experiences that shaped them, including travel and their interactions with students and colleagues from diverse settings, problematizing their conceptions of what it means to be a citizen. The disequilibrium experienced by the teachers led to a more critical and nuanced discussion about citizenship with their students as they challenged their students' assumptions by facilitating discussions that questioned dominant notions of what it means to be a citizen. Similarly, Obenchain et al. (2016) also found that an understanding of

teachers' civic identities led to a deeper understanding of how citizenship education was enacted in their classrooms. Both teachers' civic identities were grounded in their engagement with the local community, which shaped a commitment to nurturing similar experiences with their students. Although more research is needed in this area, these studies begin to illuminate the role that a teacher's civic identity plays in the civic experiences of his or her students. This is important research to consider in teacher education programs, a vital context for challenging and expanding preservice teachers' assumptions about what it means to be a citizen as they prepare to teach for citizenship education in future classrooms.

Civic Identity Development and Preservice Teacher Education

Studies of preservice teachers reaffirmed that ideologies informed how they thought about teaching for citizenship education (Castro, 2014; Knowles, 2017; McLean & Truong-White, 2016; Salinas & Castro, 2010). Teachers with particular views of social studies and citizenship education will likely implement instruction consistent with those beliefs (Knowles, 2017, p. 24). While many preservice teachers approached the idea of teaching for citizenship education through a more traditional lens, such as through the use of textbooks (Knowles, 2017), others' ideas evolved to include more active strategies after participating in community-based projects as part of teacher education course work (McLean & Truong-White, 2016). Preservice teachers from diverse cultural backgrounds (Castro, 2014) and those who had personal experiences with discrimination or economic oppression (Salinas & Castro, 2010) included social justice-oriented goals for citizenship education. Understanding how preservice teachers conceptualize the concepts of citizenship and citizen is necessary in shaping meaningful experiences throughout teacher education programs. The following sections analyze empirical work illuminating how preservice teachers have conceptualized what it means to be a citizen as

well as specific instructional methods and learning experiences in teacher education that have

fostered more critical understandings.

Preservice teachers' perceptions of citizenship and what it means to be citizen.

Research indicates that preservice teachers generally perceived the concept of citizen through a

more traditional, civic republican lens. One major trend found by scholars is that preservice

teachers deemed patriotism and national loyalty to be strong indicators of what it means to be a

good citizen (Castro, 2013; Chiodo, Martin, & Worthington, 2010; Doppen, Feinberg,

O'Mahoney, Lucas, Bohan, Lipscomb & Ogawa, 2011). For example, preservice teachers in a

study conducted by Doppen et al. (2011) reflected on their experiences taking the U.S.

citizenship naturalization test and most agreed that knowing the laws, speaking standard English,

and being patriotic and loyal to the U.S. were of the most important characteristics of good

citizens. This finding is not a surprise, considering that most models of citizenship education in

the U.S. have continued to reflect this political philosophy. When asked whether or not the

preservice teachers believed the test, which omitted any questions related to social equality,

represented what every immigrant should know about the U.S., 59% of them agreed (Doppen et

al., 2011). Similarly, Chiodo et al. (2010) found that preservice teachers thought about

citizenship in more traditional ways as they believed that reciting the pledge "helped lay the

foundation for future citizenship…. [by] transmitting shared values of loyalty, respect,

patriotism, and common beliefs to future generations" (Chiodo et al., 2010, p. 48). Castro (2013)

also found that a majority of the preservice teachers in his study held civic world views that

valued community, harmony, and peace above civic engagement that evokes conflict and

tension. In these studies, the preservice teachers characterized citizenship primarily as one's

loyalty and commitment to the democratic republic, as is. Any consideration of injustice or the

need for social change that extends the rights and opportunities of all citizens was largely omitted.

Others found that preservice teachers' perceptions reflected a political liberalism tradition as they defined citizenship as an entitlement to rights and/or a commitment to responsibilities (James & Iverson, 2009; Iverson & James, 2013). For example, a preservice teacher in James and Iverson's (2009) study stated, "Citizenship is freedom in the U.S… having rights as a U.S. citizen, respecting the rights and responsibilities of others, their property, and the law, and keeping our town, state, and country safe and clean" (p. 40). This finding makes sense as it reflects the civic characteristics of Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) personally-responsible citizen, which is the type of citizen found to be most prevalent in today's classrooms. In studies conducted by Martin (2012) and O'Brien and Smith (2011), the preservice teachers shared similar ideas about what it means to be a citizen as they emphasized following laws, voting, and paying taxes. Additionally, they highlighted more participatory civic engagement such as volunteering (Martin, 2012; O'Brien & Smith, 2011). While the preservice teachers in both studies suggested civic actions that help to maintain the existing democratic system, they did not raise concerns regarding social inequalities such as the implementation of unjust laws or by questioning how institutional structures in society may contribute to the lack of rights for certain individuals and groups, or to the need for volunteering. O'Brien and Smith (2011) concurred that their preservice teachers portrayed very little evidence of critical thinking, and that only five percent suggested that citizens should critique the actions and policies implemented by the U.S. government. Again, they perceived the democratic system as an unwavering entity. It never occurred to them that they could use democracy to transform the system if the system did not work in favor of all citizens.

Additional studies highlighted how preservice teachers thought about citizenship as one's consumption of knowledge and meritocratic ideals (Castro, 2013; Marri, Luna, Cormier, & Keegan, 2014; Tupper, 2007). Preservice teachers in a study conducted by Marri et al. (2014) emphasized that a strong knowledge base of governmental systems including past history, laws, leaders, and the justice system was crucial for civic engagement. Preservice teachers interviewed by Tupper (2007) in their third year of a teacher education program characterized good citizens as having the ability to succeed in a competitive educational environment, and more specifically, that good citizens passed standardized exams and earned high school diplomas. Tupper (2007) related their perceptions to a game in the U.S. as she stated, "As with many games, there are rules, winners, and losers, but in this game, it is the winners who will be held up as exemplars of good citizenship" (p. 268). None of the participants considered the powerful role that society has in shaping how the rules of the game render or inhibit success for different individuals or social groups in society.

Some studies found that preservice teachers' with more traditional understandings of what it means to be a citizen evolved over time (Iverson & James, 2013; James & Iverson, 2009; Mathews & Dilworth, 2008). This finding is consistent with research in identity development, and more particularly, civic identity development, that highlights how civic identities evolve through continued experiences in one's communities. In Mathews and Dilworth's (2008) work, preservice teachers, who originally perceived a good citizen strictly as law-abiding, later emphasized the importance of world awareness and the right to protest as they participated in a semester-long course designed to address issues of multicultural citizenship and foster critical discussions and self-reflections abut citizenship. One preservice teacher articulated that "social action was a goal of social studies and developed a plan for incorporating this into her [future]

classroom instruction" (Mathews & Dilworth, 2008, p. 368), though many of the students still admitted to being reluctant about implementing this model of citizenship education in their future classrooms. A study conducted by James and Iverson (2009) also indicated that preservice teachers' understandings of citizenship had expanded. While their preservice teachers offered similar descriptions of citizenship as national loyalty, they revised their understandings to include action and knowledge as essential civic characteristics after engaging in a semester of service-learning. Although many of the preservice teachers' perceptions about citizenship and citizen examined in the current literature base demonstrated more non-critical understandings, intentional learning experiences have the potential to expand their civic world views. The next section will explore different types of learning experiences that foster more critical perceptions about citizenship and what it means to be a citizen in teacher education.

   Learning experiences that foster critical perceptions about citizenship and citizen. Scholars have argued that learning experiences in teacher education should foster some level of discomfort in order to encourage transformative learning (Baily & Katradis, 2016; Baily, Stribling, & McGowan, 2014; Berger, 2004; Ohito, 2016; Smolcic & Arends, 2017; Zembylas, 2015). A "pedagogy of discomfort" acknowledges that discomforting feelings are valuable in challenging dominant beliefs, social habits, and normative practices that sustain inequities (Zembylas, 2015, p. 170). While some teacher education programs have considered it safer to focus on strategies and content rather than encourage preservice teachers to confront issues of power, privilege, and injustice, learning experiences that generated feelings of discomfort created openings for individual and social transformation (Berger, 2004; Ohito, 2016; Smolcic & Arends, 2017; Zembylas, 2015). Preservice teachers who engaged in learning experiences that pushed them to "the edge" (Baily et al., 2014, p. 258) of knowing and comfort revisited their

beliefs about fairness and equity, built cultural self-awareness, and some questioned larger social

structures or systemic inequalities (Ohito, 2016; Smolcic & Arends, 2017), all of which are

essential characteristics of more critical citizens. The type of experiences that have fostered such

feelings included preservice teachers' examination of critical social issues, analysis of culture

and identity, and participation in social action and service-learning projects. One such experience

required preservice teachers, who self-reported to have more privileged backgrounds, to work

with high school students in a school where many experienced significant social challenges such

as drug addiction, murder, incarceration, and others. As a result, a majority of the preservice

teachers believed the unfamiliar and significant cross-cultural experience to inform more socially

just views about teaching and learning after having felt dismay at both the social and academic

barriers experienced by their students (Whipp, 2013). The following sections illuminate

experiences in teacher education that urge preservice teachers beyond levels of comfort;

however, a more explicit focus on how they understood such discomfort to impact their

understanding is still needed.

A number of studies have explored learning experiences that engaged preservice teachers

in the examination of critical social issues (James & Iverson, 2009; Porfilio & Malott, 2011;

Salinas, Vickery, & Franquiz, 2016; Stenhouse, 2012). Through an intensive study of hip-hop

artists, Porfilio & Malott's (2011) preservice teachers began to understand the concept of social

stratification as a "byproduct of economic and social systems that operate to serve the interests of

the political and economic elite, rather than as a consequence of an individual's lack of effort or

a cultural group's deficiency" (p. 76). In response to the content of the course, several students

admitted that they felt compelled to revamp society inside and outside of the school classroom

(Porfilio & Malott, 2011). To address the concept of hunger, Stenhouse (2012) invited a guest

speaker from the local food bank to speak to her preservice teachers about the political, social, and economic systems that influence hunger, along with a variety of transformational ways that hunger can be addressed. This required preservice teachers to think about how to address the root cause of such an issue in more critical ways that volunteering. Similarly, James and Iverson's (2009) participants engaged in inquiry-based learning in order to explore how the state of homelessness is often caused. They declared, "Their research helped to open their eyes to the everyday circumstances leading to homelessness and how particular values and structures help to sustain these circumstances" (James & Iverson, 2009, p. 36). Preservice teachers engaged in learning experiences that provided opportunities to discuss critical social issues felt a sense of commitment to act on those issues, a finding that needs further exploring.

Learning experiences that engaged preservice teachers in the analysis of their own cultural identities, assumptions, and values sought to foster a more critical understanding of civic elements such as multiculturalism, social positioning, and agency (Carrington & Selva, 2010; Kayi-Aydar, 2015; Layne & Lipponen, 2016; Sassi, Lajimodiere, Bertolini, & Ketterling, 2012; Sharma, Phillion, & Malewski, 2011; Silverman, 2010; Ukpokodu, 2011). Most of the preservice teachers studied fit the national profile as racially white and in the middle-class socioeconomic level, and they held ingrained traditional beliefs and understandings about people in society (Carrington & Selva, 2010; Castro, 2010). Over a decade of research conducted by Ukpokodu (2011) indicated that most students described themselves as cultureless and were unaware of their racial identities. However, some learning experiences fostered preservice teachers' awareness of their own cultural identities (Settlage, 2010), their reconsideration about identity and its impact on opportunity (Carrington & Selva, 2010), and many acknowledged that their preassumptions about diverse cultural groups were inaccurate (Sharma, Phillion, & Malewski,

2011; Silverman, 2010). Furthermore, the participants in Layne and Lipponen's (2016) work

analyzed how teaching reinforced the social hierarchy; however, most did not feel compelled to

act after witnessing racist behaviors in the classroom. These are important understandings in

fostering more critical civic identity construction in teacher education.

Empirical research also suggests that actively involving preservice teachers in social

action projects and/or service-learning expands their perceptions of citizen and citizenship

education (Daly, Devlin-Scherer, Burroughs, & McCartan, 2010; Green, Medina-Jerez, &

Bryant, 2016; James & Iverson, 2009; Milligan & Ragland, 2013; Stenhouse, 2012). Daly et al.

(2010) studied preservice teachers who implemented community-based projects that fostered

collective problem solving with students of marginalized populations. The experience resulted in

positive civic outcomes that demonstrated the preservice teachers' commitment to teaching about

social issues and an openness toward teaching in settings where students are faced with more

social challenges than others. Similarly, Stenhouse (2012) found that engaging preservice

teachers in service learning projects led to a greater understanding of decision-making,

community needs, and how to solve issues of concern. Other studies that emphasized service

learning for preservice teachers found an increased understanding of societal issues and an

awareness of how particular structures help to sustain such circumstances (James & Iverson,

2009). Following the completion of their study, James and Iverson (2009) stated, "students

moved from predominantly thinking about citizenship as a personally responsible endeavor,

emphasizing individual responsibility and demonstrating good character, to the inclusion of

action and knowledge as essential components" (p. 41). These studies reveal the potential for

preservice teachers to expand their perceptions about citizenship beyond personally responsible

civic engagement when they participate in learning experiences that actively engage them in

community based problem-solving. Preservice teachers considered the concepts of citizenship and citizen in more critical ways when immersed in contexts that illuminated the impact of privilege and oppression in some communities. While these types of learning experiences challenge preservice teachers' more traditional perceptions, it is also important that they practice teaching for critical citizenship as well.

Few studies exist that explore how preservice teachers connected more critical theories of pedagogy and citizenship education with classroom praxis. In a course designed for critical multiculturalism, preservice teachers from more culturally diverse backgrounds participated in a field experience in which they were encouraged to implement instructional strategies, such as historical thinking and the use of counter narratives, that fostered more critical understandings of content (Castro, 2014). As a result, Castro (2014) argued that field experience lessons and the teaching practices of professors must align. Additionally, preservice teachers in Payne's study (2017), also participated in a field experience that provided spaces to learn and practice critical democracy with a mentor teacher committed to social justice-oriented pedagogy. Payne (2017), too, contended that preservice teachers should connect their understanding of critical theory with praxis by applying their learning through university course work to the teaching of lessons in actual classrooms. Much more work is needed to understand how preservice teachers understand and enact these theory and praxis connections.

Summary

A review of the literature illuminated the complexity of identity development and the impact of teacher education in the identity construction of preservice teachers. It revealed the role of civic identity in the teaching of citizenship education and synthesized empirical work that explored how preservice teachers understood the concepts of citizenship and citizen. Preservice

teachers generally perceived citizenship in more traditional, personally-responsible ways; however, a number of learning experiences in teacher education such as experiencing feelings of discomfort, the critical analyses of identity and culture, as well as social action and service-learning projects were found to have fostered more critical understandings of what it means to be a citizen. This study builds on the existing work by contributing a deeper understanding of the types of experiences in teacher education that foster more critical civic identity development. It seeks to fill a gap by examining learning experiences in teacher education through the perspectives of preservice teachers who embody more critical civic identities, as this is a voice substantially unexplored in the current literature.

Research Question

This study aimed to answer the following question to explore how learning experiences in teacher education foster more critical civic identity development, particularly through the perspectives of preservice teachers who embody more critical civic identities.

1. How do preservice teachers make sense of their experiences in teacher education in relationship to their ongoing civic identity development as more critical citizens?

CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

At any given moment all over the world hundreds of millions of people will be engaged in what is one of the most familiar of all forms of human activity. In one way or another they will have their attention focused on mental images which we call a story. We spend a phenomenal amount of our lives following stories: telling them; listening to them; reading them; watching them being acted out on the television screen or in films or on the stage. They are far and away the most important feature of our everyday existence (Booker, 2006, p. 2).

Introduction

As researchers, we make methodological decisions regarding the design best suited to help us answer different types of questions. These complex decisions are influenced by the paradigms and theories that shape how we perceive the world in which we live. Additionally, the research questions that we seek to explore and understand drive strategic methods regarding the types of data to collect, how to analyze the data, and the most meaningful form of representation to share our final interpretations. A well-executed research study requires a strategic, comprehensive, and coherent methodological framework.

Qualitative research is comprised of a number of elements that work in tandem to inform and connect one another, while providing both a guiding framework and strategic action plan for the study. These elements are not employed in a linear, but rather, in a discursive fashion, a back-and-forth process, in which each part of the design interacts, influencing all of the others (Maxwell, 2005). Qualitative inquiry begins with an issue that needs to be addressed. The researcher determines certain methods, such as interviews or surveys, that will aid in obtaining a

deeper understanding of the issue. Simultaneously, theoretical constructs guide the choices of the researcher, as she grounds the methodology of the study in philosophical ideas that shape how she perceives and interprets the research phenomena.

In this chapter, I detail each element of the research design. I begin by revisiting the research question while grounding it in qualitative inquiry. Second, I explain how the design is rooted in paradigmatic and theoretical orientations. Next, I justify the use of narrative inquiry as research methodology and I provide detailed explanations of data collection and analysis procedures. I conclude the chapter by addressing issues of validity and establishing trustworthiness within my work.

Addressing the Research Question

Throughout the first two chapters, I illuminated the need for critical citizenship in a democratic society and the reality that public schools generally prepare youth for more traditional roles as citizens. I built the argument that teacher education programs play a crucial role in preparing preservice teachers to teach for critical citizenship, and therefore, must provide learning experiences that contribute to their civic identity construction as more critical citizens. Thus, this study sought to explore how preservice teachers' experiences in teacher education contributed to their ongoing civic identity development as more critical citizens by investigating the following question:

1. How do preservice teachers make sense of their experiences in teacher education in relationship to their ongoing civic identity development as more critical citizens?

Due to the nature of the research question, this study assumed a qualitative approach. Denzin and Lincoln (2011) defined qualitative inquiry as, "a set of interpretive, material

practices that make the world visible" (p. 3). They allow the researcher to explore situations, experiences, and actions through methods that rely on more descriptive modes, such as interviews, observations, and field notes that elicit rich and contextual descriptions and provide greater depth of understanding (Patton, 2002). Furthermore, qualitative studies are well suited for understanding how participants make sense of experiences they engage in, as well as how these experiences are also shaped by the individuality of the participant (Maxwell, 2005). For this particular study, the participants shared the meanings they constructed through their experiences in teacher education as they related to their identities as more critical citizens. Thus, a qualitative approach is appropriate for this research.

Paradigm and Theoretical Framework

Researchers approach their work through a paradigm. Like a lens, a paradigm influences how one views and perceives the world. It is a set of beliefs and feelings about how the world should be understood and studied (Guba, 1990) and provides a framework that guides the researcher's specific strategies of inquiry and accompanying methods for collecting and analyzing data (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). This study operated from a critical constructivist lens, a critical, interpretive stance that builds on the following constructivist ideas: 1) that knowledge is a social construction, and 2) that there are multiple ways of knowing and understanding the world.

Critical Constructivism

Critical constructivism helps build a bridge between constructivism and critical theory to provide a more nuanced way of exploring the social construction of knowledge within the power structures that impact how it is constructed. Critical constructivism seeks to foster the critical

consciousness of the researcher and the researched as they explore and co-construct how human identities and lived experiences are "shaped by entanglements in the webs that power weaves" (Kincheloe, 2005, p. 22). Like constructivism, it is rooted in the assumption that there is no truly objective way of understanding the world and that knowledge exists only through its construction and interpretation by human beings with different vantage points and perspectives. However, it seeks to unveil the role that power plays in such constructions and how such processes help privilege some people but marginalize others (Bentley, 2009; Kincheloe, 2005). Approaching one's research through this lens "involves an ability to step back from the world as we are accustomed to perceiving it and to see the ways our perception is constructed via linguistic codes, cultural signs, race, class, gender and sexual ideologies, and often other hidden modes of power" (Kincheloe, 2005, p. 11). To do this work, the researcher assumes the position that knowledge is socially constructed but concedes that such knowledge is socially and historically situated within a societal hierarchy of power. Thus, I employed the notion of critical constructivism as the paradigmatic foundation for the methodology of this study as it enabled me to draw from the key principles of both constructivism and critical theory.

Critical Citizenship Education

In addition, I utilized a framework for critical citizenship education as a theoretical lens for investigating how preservice teachers perceived experiences in teacher education to contribute to the ongoing construction of their civic identities as more critical citizens. Rooted in the principles of critical theory and critical pedagogy, critical citizenship education provides opportunities for learners to examine historical and contemporary social issues and trends of social inequalities through multiple perspectives as they learn to work collectively with diverse others in proposing and acting on solutions.

I synthesized the literature of scholars in the field of critical citizenship education to design an analytic framework organized by three major tenets of citizenship – knowledge, skills, and dispositions (Johnson & Morris, 2011). I used the analytic framework (see Table 1) to guide participant recruitment and my analysis and interpretation of the data. I revised the model from the second chapter of this dissertation to build on the conceptual framework (see Figure 2) and extend critical citizenship education to denote clearly identifiable characteristics of critical citizenship as rooted in the reconceptualization of democracy, citizenship, and social justice.
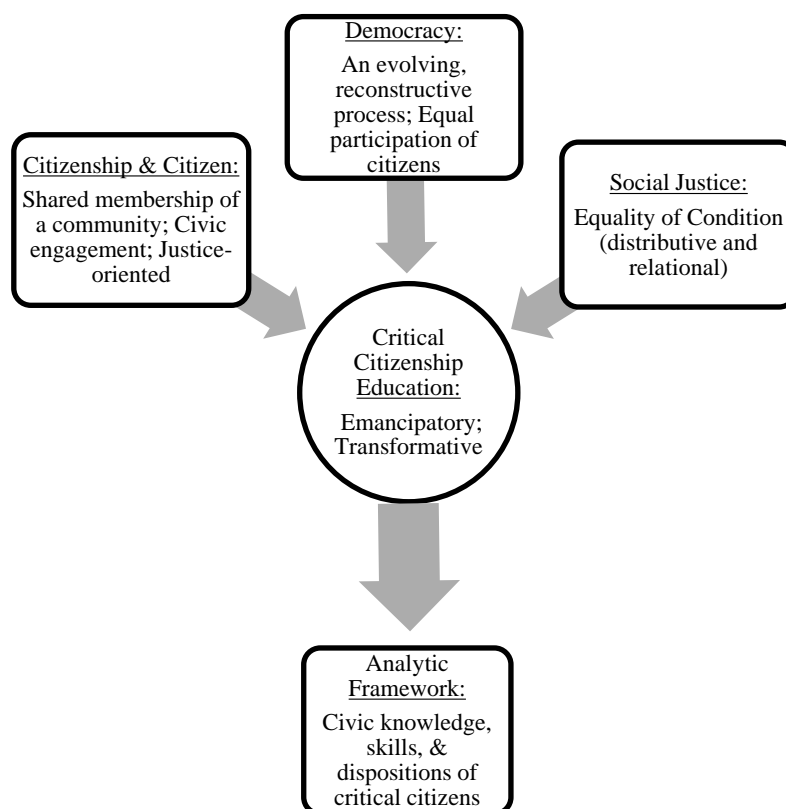
Figure 2: Connection Between Analytic and Conceptual Framework

Table 1: Analytic Framework – Civic Knowledge, Skills, & Dispositions of Critical Citizens

Knowledge	Skills	Dispositions
Critiques historical and contemporary constructs of citizenship and democracy; Constructs alternative, non-traditional definitions (DeJaeghere, 2009; Giroux, 1980; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009)	Engages with diverse others, including those typically marginalized, around contested social issues (DeJaeghere, 2009; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011)	Holds emotional connections to those different from him/her self; Embraces individual differences and multiple group identities (DeJaeghere, 2009; Giroux, 1980; Johnson & Morris, 2011; Wade, 2003)
Understands positionality; Critically reflects on one's own position in society (Bell, 2016; DeJaeghere, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011; May & Sleeter, 2010)	Analyzes social issues and patterns of social inequality; Addresses exclusions based on gender, culture, ethnicity, nationality, race, sexuality, or socioeconomic status (DeJaeghere, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004)	Holds commitment to challenge social injustices (Girous, 1980; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011; Knight, Abowitz, & Harnish, 2006)
Critiques master narratives of society; Understands cultural histories and forms of knowledge of non-mainstream peoples (DeJaeghere, 2009; Giroux, 1980; Johnson & Morris, 2011; Knight, Abowitz & Harnish, 2006)	Challenges the status quo; Seeks to transform power relations (Adams, 2016; DeJaeghere, 2009; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011)	Commitment to transform society in ways that extend equal rights and opportunities to all citizens (DeJaeghere, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011; Knight, Abowitz, & Harnish)
Understands the interplay of social, economic, and political forces; Understands how individuals and groups resist and negotiate societal relations (Giroux, 1980; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004)	Takes action upon structures of domination; Disrupts patterns of social inequality (Giroux, 1980; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011)	

Methods

Narrative Inquiry as Methodology

The methodology of this qualitative study is rooted in narrative theory, which starts from the assumption that one's mental capacities and dispositions are rooted in narrative experiences (Herman, 2013). Narrative theory has crossed disciplinary lines as scholars in the fields of psychology, anthropology, and others have grounded their research methods in this theory with the premise that stories can be used to make sense of human experiences (Herman, 2013). Stories, which Polkinghorne (1995) defined as sets of narratives combined into successive, unified episodes, provide ways to explain human action and human intentionality, including one's beliefs, desires, values, and actions, and they help people make sense of the world around them (Bruner, 1990). Our everyday lived experiences are comprised of stories. Indeed, human beings are "storytelling animal[s]" (MacIntyre, 1981, p. 216), as we live out and understand our lives through narratives. Hardy (1968) also illuminated how one's life is characterized by narratives as she asserted, "we dream in narrative, day-dream in narrative, remember, anticipate, hope, despair, believe, doubt, plan, revise, criticize, construct, gossip, learn, hate, and love by narrative" (p. 5). Additionally, psychologists have argued that people develop narrative identities, defined by Singer (2004) as one's construction of an evolving and integrative story of life, in which a person synthesizes episodic memories with envisioned goals. Thus, stories contribute to one's evolving development of self-concept and identity (McAdams & McLean, 2013; McLean, Pasupathi, & Pals, 2007). This study was conducted with the premises that, 1) Narratives allow researchers to understand human experiences; and 2) Individuals develop a sense of self and identity through narratives.

This study utilized narrative inquiry, which is defined as the study of lived experience through narratives (Bruner, 2004; Clandinin, 2013; Polkinghorne, 1988). Narrative researchers, "research lives and the stories of people's lives", including their past, present, and future, focusing on how they make sense of the meanings they give to the stories they tell (Kim, 2016, p. 125). The method is well suited for studies of identity (Riessman, 1993), as people use stories to "convey to themselves and to others who they are now, how they came to be, and where they think their lives may be going in the future" (McAdams & McLean, 2013, p. 233). Through stories researchers illuminate how people define themselves as individuals and as members of groups, striving to understand who they are amidst a large and complex social, cultural, and institutional world (Clandinin, 2013; Todorov, 1984). Additionally, narrative inquiry positions participants as active interpreters of their own life experiences, (Kim, 2016) and as co-constructors of knowledge with the researcher.

Narrative inquiry was necessary to conduct this work as the research question required one to position the inquiry within a three-dimensional space by considering the temporality, sociality, and place that impact an individual's stories (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). The three-dimensional space allows the participant to temporally "[move] from a remembered past in one place to a present moment in another, all the while imaginatively constructing an identity for the future" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 55). To obtain a more holistic understanding of the preservice teachers' evolving civic identity development as more critical citizens for this study, their stories transcended temporal boundaries as they shared experiences from their childhoods, the present context including teacher education, and their goals as future teachers of citizenship education. When considering sociality, the narrative researcher works to balances the participants' thoughts, feelings, and emotions with the social context of which they are a part

(Connelly & Clandinin, 2006). This particular study sought to maintain that balance as it explored how preservice teachers made sense of their civic identities within the particular social context of teacher education. Finally, the narrative inquirer must acknowledge and think through the impact of each place on the study (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006). This research illuminated how multiple contexts throughout the preservice teachers' lives impacted how they understood and acted as citizens, particularly those experiences throughout their teacher education programs. Because a three-dimensional understanding of the preservice teachers' experiences was essential in answering the research question, narrative inquiry was an appropriate methodology to frame this study.

Researcher Positionality

It is important to note my positionality as the researcher. As Riessman (1993) affirmed, "it is not possible to be neutral and objective, to merely represent, as opposed to interpret, the world" (p. 8). I, too, embody a teacher identity and civic identity, and therefore, conducted this study with lived experiences and values regarding preservice teacher education and citizenship education. Additionally, my experiences have shaped how I understand the origin of knowledge as something constructed and interpreted by people with different backgrounds and experiences, rather than as something that is absolute, unwavering, and ultimately discovered. The research question I asked and the methods of inquiry I employed reflected the paradigmatic lens through which I see and understand the world.

My experiences teaching in an urban elementary school in Reno, Nevada, opened my eyes to the social and academic challenges experienced by students and families of marginalized groups. For six years I taught at a school where most of the students qualified for free or reduced lunch, where the majority were learning English as a second language, and 85% of the student

population were immigrants or children of immigrants. Many of my students over the years expressed fear of deportation due to their lack of legal citizen status. Others experienced life-changing circumstances such as foster care or the incarceration of a family member. Time after time my school was labeled "in need of improvement" due to our students' challenge in passing the state mandated assessment required for federal funding. These experiences changed the way I thought about the purpose of education. It was about more than academics.

Additionally, the coursework I completed while earning my master's degree at the University of Nevada, Reno and doctoral degree at Purdue University exposed me to literature from a variety of disciplines that illuminated the structural forces inhibiting marginalized populations from full access to democratic citizenship in the United States, including the institution of school. My experiences as a graduate student teaching instructor of the social studies methods course, as well as the line of research I have developed throughout my doctoral program at Purdue, have fostered my understanding of schools as political sites and my commitment to teaching for critical civic identity development as an essential and urgent component of teacher education. Rooted in critical constructivism, I perceive my research as value laden and believe that this work can help bring to light the ideological nature of schools. I embrace the notion that "this work relies on the willingness of critical constructivists to reveal their allegiances and to admit their solidarities, their value structures, and the ways such orientations affect their work" (Kincheloe, 2005, p. 12), and I designed and conducted each component of this research from this position of understanding.

Settings

When selecting participants for a qualitative study, Maxwell (2005) asserted that, "you are not only sampling people, but also settings, events, and processes" (p. 87); thus, I chose to

recruit from two universities that placed emphasis on social justice as an important thread of their students' teacher preparation experiences. I had also built professional relationships with professors from each university who could assist in the recruitment process. Zaima, Kathrine, and Jane were recruited from Lawson University, while Atticus and Aamina were recruited from Proctor University. The following sections will provide a more detailed context of each university setting including course opportunities, in which the content and learning experiences are assumed to be relevant to civic identity development.

Lawson university. Lawson University, home to about 16,000 students, is a Jesuit founded institution located in a major urban city. Approximately 40% of Lawson's undergraduate students and 16% of faculty are from minority populations. Lawson University's primary aim is to expand students' knowledge in the service of humanity through learning, justice, and faith across all program areas. Their mission statement declares, "We endeavor to advance professional education in service of social justice with the nation and the world." The College of Education at Lawson University offers undergraduate and advanced graduate degrees, which reflect the following vision statement: "The School of Education at Lawson University is a community that seeks to transform members to impact local and global communities through the principles of social justice." The undergraduate programs range from early childhood to secondary education and offers courses such as Teaching, Learning & Leading for Social Justice and Teaching & Learning with a Global Framework. Additional general education courses required by the university included American Politics and Artistic Knowledge.

Proctor university. Proctor University is the home to about 40,000 students. Approximately 35% of Lawson's undergraduate students and 19% of faculty are from minority populations. The university's mission states: "The mission of Proctor university is to serve the

citizens of the state, the United States, and the world through discovery that expands the realm of knowledge, learning through the dissemination and preservation of knowledge, and engagement through exchange of knowledge." Proctor University expresses a commitment to inclusion through campus cultural centers and diversity programs. The College of Education offers undergraduate and advanced graduate degrees, which seek to reflect the following vision statement: "The College of Education will be a global leader in responsive educational research and practice. We will achieve excellence through transformative research, exemplary professional preparation and impactful engagement. Our individual and collaborative efforts will enhance the welfare of the citizens of the state, the United States, and the world." Additionally, a diversity committee was established to "advance the college's mission of promoting diversity, social justice, and multiculturalism." The undergraduate programs range from early childhood to secondary education and offers courses such as Multicultural Education and The Inclusive Classroom.

Lawson and Proctor University were selected as recruitment sites for their commitment to social justice as a key thread throughout their teacher education programs. Additionally, I shared a professional relationship with a professor at each location who agreed to act as a recruitment mediator. The next section details the recruitment process that I used to secure participants for the study.

Recruitment Process

Based on a review of the existing literature, preservice teachers with more critical civic identities are an understudied population, therefore, my research sought to explore this particular perspective within teacher education contexts. I utilized a purposeful sample for this study to ensure that I recruited information-rich participants from which I could learn a great deal about

the particular phenomenon of study (Maxwell, 2005; Patton, 2002). I was intentional and methodical in selecting recruitment sites and mediating professors and in composing clear criteria for participant inclusion. This allowed me to recruit preservice teachers with more critical civic identities, whose study would best help me to answer the research question. Furthermore, I considered the quality and in-depth nature of the data collection, analysis, and interpretation processes of narrative inquiry when determining an optimal sample size (Kim, 2016), which led me to limit the recruitment total to five participants.

Once I had determined recruitment sites, I collaborated with mediating professors to recruit participants appropriate for the study. Due to confidentiality requirements, I was only permitted to contact preservice teachers who had previously taken my courses as a graduate student teaching instructor, therefore, two additional professors served as mediators during the recruitment process. I specifically chose each mediating professor due to her focus on critical theory in both research and teaching and because I assumed that she would know of particular students who exhibited characteristics of more critical citizens. Professor A was an associate professor at Proctor University during the time of this study, whose research is grounded in civic identity and critical democratic literacy. Professor B was an assistant professor at Lawson University, whose research is grounded in critical literacy and literacy in diverse learning environments. I met with each professor prior to recruitment to discuss the goals of the study and the participant selection criteria. During each meeting I discussed my intent to explore how teacher education experiences contributed to the civic identity development of preservice teachers with more critical civic identities. I explained each characteristic of critical civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions from the analytic framework that I would use to determine the potential participant's appropriateness for the study. Furthermore, I affirmed that the

participants were required to be undergraduate students in either an elementary, secondary, or

special education program and that I aimed to recruit participants across different genders and

socioeconomic backgrounds; however, these factors were not grounds for exclusion. Each

mediating professor then emailed potential participants using a recruitment script I created that

included the goals of the study and my contact information. I am unsure of how many preservice

teachers each professor reached out to; however, a total of six contacted me with interest in

serving as participants. Due to schedule restrictions, one of the preservice teachers decided not to

participate in the study. The five remaining preservice teachers agreed to meet and to further

discuss the study and participant responsibilities.

I then met with each preservice teacher to further detail the goals of the study, his or her

role as a participant, and to answer any questions he or she might have. I obtained written

consent from each participant during this meeting and scheduled an initial (selection) interview.

Each participant then underwent a 60-75-minute interview, in which his or her responses were

analyzed for clearly identifiable characteristics of critical citizenship from the analytic

framework (see Table 1). A more detailed description of this process is included in the Data

Analysis and Interpretation section later in this chapter. The participants' data ranged from

exhibiting one characteristic to several characteristics in each column of the analytic framework

and I realized that they exhibited more critical civic identities on a spectrum rather than as a

critical/non-critical binary. Therefore, I opted to invite each of the five participants to continue

for the duration of the study and I perceived his or her civic identity as a developing and

unfinished process. The following table (see Table 2) includes demographic information for each

participant while the next section provides more detailed profiles of their diverse backgrounds.

Table 2: Demographic Information of Participants

Name	University	Major	Gender
Zaima	Lawson	Elementary and Special Education	Female
Jane	Lawson	Elementary Education	Female
Kathrine	Lawson	Special Education	Female
Atticus	Proctor	Elementary and Special Education	Male
Aamina	Proctor	Elementary and Special Education	Female

Participant profiles. Zaima was a junior at Lawson University throughout her participation in the study and planned to earn a dual degree in elementary and special education. Zaima self-identified as Pakistani-American and "bicultural", as she was born and raised in the United States to Pakistani parents. She and her brother, a graduate of Lawson and a counselor at a community center for immigrant youth, were raised by her mother and father in a suburb of the large, urban city in which Lawson is located. Zaima self-reported her family to be in the middle-class and deemed social class to be a more privileged aspect of her identity. She referred to herself throughout the study as a person of color and championed both her racial and/or ethnic background and religious affiliation as a Muslim as elements of her identity that influenced her commitment to more critical civic engagement in her communities and to teach for critical citizenship education in her future classroom. When Zaima graduates, she hopes to obtain a teaching position in an inner-city school close to Lawson in hopes to empower youth from marginalized populations.

Jane was a junior at Lawson University throughout her participation in the study and planned to earn a degree in elementary education. She self-identified as White and was raised along with her sister in a small town she described as "culturally homogenous" that was located

outside of the state. She self-reported her family to be in the middle-class and she deemed both her racial and socioeconomic background to be privileged aspects of her identity. Jane was raised by both parents but described her relationship with her "very racist and sexist" father as estranged. She attributed this relationship, as well as her experiences growing up in a community that lacked cultural diversity, to her developing identity construction as a more critical citizen and commitment to teaching for critical citizenship education. When Jane graduates, she hopes to obtain a teaching position in an inner-city school close to Lawson.

Kathrine was a junior at Lawson University throughout her participation in the study and planned to earn a degree in special education. She self-identified as White and was raised with her younger brother by her mother and father in a suburb of the large, urban city in which Lawson is located. Kathrine self-reported her family to be in the middle-class and she deemed both her racial and socioeconomic background to be privileged aspects of her identity. A practicing Catholic, she attributed her religious affiliation to shape how she perceived all human beings as having equal value, which influenced her decision to attend a Catholic university. When Kathrine graduates, she hopes to obtain a position as a special education teacher in the same suburb where she grew up.

Atticus was completing his student teaching internship at Proctor University throughout his participation in the study and planned to earn a dual degree in elementary and special education. He self-identified as White and was raised as an only child by his mother and father in a rural town of the state in which Proctor is located. He self-reported his family to be "very well off" and he deemed both his racial and socioeconomic background to be two privileged aspects of his identity. Atticus described his "coming out" experience as a gay male during his freshman year of college as one full of love and support from family and friends and he believed this,

coupled with his experiences mentoring peers with disabilities in high school, fueled his dedication as a teacher to empower students with special needs and others who face more significant social challenges. When Atticus graduates, he hopes to obtain a position as a special education teacher in an urban city.

Aamina was a junior at Proctor University throughout her participation in the study and planned to earn a dual degree in elementary and special education. She self-reported to be a practicing Muslim and believed this aspect of her identity shaped how she perceived all human beings as having equal value. Aamina was born and raised with three younger siblings by her mother and father in Saudi Arabia. She spent six years attending and graduating from an international school before she and her family relocated to the United States for the teacher education program at Proctor. Aamina believed that her experiences with peers from countries "all over the world", and as one of few students outside of the dominant culture at Proctor, contributed to her sense of empathy and engagement as a more critical citizen. When Aamina graduates, she plans to attend graduate school to earn an advanced degree in working with students with Autism. She ultimately plans to move back to Saudi Arabia to improve the educational opportunities for students with special needs.

The following sections detail the type of data sources utilized to illuminate the preservice teachers' experiences in teacher education as they contributed to their ongoing civic identity development as more critical citizens and explain the specific analysis and interpretive processes employed in order to determine the findings of the study.

Data Sources

Objective reality cannot be reached through qualitative research methods, as Denzin and Lincoln (2008) argued, "We know a thing only through its representations" (p. 7). Therefore,

qualitative researchers use a triangulation of data in order to secure an in-depth understanding of particular phenomena (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Narrative inquiry, in particular, is a process of mutual storytelling between the researcher and participants and relies on data sources that elicit rich description of one's lived experiences in order to obtain deeper insight into particular phenomena. Thus, this study utilized interviews, documents, and artifacts to generate storytelling as I explored how the participants' perceived their teacher education experiences to contribute to their ongoing civic identity development as more critical citizens.

Interviews. Each participant engaged in four, 60-75-minute semi-structured interviews. Each interview protocol was developed prior to meeting with the participant and served to unearth particular types of experiences; however, semi-structured interviews seek to guide the interview, helping to maintain the focus rather than dictate its direction (Kim, 2016). Therefore, while the interview questions were predetermined, the conversation often lead to questions that were not initially anticipated. The first interview served as a selection tool to determine whether or not the preservice teacher met the criteria for participation and included questions that addressed different elements of critical civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions. This interview sought to gain an understanding of how each preservice teacher perceived his or her civic identity. The second interview focused more on the preservice teacher's specific experiences in teacher education that he or she felt influenced civic identity development, particularly as a more critical citizen. The third interview addressed the preservice teachers' philosophies for teaching citizenship education as future teachers and how they felt their experiences in the respective programs prepared them to teach for critical citizenship. The final interview focused more intently on the preservice teachers' clinical experiences as required through teacher education course work. Although each interview protocol was developed prior to each meeting, they were

revised following each round of transcription and analysis and often revisited events in order to

obtain a deeper understanding.

Documents and artifacts. Documents and artifacts were also collected throughout the

duration of the study. According to Kim (2016), documents and artifacts help further excavate

the stories of the lived experiences of our participants as he stated, "Each tells a story of its own"

(p. 177). These data sources were typically offered during interviews when the preservice

teachers shared particular experiences within which the documents and/or artifacts would

provide more context and flesh out the memories about important times, people, and events

around which they construct stories (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). The documents and artifacts

collected included course syllabi, assignment descriptions, and projects that helped to further

construct the stories about particular events in the preservice teachers' lives.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

Initial (selection) interview. The first interview was analyzed using the analytic

framework (see Table 1) to determine whether or not each preservice teacher would be an

appropriate fit for the study. The interview questions were constructed to address multiple

characteristics from the analytic framework. For example, the second question of the protocol

asked for the preservice teachers' understanding of the concepts of civic membership, rights, and

responsibilities. The accompanying responses were analyzed using the analytic framework for

"knowledge" that demonstrated alternative interpretations of citizenship, "skills" that included

the collective problem-solving of social issues with diverse others, and "dispositions" that

included commitments against social injustices and motivations to transform society in ways that

extend rights and opportunities to all citizens. I color coded each interview question and the

accompanying characteristics that it addressed in order to make sure that each characteristic from

the framework was represented in the protocol (see Appendix A). To analyze the preservice

teachers' initial interview transcriptions, I first assigned a color and number to each characteristic

on the analytic framework. Characteristics of civic knowledge were numbered in the color red,

characteristics of civic skills were numbered in the color green, and characteristics of civic

dispositions were numbered in the color blue (see Appendix B). As I read through each

preservice teacher's initial interview transcript, I labeled relevant statements with the color and

number of the specific characteristic(s) that it reflected on the analytic framework. For example,

Zaima's response, "As a citizen I go into spaces that I don't feel as comfortable, where there are

different viewpoints and perspectives," was coded in the color green and with the number one to

reflect the civic characteristic that it represented from the analytic framework. I completed this

method for the entire initial interview transcript and invited the preservice teacher to continue

with the study if his or her data reflected at least one characteristic from each column of the

analytic framework (knowledge, skills, dispositions). As previously mentioned, the preservice

teachers' data ranged from exhibiting one characteristic to several characteristics in each column,

which led me to perceive their more critical civic identities on a spectrum rather than as a

critical/non-critical binary. Therefore, I chose to invite each of the five preservice teachers to

continue with the duration of the study, and I refer to him or her throughout the dissertation as "a

more critical citizen" rather than as "*a* critical citizen" to evoke this understanding.

    Subsequent interviews. I then analyzed and interpreted the preservice teachers'

remaining three interviews. First, I completed many thorough reads of the interview transcripts.

(see Appendix C for protocols). As I read through the transcripts, I engaged in what Connelly

and Clandinin (2000) referred to as "narrative coding" (p. 132), during which I noted and

described the significant characters, places, and particular actions and events within the

participants' stories. Simultaneously, I composed "journal style reflections" (Connelly &

Clandinin, 2000, p. 87) to note why the preservice teachers deemed particular characters, places,

and events to have significant impact on their ongoing construction of civic identities as more

critical citizens. I revisited and expanded the journal reflections over time as I noted how the

preservice teachers' experiences reflected particular elements of critical civic knowledge, skills,

and dispositions from the analytic framework. For example, in one journal reflection I detailed

Aamina's experiences in various multicultural settings and explained how she described the

impact on her identity as a more critical citizen, such as her openness to cultural differences and

ability to feel empathy. I then analyzed how her experiences reflected essential characteristics of

critical citizens from the analytic framework. In Aamina's case, her multicultural experiences

fostered critical civic dispositions of embracing individual differences and multiple group

identities, as well as holding emotional connections to those different from herself (DeJaeghere,

2009; Giroux, 1980; Johnson & Morris, 2011; Wade, 2003). I completed these tasks numerous

times to feel confident that I had gleaned the most significant experiences from the transcripts

and made meaningful connections to the theoretical ideas in the analytic framework.

Connelly and Clandinin (1990) described the process of narrative coding as the transition

from interim field texts to research texts, as the researcher pays particular attention to different

elements of the data in order to analyze and seam together the narrative material. Once I had

journaled the significant experiences of each preservice teacher in relation to their ongoing civic

identity development as a more critical citizen, I began to look for thematic threads in relation to

the analytic framework (Kim, 2016; McCormack, 2004). For example, in the journal reflections

for Zaima's analysis, I noticed that she shared multiple stories across time and place that

illuminated the concept of agency as an essential element of her civic identity. She shared

experiences in which she enacted agency in contexts outside of teacher education, such as during political demonstrations in her local community and on campus, and she described how agency shaped the way she thought about particular teacher education experiences, like a clinical lesson where she was constrained from fostering agency with her elementary level students. As I noted the thematic threads, I composed journal reflections to engage in a deeper interpretation of the data. Zaima, case in point, illuminated agency as a vital element of her civic identity as a more critical citizen, but more particularly, her stories revealed the value she placed on developing and enacting agency as she considered aspects of her identity to be outside of the dominant culture. These journal reflections were essential in interpreting narrative meaning, or in developing a deep "understanding of the meanings our participants give to themselves, to their surroundings, to their lives, and to their lived experiences" (Kim, 2016, p. 189), and strengthened my reconstruction of the preservice teachers' stories. Finally, I had initially planned to create three or four thematic groups for each preservice teacher; however, I realized that I needed to be more flexible in regrouping the data in ways that allowed me to create thematic narrative accounts that illuminated the "three-dimensional space" (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 89) and that were strongly supported by evidence. I found that creating two thematic threads allowed me to reconstruct rich, evidence-based narrative accounts for each preservice teacher that addressed the temporal, social, and spatial elements of their stories.

Polkinghorne (1988) disclosed the challenges of narrative inquiry and studying how human beings give meaning to particular phenomena, "as meaning is not tangible, nor static, [and] thus it is not easily grasped" (as cited in Kim, 2016, p. 190). As I analyzed the journal reflections for thematic threads of critical civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions, it became clear that not every experience shared by the preservice teachers was easily understood as or fit

cleanly into one theme or another. Many of the preservice teachers' experiences transcended

elements of critical civic knowledge, skills, and/or dispositions in the analytic framework and

reflected meaning from multiple angles. For example, Jane's experiences teaching for sensitive

and/or controversial issues as she designed a literacy unit about the concept of genocide

illuminated the value she placed on engaging with others about contested social issues as well as

a commitment to challenging social injustices (Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009; Johnson &

Morris, 2011), an essential civic skill and disposition from the analytic framework. Similarly,

Atticus's clinical lessons in a high-poverty school revealed that he had experienced a greater

sense of empathy for those who faced social challenges different than his own; however, he did

not question the larger structural forces that influence unjust circumstances, such as poverty.

Analyzing and interpreting the journal reflections helped me tease out these nuances (Kim, 2016)

to gain a deeper and more holistic understanding of the preservice teachers' experiences. The

nuances were further unpacked in the interpretation sections following the preservice teachers'

narratives.

Documents and artifacts. The documents and artifacts shared by the preservice teachers

were analyzed to give more context to their stories and often provided additional information not

shared during the interviews (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Kim, 2016). As the preservice

teachers talked about specific experiences during the interviews, they shared documents that

were relevant to the story. These included documents such as course syllabi and project

descriptions, as well as artifacts such as PowerPoint presentations and other projects. For

example, during an interview, Zaima shared the experiences of a social identity course that

impacted how she analyzed the positionality of herself and others, and she described a project

that required her to consider how these perceptions influenced her role as a teacher by creating a

compass rose that metaphorically highlighted this connection. As I analyzed this artifact, I gathered more information about how Zaima understood positioning but also how she perceived intersectionality, or the ways in which her identities overlapped and interlocked impacting her social positions (Bell, 2016), which was not a concept she discussed in depth during the interviews. I then used the analysis of the documents and artifacts to help strengthen the narrative anecdotes of the preservice teachers in addition to the interview data.

Storying stories. Once the interviews, documents, and artifacts had been analyzed, I engaged in a final level of analysis referred to as storying stories (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Kim, 2016; McCormack, 2004). As Kim (2016) explained, "We create stories (storying and restorying) by integrating events and happenings into a temporally organized whole with a thematic thread, called the plot" (p. 197). Riesman (1993) also described this process as composing metastories that reflect the significance of a participant's narrative anecdotes as the researcher edits and reshapes what was told in order to create a hybrid story.

Storying stories draws from two types of narrative inquiry, as described by Polkinghorne (1995): analysis of narrative and narrative analysis. The process of storying stories employs analysis of narrative as the researcher locates stories within the interview transcripts that are analyzed for paradigmatic and/or theoretical themes of meaning; however, it also employs narrative analysis as the researcher reconstructs stories through his or her interpretation of the narrative anecdotes (McCormack, 2004). The participants' stories were reconstructed using the data gleaned from the interviews, documents, and artifacts to create coherent accounts that illuminated how their experiences in teacher education contributed to their ongoing civic identity development as more critical citizens.

Cross-case analysis. Finally, I conducted a cross-case analysis to draw categories of meaning across the five preservice teachers by utilizing the analytic framework. This process allows the researcher to build or strengthen explanations of the phenomenon under study through the analysis of multiple cases (Miles & Huberman, 1994). To accomplish this task, I created what Miles and Huberman (1994) described as a content analytic matrix. Within the matrix, I summarized each preservice teacher's major understandings in regard to critical citizenship (e.g. understanding multiple perspectives), and the specific teacher education experiences, as well as outside experiences, that helped contribute to the major understandings. Once I completed this task, I identified patterns of understandings across the preservice teachers. These patterns then became the themes of meaning, or findings, analyzed in the cross-case analysis section of the next chapter.

Addressing Validity and Establishing Trustworthiness

Conducting qualitative research requires rethinking the concepts of validity and reliability (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Because it is impossible to directly capture lived experience, validity in qualitative research strives to convince its readers that the claims made are strong enough to serves as a basis for understanding human action (Polkinghorne, 2007). More particularly, narrative researchers explore phenomena through their participants' unique points of view. Thus, the researcher's primary aim is not to discover whether narrator's accounts are accurate reflections of actual events, but to understand the meanings people attach to those events (Polkinghorne, 2007), as people construct and interpret them differently. Furthermore, the researcher also approaches the data from a particular class, gender, racial, cultural, and ethnic perspective (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008), impacting how he or she interprets the participants'

narrative accounts. Therefore, the narrative researcher should seek to interpret and represent data with faithfulness rather than truth.

To represent faithful accounts of my participants' stories, I established what Riessman (1993) delineated as "trustworthiness" (p. 65) to validate my research. I collected, analyzed, and interpreted a triangulation of data. The preservice teachers underwent four interviews to get at the heart of their experiences, and documents and artifacts also supplemented their narratives for further understanding and clarification. Further, I described how the interpretations of the data were produced with transparency. Additionally, I worked in correspondence with the preservice teachers. I sent each preservice teacher an initial and final interpretation of their data for feedback and clarification. This ensured that the restoryed stories represented a co-construction of knowledge between researcher and participant and strengthened the overall findings of the study.

CHAPTER 4. FINDINGS

Introduction

This chapter is comprised of five preservice teacher narratives and a cross-case analysis that present the findings of the study. Each preservice teacher's narrative illuminates the unique, diverse, and contextualized nature of his or her experiences as a more critical citizen in a teacher education program. The cross-case analysis presents thematic threads of meaning across the preservice teachers to advance the understanding of how teacher education programs can best foster their construction of more critical civic identities.

The preservice teacher narratives are structured into two storied stories (McCormack, 2004), or metastories (Riessman, 1993), that reflect how his or her experiences exhibited elements of more critical citizens from the analytic framework. They are organized in a way that utilizes the three-dimensional space, as they move back and forth on a temporal continuum while illuminating social contexts that impact the preservice teachers' identities (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Each metastory is followed by an analysis and interpretation to flesh out how the preservice teachers' experiences connect with theoretical and empirical work in light of the research question. The sequence of the narratives begins with the preservice teachers from Lawson University and concludes with those from Proctor University to keep consistent with how they were introduced in the previous chapter.

Zaima

But then realizing that the more I've spent time in CPS classrooms that teaching… You're not just a teacher… ever. Like when someone's asks, 'Why do you want to be a teacher?' It's like, I'm not a teacher. I'm an educator. I'm a social advocate.

I'm a social justice warrior. Like, I have to be all of these things because there are

all these children depending on it.

Understanding the Relationship Between Identity and Positioning

Zaima straddles the line of two different cultural and ethnic identities, having been born in the United States to Pakistani parents and a multilingual speaker of three languages. From a young age, she learned to balance different ideals, values, and traditions and engaged in opportunities to communicate with and learn about cultures outside of her own. Zaima's diverse background played a strong role in shaping her more critical civic identity, as it influenced her ability to engage across a wide range of cultural contexts and helped her to develop an understanding of how her cultural assumptions of herself and others are developed within a wider societal context (May & Sleeter, 2010). Although Zaima identified as "bicultural", she believed her family to be more "Americanized", "identifying a lot more with values typically seen as American values." However, she understood the multifaceted nature of identity, and she acknowledged that different elements of her identity, such as ethnic background and her religious affiliation as a Muslim, shaped her lived experiences in different ways.

One such experience occurred when Zaima and her family crossed the Canadian border to reenter the United States after having visited family during her freshman year of college. Although Zaima was born and raised in the U.S., she was questioned about the legitimacy of her "American" identity by a border patrol officer. She struggled to hear the man's words as they approached the border, so she asked, "What did you say," in clarification while handing over the family's passports. He snapped at her, "*What's* not a town," before he repeated more loudly, "Where are you from?" Silence filled the car and Zaima revealed that "it changed the entire dynamic." "We're from Smithtown, near Chicago," she replied. "Well, are you an American?"

he asked. "Yes," she said. "You have my passport in your hand," she thought to herself. The officer demanded, "Ok, well say that you're an American." "I'm an American," Zaima said confusedly. He continued, "Well, say it loud and proud!" She did. In an anxious effort to get home, Zaima cooperated with the uniformed man. Her dad snickered as they drove away. This was not the first time he had experienced such scrutiny. Zaima and her brother, however, sat still, engrossed in their thoughts, processing what had just happened. "There was this realization," she explained, "It suddenly kicked in that I'm never going to be a part of that majority because they're always going to see me as different." It was clear to Zaima that aspects of her identity were positioned differently in terms of privilege and power no matter how "American" she considered herself to be. This critical understanding influenced her commitment to social justice and helped shape how she envisioned her role as a future teacher.

Zaima took a course at Lawson University that built on her understanding of identity as it pushed her to examine how her thinking, behavior, and ways of being are influenced by her own personal experiences and the intersectionality of race, ethnicity, social class, language, religion, age, and others. The course activities provided Zaima with the opportunities to think deeply about the historical and contemporary contexts through which identities are constructed, the social positioning ascribed to different types of identities in the U.S., as well as how they influenced her continuous reconstruction of a teacher identity. She explained the overall purpose of the course,

> just looking at why it's important to analyze your own biases, your own lenses, and
> your own lived experiences when you come into a classroom as a teacher and how
> that is rooted in not only how you approach students, but your own instruction.

Through critical self-reflection during activities such as the Privilege Walk, an experience intended to highlight how people benefit or are marginalized by systems in society (Chizhik & Chizhik, 2005), Zaima and her colleagues were encouraged to challenge their thinking as they explored the interplay of power and control rooted in social phenomena such as sexism, classism, and racism. She shared,

> It helped bring that awareness. Ok, so there's all these identities. Am I in the privileged group or the oppressed group? The privileged groups or the targeted groups? And once you're aware, how does that connect? Once I know that I come from a place of privilege, what does that look like in teaching? Once I know that I have an identity that might be oppressed, or a targeted identity, how does that connect with my students?

Zaima applied her learning during the final project of the course as she created a compass rose that metaphorically illuminated how the construction and intersections of her identities directed, or guided, her perception of teaching as an act of social justice. She stressed the importance of implicitly and explicitly teaching for religious diversity, as she remembered the urge to hide her henna tattoos from peers in elementary school following Ramadan. Zaima explained, "Being a Muslim in a predominantly Christian society has shed light on the many prejudices still held against those with varying religious beliefs." She addressed the reality that academic calendars of public schools are still often organized around Christian holidays, while excluding others as she stated, "Understanding the lack of variable infrastructure supporting multiple religions will shape how I answer questions students have about religion." Zaima examined how her identity as a female influenced how she positioned herself as well as how others positioned her. She asserted, "Women all around the world face challenges everyday

simply because of their genes. I have the responsibility to stand up and bring opportunities for my fellow women and join the fight for gender equality." Zaima connected this to her role as a teacher by highlighting the value of learning experiences that engage students in thinking critically about gender equality.

> The classroom environment must be a safe place for gender equality to be challenged, criticized, and analyzed. Although gender equality has come a long way, students in my classroom need to know there is still a battle to be fought.

> The course experiences impacted Zaima's understanding of identity construction and helped to illuminate how one's identities influenced his or her worldviews. They pushed her to consider how she would position her future students' many identities in ways that empowered them.

> As a "person of color", Zaima felt that an experience in an elementary math methods course missed a powerful opportunity to empower students with diverse ethnic identities. The lesson addressed strategies for teaching culturally relevant math concepts through a lesson on Egyptian hieroglyphics. By including culturally diverse content, the professor explained, "This is how you connect your students in a math setting." Zaima, on the other hand, exemplified the potential of the lesson to reveal how math instruction can help students from marginalized populations to develop strong social and cultural identities through empowerment and agency (Gutstein, 2010). She expressed how this experience impacted her philosophy of teaching and learning,

> It's so hard to connect your students on a cultural level through math. I mean, yes, you can use your students' names in word problems and say that's how they're relevant, but ehhh, it's still very surface level. But you can suddenly show these

Middle Eastern students that math didn't just come from the White Europeans, that hieroglyphics had such an important role - the number system being developed, someone saying that zero had to be a thing.

Zaima found this to be a particularly empowering learning experience, not only for its contribution to a more equal presentation of culture in the curriculum but with its potential to position people of color as co-constructors of knowledge, particularly in educational contexts that have historically privileged a single, dominant cultural perspective (Holland et al., 1998; Parker, 2003). In contrast, Zaima shared that many of her White counterparts were confused by the purpose for learning such ancient and foreign content. This frustrated her. "Granted, the professor could have made it more explicit," she said. Drawing from her own experiences as a Pakistani-American, Zaima shared,

A lot of the teachers who were saying, 'I don't get it,' were White teachers so then that made me question, 'Ok, is it because you're White that you don't see this as useful?' Or is it because I'm coming from a place where it would have been helpful to see someone of color in a position of power coming up with these theories?

To Zaima, this lesson had the potential to transcend surface-levels of culturally relevant pedagogy by including more critical discussions about culture, identity, and power. In addition to learning about hieroglyphics, she argued that the preservice teachers could have been encouraged to critique the origins of knowledge and illuminate the voices of "individuals and groups whose knowledge and histories have been marginalized, excluded, subjugated, or forgotten in the telling of official narratives" (Peters & Lankshear, 1996, p. 2). This experience helped shape how Zaima understood the interplay of culture and power and influenced her commitment to foster identity

development that positioned her students in powerful ways, particularly students from marginalized populations.

Zaima exemplified this commitment as she co-designed a literacy unit that positioned her students as co-constructors of knowledge. The assignment guidelines required the Lawson students to use "culturally relevant reading materials" while meeting the state English language arts (ELA) standards. Zaima acknowledged that culture was a complex concept that encompassed one's many identities and experiences and she explained that she "really had to sit down and think about how they were honoring the students' own lives." To elicit the cultural capital that their students brought to the classroom (Giroux, 1980) they used the trade book, Baloney, Henry P. (Scieszka, 2001), a text that implements word play in a variety of languages. This text inspired and guided the students as they created new words using newly learned affixes and their native languages, some of which included English, Spanish, and Tagalog. Zaima laughed as she recalled how one student used a Spanish root word and English suffix to create the word "pedocide", meaning "a fart that kills people." She emphasized how the lesson positioned her culturally diverse group of students as co-constructors of knowledge.

> We put all of their projects up on the wall and they came in the next day and so many of them said, 'Ah, look at this word that [student] made up!' Just seeing that boost in confidence and being able to tell them, 'You created this word. You used your own language and now it's on the wall for everyone to see.'

As a person of color and one who had experienced what it felt like to be marginalized, Zaima felt empowered alongside her students. She stressed the necessity of identity development as a component of her instruction and differentiated between culturally relevant teaching that merely "feeds students with an unremitting diet of texts from their own cultures" (Locke, 2010,

p. 92) with those that position students from marginalized groups in powerful ways. Zaima believed that these types of learning experiences had the potential to empower her students to engage as more critical citizens in society.

The following section unpacks Zaima's understanding of the relationship between identity and social positioning as an important element of her more critical civic identity. It is organized to illuminate the civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions that Zaima embodied as a more critical citizen and to interpret how her experiences in teacher education fostered her understanding of such concepts in the perpetuation of privilege and oppression in society.

Analysis & Interpretation

Moving temporally throughout Zaima's life, it is evident through her stories that she understood the multifaceted nature of identity and that an individual's many identities are positioned by oneself and others on a societal hierarchy of power (Adams, 2016; Bell, 2016; Carrington & Selva, 2010; DeJaeghere, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011; May & Sleeter, 2010). Because of her diverse upbringing, she learned to navigate a multitude of cultural spaces, which led her to recognize and value individual differences and multiple group identities from a young age (DeJaeghere, 2009; Giroux, 1980; Johnson & Morris, 2011; Silverman, 2010; Wade, 2003). Although Zaima considered her family's identity to be rather Americanized, social experiences in different contexts, such as those at the Canadian border and growing up Muslim in a Christian dominant society reinforced an understanding that elements of her identity were positioned outside of the cultural majority and led her to think more critically about how one's social locations render more or less cultural recognition (Fraser, 1995) and access to resources and opportunities (DeJaeghere, 2009; Giroux, 1980). Zaima considered these critical understandings to be important elements of her civic identity as they empowered her to engage in her

communities in ways that positioned typically marginalized populations at the center. They shaped how she envisioned social justice as her primary goal in education.

Zaima's experiences in the teacher education program at Lawson explicitly and implicitly influenced her to analyze how her identities and social locations contributed to or disrupted patterns of privilege and inequality (Adams & Zuniga, 2016; Bell et al., 2016; Carrington & Selva, 2010; DeJaeghere, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011; May & Sleeter, 2010). These types of learning experiences in teacher education create spaces for more critical discussions addressing "how their [preservice teachers] behaviors, communication patterns, and attitudes reflect and reproduce larger patterns of advantage or disadvantage in society" (Adams & Zuniga, p. 123), which are critical understandings necessary of a citizenry committed to the transformation of unjust institutions that continue to privilege some but not all (Bell, Goodman, & Ouellett, 2016). Course activities like the Privilege Walk and projects such as the compass rose overtly pushed Zaima to consider how her lived experiences – both past and present - helped shape her social positions of privilege or oppression and encouraged her to rethink how they could be harnessed in powerful ways to promote more critical citizenship through teaching. The hieroglyphics lesson, though more covertly, provided a space in which Zaima critiqued the nature of knowledge and how it is constructed and influenced by the positionality of individuals and groups (Banks, 2001). She viewed this lesson as a powerful opportunity to transcend more traditional perceptions of what constitutes knowledge and to critically analyze issues of power and oppression through math instruction, an experience she felt would have empowered herself as a person of color. Many of Zaima's White counterparts, however, did not draw similar conclusions during the lesson. She attributed this to the professor's explicit, but superficial,

connection to culturally relevant pedagogy and viewed it as a missed opportunity for more transformative discussions with her peers.

Zaima Is an Agent of Change

Zaima is an agent of change. She has participated in and organized opportunities to combat injustices in her communities. She attributed this to her experiences living as a person of color in the U.S. and teaching in urban contexts where social and economic inequities are stark. Zaima has taken agency in the communities closest to her, such as Lawson University, but also in matters further removed from her lived experiences, a disposition that DeJaeghere (2009) argued, "is grounded in creating justice for those with whom we live" (p. 230). An aspiring teacher invested in the success of inner-city schools, Zaima and several of her colleagues founded a club on Lawson's campus entitled, "Growing in Love with Urban Education (G.L.U.E.)", to bring awareness to the many challenges faced by educators and students in these settings. For community outreach, they distributed facts about the local school system, such as "15,000 students are homeless," in the main student center at Lawson. "They were facts that you would read and think, 'Oh my God.' It definitely pulls at your heart strings," she explained. Additionally, Zaima shared the powerful impact of her experiences demonstrating with the Black Lives Matter movement, both on campus and in the city center, as she protested in response to "the virulent anti-Black racism that permeates our society" ("Black Lives Matter: About", n.d.)

> It's heartwarming, in a way, to realize on a college campus that there are a bunch
> of people who believe in this. I mean, you can feel everyone there for the same
> reason. But when you go to a rally downtown it's people of all different ages and
> people of all different races, so it takes you out of that bubble and you realize that
> people *do* care about this and it's important that I'm here.

Through these experiences, Zaima has internalized that agency is essential in improving unjust social conditions and she has employed the civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions necessary to take action in her communities. This element of her civic identity as a more critical citizen influenced how she perceived the role of agency in her teaching.

You're not just a teacher… ever. When someone asks me, 'Why do you want to be a teacher?' I'm not just a teacher. I'm an educator. I'm a social advocate. I'm a social justice warrior. I have to be all of these things because there are all of these children depending on it.

Zaima perceived herself as an agent of change in the classroom. She explained, "I see teaching as a civic duty because of this realization that I have the agency to make change, to help this student, to help change a community *because* of this one student," and this shaped how she made sense of her experiences in the teacher education program.

During a clinical experience, Zaima learned that she did not always have the power to act on that agency as a preservice teacher. The elementary school, which was located in an area of the city that was often infiltrated with high levels of crime, had experienced a drive-by shooting and the classroom teacher made sure to send warning before her weekly scheduled visit. Zaima shared, "I'm glad I was aware of what was going on because I *knew* the students would walk in with that." Assuming that the students would need extra emotional support that day, she approached the classroom teacher and asked, "Do you want me to say something since you have extra adults in the room? I can let them know that I'm available if they need to talk." He dismissed the idea, assured her that the children would be "fine" and said, "No, we have too much to do so we're not going to go there." Zaima did not agree with his decision.

There was a moment of clash where I thought, 'I don't think so. I know a student whose younger sister was on the playground and he was freaking out about it. But again, this is your classroom and we're here as guests.' So, do I overstep there?

Zaima did not overstep the teacher's boundaries but felt there was a missed opportunity to give the students a safe and nurturing space to talk about the event with their peers and to encourage them to openly share, "This is something that happened in our local community and this is how we feel about it." She considered this an opportunity to empower the students as agents of change and envisioned the direction she might have taken the discussion had it been her own classroom. "I would have approached it as, 'This is where you live, and this is where your school is at and you're connected to all of that," Zaima proclaimed, "I would have encouraged them to write about the question - What could we change in our community to fix what is happening?" She expressed, "I don't think he [the teacher] realized that it could be a space of agency for the students," that the event could have been harnessed as an opportunity for critical civic engagement, to send the message to young learners that, "We have a role in this community. You *still* have a voice if you're not voting. You can still do something."

Zaima planned to help her future students develop and enact agency in their communities, and a workshop she attended at the National Education Association Conference as a member of Lawson's "Future Teachers Club", a chapter of the State Education Association, strengthened this vision as she learned strategies for creating democratic classrooms. She shared, "I would teach citizenship both explicitly and implicitly through this idea of empowerment, through this idea that, 'You have the agency to make change,'" which she planned to embed within the learning experiences in her future classroom. One strategy during the workshop that resonated with Zaima included creating "democratic pods", or small groups of students, to simulate the

Judicial, Legislative, and Executive Branches of government. Zaima shared an example of the purpose the pods would serve.

> The Executive Branch could make the classroom rules and the Judicial Branch might raise the concern, 'Hey, this doesn't seem like it would be fair.' And then you would have the Legislative Branch watching out to see if the classroom rules are actually happening. It would be the students having that agency to decide, 'This is a rule. Is this fair?' and to evaluate whether or not it's working.

In alignment with Parker's (2003) notion that democracy is a shared path to be continuously reconstructed by its members, Zaima explained that her students would have the opportunity to revisit and amend the rules to best meet the needs of their classroom community throughout the school year.

> I think the coolest part would be that we can amend these rules, or classroom guidelines, throughout the year, right? If we see that something is not working? The pod could propose this change in our rules or guidelines because it's not working for our class! So, there's this continuous revision of, 'This is what we *think* we want our classroom to look like but if it doesn't work, what can we do to fix that?'

Zaima emphasized the importance of authentic experiences in having her future students "act out citizenship" in order to better envision themselves as agents of change. While thinking back on her own experiences as a young learner, she admitted, "If I had had something like this, it would have given me a better understanding of what it means to be in a dialogue with others about how we're going to go about doing something." Zaima understood agency to be something one developed through his or her experiences actually doing things in communities, and she

perceived this to be an essential element in fostering a civic identity committed to social justice. "Students who realize that they are agents of change…. Now that is citizenship," she declared.

The following section unpacks Zaima's understanding of agency as an important element of her more critical civic identity. It is organized to illuminate the civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions that Zaima embodied as a more critical citizen and to interpret how her experiences in teacher education both fostered and inhibited her sense of agency.

Analysis & Interpretation

Agency, or having the capacity and willingness to act (Kayi-Aydar, 2015), is an essential element of Zaima's civic identity as a more critical citizen. More specifically, she is empowered and equipped with the civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions necessary to take action in her communities and she has engaged collectively with others to act on relevant social issues (DeJaeghere, 2009; Giroux, 1980; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011; Knight Abowitz & Harnish, 2006). She acts as an agent of change in a variety of spaces. This is evident in Zaima's participation in the Black Lives Matter demonstrations, as well as in the club she founded on Lawson's campus that was dedicated to improving learning outcomes in local urban contexts. Zaima understands that social change, in the effort to dismantle systems of oppression and expand the rights and opportunities of all citizens, occurs as a result of empowerment and collective action (DeJaeghere, 2009; Giroux, 1980; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011; Knight Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; Stenhouse, 2012). Like Wade (2003), who asserted that, "our support for and dedication to student empowerment is critical" in the quest to foster more justice-oriented citizenship, Zaima emphasized the importance of teaching in ways that empower her students as agents of change.

Zaima observed instructional methods during her teacher education program that promoted student agency. Her participation in the NEA conference illuminated how young learners can use problem-solving skills in application to real-life dilemmas that affect their lives (DeJaeghere, 2009; Green, Medina-Jerez, & Bryant, 2016; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011); and as Wade suggested (2003), they can do so without even having to leave school grounds. The workshop, which presented strategies for creating democratic classrooms, inspired Zaima to envision how she would incorporate pods to represent the three branches of government in her future classroom as a way to foster student agency. By facilitating her students' creation and ongoing reconstruction of classroom rules/guidelines, she would, "[respect] the democratic right of students to participate in constructing the conditions that shape their lives" (Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009, p. 29), an essential component of citizenship education that promotes individual and collective agency in the pursuit of social justice.

The clinical experience in which the neighborhood shooting occurred was a circumstance that Zaima felt stifled an opportunity for fostering student agency. Although Zaima respectfully disagreed with her mentor teacher, who had chosen not to address the event in class due to his concern in meeting the academic goals for the day, she missed a chance to engage her students in agentic deliberation, problem-solving, and action (DeJaeghere, 2009; Giroux, 1980; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011). Instead, Zaima considered how she would have harnessed the situation to foster her students' civic identity development beyond the classroom walls had it been her pedagogical decision. She believed the shooting to be an issue that concerned her students and perceived it to be an authentic opportunity to engage them "with local contexts in the service of social change and empowerment" (Mirra & Morrell, 2011, p. 417). This incident shaped how she envisioned herself teaching in a future classroom. Zaima

explained how she would have facilitated discussions and writing projects that centered on the idea that her students had a role in this community and that they still have a voice even though they were not yet old enough to vote.

Summary

Zaima's narratives revealed two essential characteristics from the analytic framework that characterized her identity as a more critical citizen: 1) an understanding that one has many identities that are socially located, and 2) an understanding that social transformation requires agents of change. Through her experiences as a woman, a Muslim, and a person of color, Zaima came to understand that her identity was multifaceted, socially constructed (May & Sleeter, 2010; Parker, 2003), and positioned differently in terms of privilege and power (Bell, 2016; DeJaeghere, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011; May & Sleeter, 2010). With multiple aspects of her identity socially located outside of the cultural mainstream of the U.S., she felt compelled to engage in her communities in ways that positioned citizens of marginalized social groups at the center. Because of this, Zaima emphasized the importance of one's sense of empowerment and agency in order to actively work against institutions that perpetuate social injustices (Giroux, 1980; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011). Thus, the essential civic characteristics of understanding social positioning and enacting agency from the analytic framework characterized how Zaima made sense of her experiences in teacher education in relation to her evolving civic identity development as a more critical citizen.

Through Zaima's narratives, she illuminated how certain experiences throughout the teacher education program both did and did not foster these elements of her civic identity. Course experiences, such as the Privilege Walk and the compass rose project, pushed Zaima to analyze her own social positions as well as to consider how they might shape her future

pedagogy in ways that contribute to or disrupt patterns of privilege and oppression. Other experiences, like the superficial hieroglyphics lesson and the clinical in which her students had witnessed a drive-by shooting but could not discuss it in class, constrained Zaima from engaging in more critical discussions about culture and power and from seeking to foster a sense of agency within her students, many who embodied identities considered to be culturally on the margins. Zaima's continued development as a more critical citizen was both supported and constrained in her teacher education program. She clearly thought that her program should include more experiences that fostered critical approaches and was frustrated when opportunities were missed. Zaima's own identity as a more critical citizen made it possible for her to see these missed opportunities.

Jane

I think the most important way to learn in life is through life experiences. I can think of the top three moments in my life where I've learned and not a single one of them was in the classroom. They were all out in the world doing things and actually being there.

Discussing Sensitive Topics & Controversial Issues

Jane felt strongly that children were aware of and could handle sensitive, and often controversial, discussions about real world issues and she considered this a necessary skill in fostering a citizenry committed to social change that improves the lives of all citizens. She revealed, "Kids know a lot more than we want to believe they do. Since the 1950s we have been treating children like they're in a little bubble and nothing can harm them. But the truth is, they're hard. They're resilient." Jane, who often used social media as an outlet for civic

engagement, described a video she had recently shared on her Facebook Timeline that she felt supported this idea.

> This little girl from England was looking at t-shirts in Target or Kmart and all of the girls' shirts said stuff like, 'Hey Beautiful,' and, 'Just Pretty,' but the boys' shirts said, 'Think outside the box,' and, 'Be adventurous.' She was upset about it and said, '*I* want to think outside the box.' This girl was eight years old and she noticed this.

Jane self-reflected on her own awareness of social issues at a young age as she had grown up with an interest in understanding the world around her. "I liked to read books about history and different cultures," she shared, "I read about Anne Frank in fourth-grade." Jane was particularly interested in learning about the social challenges efxperienced and overcome by others, as she believed this understanding fostered empathy and one's desire to dismantle more oppressive structures in society. She shared the challenges she endured as a child with a disability.

> I had Dyslexia, so I struggled a lot as a kid, but in some way, it made my experiences more relatable. As a kid I could say, 'I get it. You're hurting. It's hard.'

Jane believed that learning about social issues and human struggle throughout her life, in addition to her experiences with Dyslexia, influenced "a want and a desire to change things, to want your voice to count, and to want something better." This characterized her civic identity as a more critical citizen and provided a lens through which she made sense of her experiences in teacher education.

Tutoring children through a work-study program at Lawson reinforced Jane's argument that elementary aged students were aware and capable of discussing sensitive and/or

controversial issues. The school, which she described as, "a big potluck of all different types of backgrounds," was the home to many immigrant families, and several of her students had openly shared their concerns during the presidential election of 2016. Jane remembered the morning following the victory of Donald Trump, a candidate who had advocated for stricter immigration policies (Diamond & Murray, 2015). A Kindergarten student, "who always came and gave her a big hug," entered the school and looked to be uncharacteristically upset. She shared,

> I pulled her aside to ask what was going on. I said, 'Ana, you never walk by without giving me a hug. I know that something is the matter.' And she said, 'I'm just not sure if my mom is going to be ok now. I don't know if I can still speak Spanish.' Ana is Hispanic. I'm pretty sure her mom is from Spain. She's very proud of her heritage.

Jane explained that the faculty had engaged in similar conversations with students of varying backgrounds and age groups at the school. A fifth-grade student had also expressed fear because "she and her family were on Green cards from Iran and she was in tears, afraid that someone was going to take them away." A group of boys jumped and shouted, "Build a wall," in the cafeteria. These students were not immune to the current issues faced by society. As an aspiring teacher, Jane considered how she would harness these types of situations as opportunities to engage her future students in discussions about historical and current social issues. She believed this would foster a stronger sense of empathy and critical civic engagement within her future students.

Jane applied this as she planned a thematic unit for an educational foundations course during her first semester at Lawson. Each student was required to create a presentation about the unit to share with the class. Her professor encouraged the students to "pick a topic that meant

something to them," and Jane shared, "Some people talked about family diversity and used books that focused on kids who lived in lesbian and gay households. Others chose books about mental health issues and disabilities." Jane designed a unit that would introduce upper elementary students to the concept of genocide, as she remembered learning about Anne Frank during a unit on biographies in the fourth-grade.

> I chose this topic because I remember learning about the Holocaust when I was younger, and it was so impactful. Most of the students in the class picked sports people. I picked Anne Frank. She had such a hard life compared to the athletes who got to live happily ever after that everyone else researched. That stuck with me and inspired me to keep looking into difficult subjects.

Jane believed that her experiences learning about sensitive topics and/or controversial issues influenced her sense of empathy and identity as a more critical citizen and she vowed to incorporate similar types of learning experiences in her future classroom.

> I plan to expose my kids to different cultures and the bad things that have happened in our past. We can't hide from them. They [students] know more than we think they do and they can handle 10 times more than we think they can. This is something I really need to teach.

However, Jane found that she was restrained from discussing controversial issues as she co-designed and taught a unit about elections the day immediately following the presidential election of 2016. She was instructed by the classroom teacher not to talk about candidates or anything that could be considered controversial with the second-grade students. Jane, who "went to a bunch of protests downtown" following the election results the night before, attended the clinical that morning with the same questions as many of her peers from Lawson, "How do we

talk to the kids today? What do we say?" Although she admitted that her students likely would not be aware of the many controversial issues surrounding the election.

> These kids aren't really in the loop. Most of their parents like to keep them out of it, which has its good and bad sides to it. It made my job easier, to be honest, but I think they should have exposure to it.

Jane believed that the awareness of social issues and experiences as members of marginalized groups compelled many of her young students at the other school to feel concern about the possible ramifications of the election. These students, however, were raised in families that greatly reflected the status quo. She proclaimed, "I get that the students and families in *this* school don't get it because they don't see it affecting their identities, but if it's affecting you you're going to care no matter how old you are." Still, Jane felt that all children should engage in discussions about social issues in society, regardless of their cultural or socioeconomic backgrounds, if schools were to foster citizens concerned about the well-being of others.

Jane prefaced the first lesson of the election unit by explaining to her students, "We're not talking about the candidates. We're just talking about the election process." One student seemed to struggle with this, but she redirected him with questions such as, "Bart, does this have to do with the election *process*?" whenever he made side comments. She consoled Bart and validated his frustration when he refused to complete the assessment task.

> I asked him, 'Bart, why don't you write? What's going on? He said, 'I'm just too sad.' I leveled with him and said, 'I totally get it. I'm not happy about it either, but we have to keep our opinions to ourselves when we're at school and be respectful of everyone. I want you to know that I hear you and I'm here for you, but we still

have to do our work. We still have to keep going. There's no reason to stop.' It

seemed like he felt better after that.

Jane thought that it was helpful to meet with her peers from Lawson before the lesson to

discuss "how to be the neutral point" that day, though she might have taught the unit differently

had it been her professional choice. Jane knew that one day she would be able to include

discussion about more sensitive issues in her future classroom.

The following section unpacks Jane's emphasis on the awareness and discussion of

sensitive and/or controversial issues as an important element of her more critical civic identity. It

is organized to illuminate the civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions that Jane embodied as a

more critical citizen and to interpret how her experiences in teacher education contributed to her

understanding of such issues as essential in promoting deliberative dialogue that addresses social

justice issues in elementary contexts.

Analysis & Interpretation

By exploring Jane's life in a three-dimensional space (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000), it is

clear that Jane valued learning and engaging in discussion about sensitive and/or controversial

issues as a child and as an aspiring teacher (DeJaeghere, 2009; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer,

2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011; Stenhouse, 2012). Learning about issues that evoked an

emotional response (Lowe, 2015; Short & Lloyd, 2017), such as the Holocaust and the

experiences of Anne Frank, helped her to develop a sense of empathy toward those who

experienced human suffering and influenced her desire to improve society at a young age.

Empathy is a vital civic disposition in fostering mutual understanding and emotional connections

toward others (DeJaeghere, 2009; Giroux, 1980; Johnson & Morris, 2011; Wade, 2003) and to

compel citizens to work for social change that improves the lived conditions of all people,

especially those individuals and groups who are marginalized (DeJaeghere, 2009; James & Iverson, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011; Knight Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; Porfilio, 2011). Several experiences throughout the teacher education program at Lawson contributed to this element of Jane's civic identity as a more critical citizen.

Learning experiences that encouraged Jane's curriculum design or discussion of sensitive and/or controversial issues strengthened this element of her civic identity as a more critical citizen and influenced her commitment to teaching for such issues with her future students (DeJaeghere, 2009; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011). The thematic unit that Jane created about the concept of genocide provided an opportunity to create lessons with the potential to humanize students (Johnson & Morris, 2011; Wade, 2003), though the course did not have a clinical component in which she could teach the lessons. Additionally, Jane's experiences discussing her students' concerns and fears regarding the presidential election as part of a work-study program reinforced her belief that children were aware of and felt impacted by social issues and inspired her to consider how "schools are important venues in the promotion of democratic dialogue" (Ho, Alviar-Martin, & Leviste, 2014, p. 3). However, as a student worker she was limited to consoling her students through informal conversations rather than through intentional lessons with their peers. Still, both experiences strengthened her commitment to use sensitive and/or controversial issues in ways that fostered critical citizenship in her future classroom.

While Jane expressed commitment to teaching for sensitive and/or controversial issues, she did not always have the opportunity to do this during her teacher education program. This was evident during a clinical experience in which the classroom teacher demanded she remain value neutral while teaching a unit about elections, and consequently, reflects the lack of

empirical work that explores how preservice teachers implement more critical learning experiences with their students. However, scholars have affirmed that schools are, indeed, political contexts (Gutmann, 1999; Kincheloe, 2008) and that teaching is never value neutral as it determines how future citizens are educated (Ginsburg et al., 1995; Gutmann, 1999; Hess & McAvoy, 2014). Furthermore, schools are valuable contexts to engage youth in deliberation about controversial issues as the experiences encourage the consideration of multiple perspectives and tolerance of diverse others (Gutmann, 1999; Hess, 2004). However, not all teachers align with this philosophy and many choose to avoid "taboo" topics (Ho, Alviar-Martin, & Leviste, 2014, p. 2), for a number of reasons such as personal and community values. Although Jane admitted that avoiding the discussion of controversial issues made her job easier, she also felt it was a missed opportunity to engage her students in meaningful and facilitated dialogue that acknowledged the controversial issues surrounding the election and promoted mutual understanding and empathy (Castro, 2014; DeJaeghere, 2009; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011; Payne, 2017). Missed opportunities for preservice teachers to teach for more critical citizenship have implications for their own civic identity development as well as that of their students and should be included as an essential component of their teacher education experiences.

Connecting Across Differences

Jane grew up in a small, rural town, where the residents were predominantly White, middle-class, and held more conservative viewpoints. "It was hard to figure out your values when there isn't a balance from both sides," she shared. Jane recalled an experience during her time at the Catholic high school from which she graduated,

They really hone in on abortion and everyone is very 'pro-life.' It just didn't seem completely right to me. I would ask my teacher questions like, 'What about rape victims,' and, 'What about this… and this... and this?' Senior year we were required to write a letter to our House of Representatives explaining why we wanted to support a pro-life, but not pro-choice, bill. I always knew I had issues with it, but I was afraid to actually find my voice because everyone else was pro-life.

One reason that Jane pursued an education at Lawson University was due to the fact that she wanted to live in an urban city with diversity in culture and ideas that she believed to be missing in her hometown. She felt that the absence of diversity in the community contributed to a lack of tolerance and empathy from its members. Jane expressed, "So many people back home are racist. I think a lot of it is the fact that they don't see it and so they just don't know. They've never lived outside of this community." She described her hometown as one that seemed to fear difference as the community had recently experienced an influx of immigrants.

There are a lot of farmers… so more of a Mexican and Latin American community moving in and looking for work. People are so freaked out about it and they just don't know what to do. And I'm thinking, 'They're *still* people. They're the same as you.'

Jane looked for opportunities to immerse herself in cultures unlike her own while she attended Lawson. She believed that this fostered one's desire to "help and protect others outside of his or her direct community." Therefore, Jane chose to participate in two study abroad opportunities. She visited El Salvador as part of Lawson's Alternative Break Immersion, a program designed to help students "build community, deepen faith, and do justice" in a host country during her freshman year. Jane explained,

You are immersed in their culture. You learned about their history. When I got placed to go to El Salvador, I had honestly never heard of the country before because we don't talk about geography in schools. So, I went as a freshman when I was still very much like, 'What's the world?' I learned so much.

Jane learned a piece of the country's history that she had never been exposed to before. She shared, "There was a terrible genocide there in the 70s. It was a massive 20-year civil war and America had a huge part in it. They're still not past it. I didn't know that until I studied there." Jane also studied in Thailand through the University Study Abroad Consortium and she felt particularly moved by the experience. "I conversed with a group of extremely open-minded people that I had never felt I shared so many values and ways of life with before. I became so much more educated just being around them," she shared. Jane found these types of opportunities to be powerful in shaping how she valued and understood diversity and differences.

Jane's exposure to lived experiences vastly different than her own greatly impacted her and she knew that she would never forget two particular students during her time at Lawson. She met Buddy in a seventh-grade science practicum at a school with a "high percentage of students who were English language learners." It was located in a neighborhood whose socioeconomic status was "not the best, but not the worst." Buddy's home life was not something that Jane could relate to. She had faced tough days as a child at times due to the estranged relationship she had had with her father, but nothing like this.

Buddy started off with this school, moved to Texas, and then came back. They moved to live with his family because his older brother had just died. His teacher hinted that it was gang related. The father figure in his life was unheard of. When

they moved to Texas, Buddy started getting into trouble. He got caught selling weed. There was a slew of issues.

Buddy still struggled when he returned to his old school. "He said some nasty things to teachers and had disrespected other students," Jane explained, "He made little girls cry." However, she developed a good relationship with him throughout her time there. "I never had any issues with him. He was great for me," she shared. Jane was fond of Buddy, but she had never worked closely with a student who experienced such significant social challenges at this point in her teaching program. She admitted, "That was my first exposure to this kind of stuff… how every aspect of their lives come alive in the classroom." Still, Jane felt she had learned a valuable lesson about being a teacher that she might have missed out on had she not crossed paths with Buddy.

> It was very eye-opening. It made me realize how much we have to care for our students as a whole person and not just as a student. As teachers, we really have to foster the whole person… to see what every student needs, but also what they bring to the table. You have to keep the expectations high, no matter what they're going through. You can't lower them.

Jane shared similar experiences with Jacob, a student who also faced social challenges that she had not been exposed to before. Like Buddy, she learned that these challenges had great impact on the child's experiences in school and she reconsidered how she thought about students with more significant social and emotional needs.

> As I learned more about Jacob, I knew that he was one of the first kids to arrive at school every morning and the last to leave. He was picked up by his baby-sitter. He hardly saw his parents. He was always very in need of adult attention.

Jane drew similar conclusions about her experiences with both Buddy and Jacob. "You just always have to know that there's more to the story. The more you get to know your kids, the more you'll know what they need, and you'll find ways to give it to them." She grew more empathetic to the plight of her students having learned the degree to which they experienced hardship. This might not have occurred had she spent this time in schools with students whose lived experiences were more similar to her own.

The following section unpacks Jane's experiences connecting with people of diverse cultural backgrounds and lived experiences as an important element of her more critical civic identity. It is organized to illuminate the civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions that Jane embodied as a more critical citizen and to interpret how her experiences in teacher education fostered such experiences, often pushing her to the edge of comfort and understanding.

Analysis & Interpretation

Jane valued differences as a more critical citizen – differences in culture, lived experience, idea, etc. – and she believed that it strengthened her tolerance of and connection with others (DeJaeghere, 2009; Giroux, 1980; Johnson & Morris, 2011; Wade, 2003). When considering the impact of place on Jane's civic identity, she was not exposed to differences having been raised in a more culturally homogenous community and the private Catholic school she attended did not create learning environments in which students could raise competing convictions, a prelude to democratic deliberation (Gutmann, 1999) and an essential skill in promoting more critical notions of citizenship as outlined in the analytic framework (DeJaghere, 2009; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011). The lack of diversity and difference in her hometown was one reason Jane chose to attend a university with people from a

multitude of backgrounds and lived experiences. Several experiences throughout the teacher education program fostered this element of Jane's civic identity as a more critical citizen.

Jane was most impacted by the educational opportunities at Lawson that fostered her engagement with people whose cultural backgrounds and lived experiences were in stark difference to her own, as they strengthened her disposition that all human beings are of equal value (Wade, 2003) and reinforced her commitment to improve the living conditions of others (DeJaeghere, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011; Knight Abowitz & Harnish, 2006). Working with students like Buddy and Jacob helped Jane realize that children's experiences impact their daily lives in school and because she had never experienced such hardship herself, she reconceptualized the purpose of education as one that fosters the entire humanity of a child, rather than merely prepare them for jobs (Wade, 2003). An understanding of the degree to which her students experienced significant social issues contributed to Jane's sense of empathy and commitment to meet the unique social and academic needs of her future students.

Jane's experiences with people of different cultures and lived experiences at Lawson pushed her to what Baily et al. (2014) described as "the edge" (p. 258) of knowing and comfort; however, she recognized the potential she had to learn from people whose backgrounds were different than her own. In Thailand, Jane developed relationships with peers who shared more in common with her than she had ever anticipated, but whom she also learned from because of their differences and engagement in discussions that rendered diverse perspectives. These types of intercultural experiences, argued Burke-Hengen and Smith (2000) foster interconnectedness and the commitment to protect others, a disposition of critical citizenship as reflected in the analytic framework. Jane believed these experiences expanded her worldview and connections to diverse peoples having been raised in a more culturally homogenous community.

Summary

Jane's narratives exhibited two essential characteristics from the analytic framework that characterized her identity as a more critical citizen: 1) the ability to discuss and deliberate sensitive and/or controversial issues, and 2) building emotional connections with those different from oneself. Due to Jane's experiences growing up in a more culturally homogenous community, she found it difficult to consider alternative perspectives surrounding different social issues (DeJaeghere, 2009; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011) as she was exposed to people whose lived experiences were similar to those of her own. Additionally, Jane believed that it was the lack of diversity in her hometown – in culture, ideas, and lived experiences – that led many community members to fear individual and group differences (DeJaeghere, 2009; Giroux, 1980; Johnson & Morris, 2011; Wade, 2003). Therefore, as a preservice teacher with more critical civic dispositions, Jane valued learning experiences that pushed her beyond comfort and familiarity by exposing her to differences and providing spaces in which she could engage a variety of perspectives regarding sensitive and/or controversial issues.

Through Jane's narratives, she illuminated how certain experiences throughout the teacher education program did and did not foster these elements of her civic identity. The genocide unit that Jane designed, for example, provided an opportunity to create more critical pedagogy that would expose future students to sensitive, and often humanizing, issues; however, the assignment did not have a corresponding clinical requirement in order to teach the lessons with actual children. In contrast, when Jane *did* face the opportunity to talk through potentially controversial issues during the election unit she designed and taught, she was instructed to address nothing more than the processes of elections. Finally, Jane also believed that the time she

spent studying abroad, as well as working with children whose lived experiences were vastly different than her own, fostered learning that at times felt uncomfortable but that also exposed her to alternative ways of thinking about the world and compelled her to improve the conditions of children facing significant social issues as a future teacher. Jane's continued development as a more critical citizen was both supported and constrained in her teacher education program. While her experiences strengthened the connections she felt with others, she also felt that there were missed opportunities to enact her civic identity by fostering more critical learning experiences with her students. Jane's own identity as a more critical citizen made it possible for her to see these missed opportunities.

Kathrine

These students did not necessarily have the capability of being politically active in the sense I'm used to, like literally going out and voting. Although voting is an important part of citizenship, it's also being socially connected to others within the same space. That's a lot of how we see ourselves as citizens, as having the right to vote and being able to participate in political processes... then do we not see people with severe disabilities as citizens? It's a weird thought.

Alternative Definitions of Citizen

One of Lawson's core dispositions as a Catholic university is that "all people hold value." This was instilled in Kathrine from a young age through her commitment to the church, in which she served as a peer minister and an adult leader for the youth group. Kathrine expressed, "My faith is really important to me. It's one of the top reasons that I believe what I believe… that every person has fundamental human rights that we cannot infringe upon." This worldview

evolved throughout her experiences in the teacher education program at Lawson University. She reconsidered the essence of one's humanity and citizenship and began to understand the two concepts as interconnected. "Citizenship *is* one's humanity," she shared. Kathrine expressed the tension she felt as she attempted to reconcile her views about citizenship with how it is often perceived in society.

> I used to have a lot more traditional sense of the word, 'citizen'. I was very black or white, yes or no, you have papers, or you don't have papers. Ideally, citizenship wouldn't have to draw upon the fact that we have this paperwork to confirm that we were born here or that we applied to be granted this arbitrary paperwork. I think of citizen as both political and social. Political because we have these structures that order the way we run our democracy but also social because we either include, or not include, people in that democracy. We can either make democracy inclusive and available to as many people as possible, or the opposite by making it closed off and kind of arbitrary. I mean, I was born in this country by chance.

Kathrine began to reconstruct an alternative definition of what it means to be a citizen as she realized the potential more traditional perceptions had in shaping how people valued others. She rooted this idea in the fundamental principles of Catholicism.

> Catholicism is very community-based. It is about living with others for who they are and taking them as they are. It comes into play when thinking about how we're citizens because it's not just about having the papers that say, 'Yes, I'm allowed to vote. Yes, I'm allowed to have a social security card.' It's about living together and making decisions together for the greater good.

Kathrine attributed this evolution in thought to her experiences working with diverse students in the urban city's public-school system as part of her teacher preparation. "I think we equate citizenship with holding value in society," she alleged, as she considered how her students and their families engaged as citizens.

> I'm sure I've worked with undocumented students as there is a large number of them. There are a lot of students in poverty, and in reality, a lot of people in poverty don't have the same access to making choices for themselves that people *not* in poverty do. If we equate citizenship with making choices for oneself, like in a social sense, then people we see as 'less' or 'lower than' don't always have those options. Working with those students helped change my perspectives.

A philosophy course coupled with a clinical experience in a classroom of students with severe and profound disabilities problematized the way Kathrine thought about personhood and its relationship to citizenship. The philosophy course emphasized essential questions such as, "What are criteria for personhood," and, "What is the nature of human knowledge" (personal communication, October 21)? "It changed the way I thought about what a person was," Kathrine shared.

> In a traditional sense, we think of a person as someone who has the cognitive ability to do this… and this… and this… but that's not the reality for a lot of people. Some might argue that they're not people then, which I think relates to how we consider people to be valuable.

Kathrine had volunteered for the Best Buddies (Best Buddies, 2018) program in high school, a non-profit organization that creates opportunities for friendship, employment, and leadership development for people with intellectual and developmental disabilities, and she grew

up with a friend who had Down's Syndrome, but this experience was different than those she had

had in the past. She expressed,

> I'm working with students who are drastically different and have drastically
>
> different needs and desires, but also similar needs and desires. It's different than
>
> what I'm used to. It made me take a step back and think about how I treat others
>
> and how I will support these students. The way people learn, and the way people
>
> exist is totally different than what I'm used to, in some cases.

This experience complicated how Kathrine thought about citizenship and how one enacts

citizenship. "Working closely with these students showed me the reality in which they lived, the

lack of autonomy that they have," Kathrine shared as she grappled with more traditional

perceptions about what it means to be a citizen.

> These students did not necessarily have the capability of being politically active in
>
> the sense I'm used to, like literally going out and voting. Although voting is an
>
> important part of citizenship, it's also being socially connected to others within the
>
> same space. That's a lot of how we see ourselves as citizens, as having the right to
>
> vote and being able to participate in political processes… then do we not see people
>
> with severe disabilities as citizens? It's a weird thought. I mean, the harsh reality is
>
> that not everyone with a severe disability is going to have the capability of voting
>
> or taking part in political processes.

Kathrine did not have the opportunity to work through these complex understandings as

part of the special education course within which the clinical experience was a requirement. The

course "focused more strictly on teaching," she explained, "Like, here are all of these disabilities.

This is how we teach different types of students." She considered her reconceptualization of

personhood and citizenship to be a more "implicit piece" of her learning throughout the semester, understandings that she came to on her own throughout her experiences with the students.

Kathrine shared a similar experience as she challenged the idea of assigning labels in society, such as human or citizen, while taking a course at Lawson that focused on teaching English language learners. She tutored an immigrant student from Nigeria and utilized the student's assessments scores, an interest survey, and data from multiple interviews to plan appropriate lessons. Still, Kathrine expressed confusion in the school's choice of the particular student for the program.

> English is Nigeria's official language so English *is* her first language, but she was still an ELL student. That's crazy to me. She speaks English fine. She technically doesn't have the score on her language assessment to be 'proficient' but she communicates just fine.

Kathrine acknowledged that she was unfamiliar with the field of English language development and clarified that "she didn't disagree that she [student] should have been in ELL classes because obviously her scores demonstrated that she needed support in that area," but the experience caused her to think about the repercussions of assigning labels to people in society. She proclaimed,

> The way we label students as 'ELL', 'special ed', 'student in poverty', hugely affects how we think about them even though we know nothing about them. This relates to citizenship, as well. I mean, we label people as 'documented', 'undocumented', 'being in poverty', 'not being in poverty', but again, we know nothing about them except for a label.

Kathrine admitted that labels often misled how people perceived others, but as an aspiring teacher she wanted to account for her students' diverse backgrounds in providing equitable educational opportunities.

It's a weird balance. You always want to have high expectations for a student, but you also want to understand where they're coming from. It's a struggle with students who receive special education services as well. So many different ability levels coming into it, and how do I challenge them enough where they are able to succeed and reach their potential?

To Kathrine, this experience illuminated the power that labels had in shaping people's perspectives of others and she understood that such views were unfounded. In another sense, she believed that identifying students with significant needs, such as those living in poverty, was necessary in developing equitable learning experiences.

The following section unpacks Kathrine's alternative understandings of citizenship and the impact of labels on the construct of citizen as an important element of her more critical civic identity. It is organized to illuminate the civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions that Kathrine embodied as a more critical citizen and to interpret how her experiences in teacher education fostered alternative understandings of citizenship, as well as the societal impact of such perceptions.

Analysis & Interpretation

Kathrine's understanding of what it means to be a citizen transformed across a temporal continuum. In a more traditional sense, she initially understood citizen as one who holds legal status as confirmed by national documentation (Bellamy, 2008); however, she began to reconceptualize citizenship as a more social than legal entity (DeJaeghere, 2009; Giroux, 1980;

Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009). Rooted in her Catholic faith that all human beings have equal value, she reconsidered a more formal definition of citizenship to be exclusionary (Oldfield, 1990) and arbitrary in a sense that she was born in this country "by chance", and she argued that an understanding of citizenship should extend beyond one's access to and engagement in formal political processes to illuminate the shared membership (Joppke, 2007) of people who live together and make decisions together for the greater good (Dewey, 1916). Several experiences throughout the teacher education program contributed to this element of Kathrine's civic identity as a more critical citizen.

Kathrine's participation in a variety of course discussions and clinical experiences fostered her understanding that not everyone exemplifies more traditional roles as citizens (DeJaeghere, 2009; Giroux, 1980; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009). The philosophy course pushed her to grapple with the notion of personhood and framed how she thought about her clinical students with severe and profound disabilities in comparison with more dominant ideals. Because of this, Kathrine began to reconsider citizenship as merely an act of voting and participating in other political processes, more traditionally perceived by members of democratic societies (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004; Westheimer, 2015), as she questioned whether or not her students would one day have access to such civic engagement. The tension Kathrine experienced is evident in the question she posed, "Then do we not view people with severe disabilities as citizens?" Additional clinical experiences, in which she worked directly with students who faced other social challenges and barriers outside of the mainstream, such as living in poverty or without legal documentation, influenced her to rethink initial ideas of what it means to be a citizen and to "develop new meanings of civic membership and participation (DeJaeghere, 2009, p. 227). Kathrine reconceptualized citizenship as a more social than legal entity as she came to

understand that not all people have access to enact citizenship in more traditional ways, such as voting, participating in political processes, or even making choices for oneself. This critical understanding, as reflected in the analytic framework, is essential in developing a more inclusive and compassionate citizenry.

As Katherine reconceptualized her understanding of what it means to be a citizen over time, she also reconsidered how such labels impact society's perceptions of certain individuals and social groups (DeJaeghere, 2009; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011). Katherine's experiences tutoring a student from Nigeria with language development needs and wrestling with the school's decision to place the student in a specific program, encouraged her to think about the implications in assigning labels such as "ELL", "student in poverty", and "undocumented citizen", and their impact in how people are valued – or not valued – in the classroom and greater society. This is an essential understanding of a more critical citizen, as reflected in the analytic framework, particularly in a society where individuals and social groups experience exclusions based on the labels ascribed to them (DeJaeghere, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011). Aligned with Wade's (2003) assertion that recognizing each human in society as valuable and equal to oneself provides the foundation of a citizenry committed to social justice, Kathrine's experiences throughout the teacher education encouraged her to self-reflect on how she considered other people to be valuable, particularly those with backgrounds and lived experiences different than her own (Rosenberg, 2007). She considered this important in her growth as a citizen, but also as future teacher in providing equitable experiences for her students.

Understanding the Relationship Between Identity and Privilege

Part of the reason that Kathrine chose to become a teacher was because of her experiences at a culturally diverse suburban high school, where the demographics consisted of

"about 40% Latino students, 40% white students, and the rest were students of other ethnicities and heritages." She expressed, "I had a fantastic experience with a wide variety of students." The school sat in a district zone with "a really large tax base" and received "a lot of title funding" and an on-site Title coordinator. "They supported a wide variety of students," Kathrine shared, "There were a lot of really good programs. There wasn't as much diversity as they have in the city, but comparatively to the suburbs it was a lot more diverse." She believed that the exposure to such diversity helped her to become a more aware citizen since she was exposed to "other people's opinions and life experiences" as well as the fact "that there are undocumented students at my school and that that's ok." However, she also became aware of the social inequalities sometimes experienced in culturally diverse schools.

> There was definitely some inequality, in a sense, and it was not perfect by any means. I could literally walk through the halls without a hall pass all of the time and never get stopped but then a Latino student would get stopped. I think those experiences made me more compassionate, more aware of their rights as people.

This impacted Kathrine and she explained, "even though the school was supportive, there were still differences, which made me want to become a teacher even more." As a teacher she believed that she could help to provide more equitable experiences for students from marginalized populations.

Kathrine developed a deeper understanding of how one's identity helps shape his or her lived experiences as she grappled with the concept of privilege while taking a course at Lawson. She explained the goals of the course, "It was about how our experiences, understandings, views, and upbringing affect how we teach – both in good and bad ways." While the course highlighted the "funds of knowledge" (personal communication, October 21 2016) that teachers bring to

classrooms, it also illuminated social inequalities in schools and how "the social construction of statuses such as class, race, disability, and gender have been traditionally used to stereotype families and communities" (personal communication, October 21 2016). Kathrine, who admitted that "she had never really thought about these types of things before," believed the course to be a powerful experience as it encouraged her to reconsider how her own identities have influenced her experiences.

> I'm the main demographic for teachers. I'm a middle-class, White woman and that puts me in a privileged place, which I realized when I took that class. I've been given an education that I value. I'm able to afford to go to college. Just the fact that I am sometimes able to realize that I am affected by being a middle-class person is privilege, in itself.

To Kathrine, the opportunity to examine and analyze privilege in formal educational settings was, in fact, a privilege. She began to consider how she would harness such privilege as a future teacher, but she also realized its limitations.

> I honestly had never really thought about having privilege before. It's good, in a sense, because I have the power to help and work with students. I have the ability to do that. But also, I'm biased. I don't know the struggles of students, especially students with disabilities. It's so expensive getting the resources they need, like assistive technology… or just having medical care. I can't even fathom how difficult that is. I don't have that experience, myself. So, knowing that will hopefully make me a better teacher.

Kathrine was exposed to students whose lived experiences were not rooted in positions of privilege as she learned more about the dire issue of homelessness with many of the inner city's

public-school students, a problem that did not seem as severe having grown up in the suburbs. She revealed, "A lot of the city's students are homeless. I want to say it's 300,000 students but I'm not completely sure. It was surprising to me how many students did not have a consistent place of living." This alarming statistic influenced Kathrine to research and present on the McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act for a project in an educational policy course, as she wanted to make others aware of the issue and consider the repercussions of homelessness for students in schools.

> Every homeless student is required to be given the services to receive an education. Generally, kids need a home address or a proof of residency, but a lot of homeless students don't have that. So, beforehand, it was easy to say, 'Alright, you don't have proof of residency. You don't have a tax form. You don't have a bill with your family's name on it, so we can't enroll you in school.' That's illegal because of the McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act.

Kathrine's poster presentation took place in the School of Education, in which faculty members and students were encouraged to attend. In addition to providing the legal mandates of the policy, she emphasized its impact in creating equitable academic opportunities for children. Kathrine declared, "When teachers advocate for homeless children, believe in their abilities, provide resources for them, and fulfill their academic, social, and emotional needs, they take a step toward becoming true social justice educators." She believed that the project would help her to ensure more equitable experiences for all students, particularly those from more marginalized populations.

Though Kathrine had begun to understand the interplay of identity and privilege throughout her time at Lawson, she struggled to grasp how students and their families navigated

positions of less advantage as she observed a local protest for a requirement in an educational policy course. "We just went to observe," she shared, "It was parents whose children's school was being closed and reopened as a charter or magnet school on the south side of the city, but it wasn't ideal. So, they were doing a hunger strike." The purpose of the observation, "was to see, at the local level, how state and district policies affect students and families." Kathrine was aware that certain schools in the community had experienced controversial issues with funding as she explained, "We're seeing a change to charter schools because of a lack of state funding, but even more so because of district policies." She had trouble relating to the issue having never experienced anything similar in the suburban community where she grew up.

> It was just amazing to see how much the parents cared about their child's education.
> I mean, not a lot of things would drive me to do a hunger strike. If I had kids and
> the school closed – Yeah, I'd be upset, but I don't think I'd do a hunger strike.

Kathrine admitted that she had never participated in a political protest of any capacity, though thousands of local public-school teachers had also held protests in response to the school district's controversial budget during her time at Lawson. The teacher education program mandated that preservice teachers not participate in the protests as Kathrine shared, "Their policy is that we respect the teachers' strike, but we don't go out and strike with them. I understand the school's need to be impartial, in some sense." Regardless, Kathrine grappled with her own perception of political protest as a strategy for securing more equitable opportunities.

> I support, ideologically, what they're fighting for. I don't necessarily support how
> they're fighting for it. I think protesting is really important and is really beneficial
> when it's done in a way that sways public opinion positively… because that's the
> point of protest. You have to choose how to fight your battles well.

Up to this point in her life, Kathrine had not experienced anything that had compelled her to participate in an organized protest, not as a citizen or as an aspiring teacher. "It's something I should probably work on," she shared, though she believed attending school board meetings to be a more appropriate strategy for impacting change.

The following section unpacks Kathrine's understandings of identity and privilege as an important element of her more critical civic identity. It is organized to illuminate the civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions that Kathrine embodied as a more critical citizen and to interpret how her experiences in teacher education contributed to her understanding of how identities are positioned on a societal hierarchy of power.

Analysis & Interpretation

Kathrine began to understand that identity impacted the experiences of individuals and social groups as she attended a culturally diverse high school, one in which she noticed that she could wander the halls without repercussion, but students of other races or ethnicities could not (Bell, 2016; DeJaeghere, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011; May & Sleeter, 2010). While Kathrine's high school experiences exposed her to diversity in culture, lived experiences, and ideas, which she believed fostered a sense of awareness and empathy, she recognized that students of varying backgrounds were not always treated the same (DeJaeghere, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011). Experiences like these influenced her to become a teacher as she sought to provide more equitable educational experiences for future students, particularly those from marginalized groups. Several experiences throughout the teacher education program at Lawson University built on this element of civic identity as a more critical citizen.

Through Kathrine's experiences at Lawson, she understood that identities are socially constructed and that they are positioned differently on a societal hierarchy of power (Adams,

2016; Bell, 2016; Carrington & Selva, 2010; Johnson & Morris, 2011; May & Sleeter, 2010; Settlage, 2010). Examining her own social positions within the identity course and her research on the McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act influenced Kathrine to recognize how her own identities were positioned in relationship to others, an essential characteristic from the analytic framework (Adams, 2016; DeJaeghere, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011; May & Sleeter, 2010), as well how elements of her identity had contributed to positions of privilege. Kathrine considered her power as a teacher to provide more equitable educational opportunities (Carrington & Selva, 2010; DeJaeghere, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011) as she determined that her positions of privilege strengthened her ability to help future students, particularly those of more marginalized populations.

Missing from Kathrine's experiences at Lawson was the critical examination of how every day institutions, such as schools, perpetuate the oppression and domination of different individuals and/or social groups, which is essential in fostering a citizenry committed to dismantling such oppressive forces (Giroux, 1980; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009; James & Iverson, 2009; Porfilio, 2011). This was a thread throughout the learning experiences she shared. While the identity course pushed Kathrine to examine how her identity was socially constructed and shaped positions of privilege, she did not engage in critical discussions about how every day institutions functioned to maintain privilege for some but not all. Similarly, while she felt compelled to research the McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act due to the alarming number of homeless children in the area, she did not investigate homelessness as a social issue along with possible root causes and solutions. Instead, homelessness was approached as something to be accommodated for in schools, rather than as a condition to be eliminated through structural changes in society (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). This was also evident during

Kathrine's experience at the local protest as she struggled to understand why the circumstances warranted a response as severe as a hunger strike. Omitting more critical discussions about the interplay of identity, culture, and power has repercussions for civic identity development as it limits conversations about the role of more critical citizens in dismantling such oppressive forces.

Summary

Kathrine's narratives exhibited two essential characteristics from the analytic framework that characterized her identity as a more critical citizen: 1) constructing alternative definitions of what it means to be a citizen, and 2) understanding identity and privilege. Katherine's religious foundation in Catholicism helped shape her disposition that all human beings hold equal value (Wade, 2003). However, through her experiences at a diverse high school and in working with children of diverse backgrounds in the public school system, she came to understand that identities were positioned differently on a societal hierarchy of power (Bell, 2016; DeJaeghere, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011; May & Sleeter, 2010) and that her identity as a White, middle-class female shaped her lived experiences in particular ways. During her time at Lawson, she began to question her own perceptions of others, such as how she understood individuals to be citizens, and the implications for such perceptions in society and in her future classroom. Thus, the essential civic characteristics of constructing alternative definitions of what it means to be a citizen and understanding identity and privilege from the analytic framework characterized how Kathrine made sense of her experiences in teacher education in relation to her evolving civic identity development as a more critical citizen.

Through Kathrine's narratives, she illuminated how certain experiences in teacher education fostered these elements of her civic identity. A philosophy course coupled with clinical

experiences during which Kathrine worked with students from marginalized populations pushed her to question the rigid boundaries of defining *person* and *citizen* in more traditional ways. She thought critically about the repercussions of assigning labels, such as non-citizen and undocumented, to children in classrooms and people in society and considered how they shape one's perceptions of others. As part of another course, Kathrine chose to research the McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act due to the alarming number of homeless students in the local school district. Through this project, she drew the conclusion that advocacy for homeless students was essential in teaching for social justice. Kathrine believed that her teacher education experiences provided opportunities that strengthened her civic identity as a more critical citizen; however, she did not remember grappling with these ideas in a course setting.

Atticus

It wasn't just a protest. It was an experience… an immersion experience. I'm standing here with people who don't know me - standing for what I believe in – and those people may not know me, but they agree that I should have those [rights]. It's electrifying. It's loud. It's different. It's uncomfortable. It made me passionate about citizenship.

Understanding the Relationship Between Identity and Power

Atticus grew up in a town that is characteristic of much of rural America. The students he attended high school with, in most ways, resembled himself – White, Christian, and middle-class, with the exception of "two Black kids, a few Asians, and a few Indian kids." Most were raised in families that were religious and politically conservative. The community was often praised by its members as the former home of the Vice President of the United States, Mike

Pence, a conservative politician who advocated for policies that protected religious freedom but limited the rights of the LGBTQ community (Drabold, 2016). Only one student at Atticus's high school had ever come out as gay and he was "somewhat ostracized" by his peers as a result. "The status quo was very much the status quo," Atticus confessed. Until he moved to attend Proctor University, some 100 miles away, "he had not had many experiences with cultural diversity." It was the openness of expression and diverse perspectives on Proctor's campus that Atticus believed opened his eyes to different ways of thinking and to lived experiences unlike his own. It was often that he was confronted on campus with "voices from the Black Lives Matter movement," or the "You're going to hell' people holding wooden crosses." It was a stark contrast to what he had experienced growing up in his hometown, where "no one ever protested in the streets," where "people didn't march for Black Lives Matter." However, Atticus believed that the diversity in culture, socioeconomic status, lived experience, and identity at Proctor "made him open up and see the world a little larger than himself." Several experiences at Proctor influenced how Atticus perceived diversity as a more critical citizen.

One such experience was a "Literature of Black America" course that pushed Atticus to think critically for the first time about the impact of race on one's lived experiences. There were several options that would satisfy one of his core English requirements but rather than take "Great American Authors and read Grapes of Wrath for the fourth time," he opted for a course that "would really have him step outside of the box." Atticus wanted an experience that would "challenge him in ways that the classics of Romeo and Juliet would not." He found this challenge as the course addressed "social issues concerning Black America" through the analyses of historical and contemporary literature. The professor, "who was the head of the Black Cultural Center," fostered class discussions that pushed Atticus to "think about how African Americans

were dealing and why they wrote about things a certain way," and he was surprised at his ability to "think through a variety of perspectives in his writing." Raised in a rather racially homogenous community, Atticus admitted that he had "never had to think about life this way before." The course experiences were "eye-opening" and "boundary pushing," creating a sense of discomfort while fostering understanding and empathy for those whose individual and group identities were different than his own. He shared,

> I'm coming from a lot of White perspective here, and then here's this older Black gentleman who's lived through race riots, and the March, and it was just very… I don't think at that time I knew how to empathize, or to understand where people were coming from quite yet. I could empathize a *little*, but I couldn't empathize with someone with a way different race. I could empathize with someone with a different idea but understanding where someone from the ghetto of Harlem came from, I didn't understand that. But by listening to my professor, who came from the Harlem ghetto, and this other Black girl who was paying her way through student loans and grants and scholarships from downtown Chicago, it made me have to learn to empathize with a broader person of difference than myself.

Atticus believed that perspective-taking during the literature course was greatly impactful in understanding the diverse experiences of others and he expected something similar as he took a multicultural education course that same semester. He argued that the education course, which focused on "how cultural diversity pertained to teachers and how we all have bias," "did not go very in depth," in comparison to the literature course. He shared,

> I think that class [multicultural education] should be intended to make you feel… not guilty… but, shame? Conscious? It should progress you to think differently

and empathize and I'm not sure I learned to do that in that class. I understood there were going to be different cultures in my [future] classroom.

Atticus had hoped the course would impel him to think about the histories and lived experiences of diverse cultural groups, which he believed occurred due to the more diverse group of students in the literature course. However, Atticus noted that everyone in the multicultural education course seemed to reflect similar cultural backgrounds. He described the students as White and Christian, and explained that most had come from local towns around the state. Atticus expressed, "I was in class with a bunch of rural farmers, you know?" He felt that he was introduced to vastly different lived experiences in the literature course and that that had made him think more critically about how aspects of identity and culture impacted one's life. The education course did not have the same impact.

I felt like I was reading *about* Chinese students, Indian students, Philippino students, Hispanic students, but I don't think I was learning to empathize or understand those students in that class. I just felt like it was a very missed opportunity.

While Atticus agreed that exposure to cultural diversity was necessary as an aspiring teacher, he believed that thinking more critically about the diverse experiences of others in ways that pushed him outside of his comfort zone led to a stronger sense of empathy.

Atticus was pushed to the edge of comfort again during a clinical experience in a third-grade special education resource classroom. "There are events in your life and when they happen, they change the way that you think about something forever," he expressed. Atticus and the classroom teacher discussed the various social challenges experienced by his students and he knew that one student's mom "makes crack in the kitchen in the morning, so he comes in glazed

over," that another student's parents "used their kids as drug mules," and that "some moms and dads sold their kids' medication for things." Atticus revealed, "We, as teachers, were the stable source. We were 'the rock' in those students' lives. The parents weren't stable. Home lives were horrible." He felt emotions that he had not experienced before as a teacher.

You want to cry but you can't let the students see you cry. A lot of those experiences broke my heart. They tugged at my heart strings. They made me feel things that I don't like to feel. I'm not an emotional person, but from the sadness and from the heart-felt sorrow I felt for those kids, a passion grew from the scorched fields.

As a teacher, Atticus described his job as a "human experience" and a "civil service," one in which he had the opportunity "to help his students better themselves." \Atticus felt that he had responsibility, as both a teacher and citizen, to help his students envision that "there's another life out there" and that it was possible to "break the cycle." He expressed, "I want them to know that if you're not happy here, there's an opportunity for you to grow and move, you know?" His immersion in the lives of children whose upbringing was significantly different than his own fostered a commitment to empower his current and future students.

The following section unpacks Atticus's understanding of the relationship between identity and power as an important element of his more critical civic identity. It is organized to illuminate the civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions that Atticus embodied as a more critical citizen and to interpret how his experiences in teacher education contributed to his understanding of how identities are positioned on a societal hierarchy of power as they fostered more transformative feelings of discomfort.

Analysis & Interpretation

Atticus had begun to understand throughout his experiences across time that people are positioned on a societal hierarchy of power based on different aspects of identity, such as race and socioeconomic status, and that one's social position renders him or her more or less access to power and privilege in society (Bell, 2016; DeJaeghere, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011; Kincheloe, 2008; May & Sleeter, 2010). He recognized this when a fellow high school student was ostracized in the community for revealing his sexual orientation as gay. However, Atticus's experiences with cultural diversity, and more importantly, with experiences in which he thought critically about how "individuals and groups are inevitably located, and often differentially constrained, by wider structural forces, such as capitalism [and] racism" (May & Sleeter, 2011, p. 6) were scarce. It was not until he attended Proctor University that he was exposed to more diverse identities, ideologies, and learning experiences that encouraged him to consider the ramifications for one's social locations in the wider society.

Atticus felt impacted when he examined lived experiences drastically different than his own, as they encouraged him to analyze his own social locations in relationship to others (Bell et al., 2016; DeJaeghere, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011; May & Sleeter, 2010; Parker, 2003), an essential characteristic from the analytic framework. The literature course, though not housed in the education department, challenged Atticus to think in new ways about often uncomfortable concepts such as the interplay of race, socioeconomic status, privilege, and oppression, as he engaged in perspective-taking about experiences vastly different than his own (Giroux, 1980; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009). The clinical experience exposed him to the significant social issues faced by his students and how they impacted their experiences in school. Atticus described the experience as life changing and though he had never experienced anything similar growing

up, it compelled him to empower his students to break barriers and overcome such challenges, another vital element of more critical citizenship (DeJaeghere, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011; Knight Abowitz & Harnish, 2006). These more critical understandings derived from learning experiences that pushed Atticus outside his level of comfort and they strengthened his sense of empathy for diverse identities and experiences, particularly those from marginalized populations.

The experiences that resonated most with Atticus had caused him to feel discomfort throughout the learning process as the course readings, discussions, and clinical experiences pushed him beyond a level of familiarity and comfort (Adams, 2016; Bailey et al., 2014, Zembylas, 2015). He experienced this discomfort in the literature course as he engaged in discussions that encouraged him to think about his and others' racial identities, and again with his students who experienced social challenges that he could not remotely understand. Such learning, Adams (2016) argued, "can pull the rug out from under the status quo on which their lives have been built" (p. 28) and creates opportunities for more critical self-reflection and more transformative thinking (Doerr, 2011). To Atticus, the feeling of discomfort influenced him to feel concern for and imagine a world in which racial equality was a possibility, and one in which his third-graders could experience upward mobility regardless of the social positions they had been born into.

It is important to note that while Atticus engaged in learning experiences that contributed to his ongoing civic identity construction as a more critical citizen, he also exhibited some degree of a "White Savior" complex (Straubhaar, 2015, p. 382). Straubhaar (2015) characterized this construct as one's lack of recognition of social privilege and "a sense that we as Westerners have the unique power to uplift, edify, and strengthen" (p. 384) those without such privilege. Atticus had begun to recognize the privileges that accompanied some elements of his identity throughout

his experiences at Proctor and he characterized such privileges in society as unfair. However, he approached the experiences with his clinical students from a perspective of power rather than as a collective force. Atticus perceived his students' circumstances as something that he had the powwer to fix, in a sense. As a more critical citizen it is essential to recognize unequal social positions, but it is imperative that citizens of more privileged positions work *alongside* those who have been marginalized in dismantling oppressive structures (Freire, 1970). This is a critical understanding that Atticus missed.

Community Engagement

Atticus learned the most about what it meant to be a citizen and a teacher of citizenship by doing things in his communities. He served as a mentor for Best Buddies (Best Buddies, 2018) after he witnessed the impact his mother had made on students with special needs as a paraprofessional in the local elementary school. He shared, "She [Mom] calls them her kids and today one of them sent her a text message that said, 'Thank you. I couldn't make it through high school without you.' That's what I want. I want to make a difference in kids' lives." As a mentor, Atticus and his buddy would often participate in activities such as "bowling, a trip to the movies, or lunch at the high school." He chose to participate in this particular program because, "He felt like those kids needed more help than other kids do." His experiences with Best Buddies greatly impacted his decision to become a special education teacher, as he was drawn to helping improve the lives of children from more marginalized populations.

Atticus's experience participating in a local political protest for the first time also had significant impact on his identity as a more critical citizen. After "coming out" as a gay male, Atticus "finally felt free to advocate for himself," and he did so by attending a local protest in response to a policy perceived to discriminate against the LGBTQ community. He shared,

Once I found something I was passionate about and something I believed in, going and being involved in that experience with a group of people, being a different type of citizen, using a different way to communicate ideas… It was eye-opening and an absolutely different experience. After that I've been more involved and more interested in politics. I've followed politics much more closely.

Atticus, who had always "felt passionate about equal rights," described how this experience "really helped me to solidify my beliefs and become more vocal." He expressed,

I think it was the atmosphere and the energy at that protest. It was a fire. It was an experience. It wasn't just a protest. It was an immersion experience. I'm standing here with people who don't know me, standing for what I believe in because I believe in it and I am who I am, and those people may not know me, but they agree that I should have those rights too. It's electrifying. It's loud. It's different. It's uncomfortable. It made me *completely* uncomfortable, but the experience made me passionate about citizenship in the process.

Atticus participated in various projects during his teacher education program at Proctor that engaged him in similar types of authentic and meaningful experiences.

A project in a science education course required Atticus to address "real world problems" through a unit on sustainability issues, such as "water purification" and "renewable energy." He participated in essential, but sometimes controversial, discussions with his professor and other preservice teachers about the "environmental impact of harnessing energy from the sun" and "the loss of natural resources and how the entire globe is going to survive." Atticus thought about how these issues affected people and places differently.

When you're talking about water purification, you're talking about third world countries who don't have water most of the time. And what about nuclear energy? Do we use nuclear energy? It's great. It's powerful. It's clean *if* nothing happens. What about the Chernobyl situation and what happened to all of those people?

Atticus felt more of a global civic responsibility as he and his colleagues deliberated questions like these in class, and he sought out ways that he could contribute to solutions.

The professor taught me that it's an issue that people don't have clean water. Now that I know that they don't have clean water, I'm going to support organizations that help get clean water. They have this organization called 1:Face. You buy a watch, and depending on which watch you buy, they donate that money. So, a yellow band goes to education and a white band goes to clean water.

The course influenced Atticus to target clean water as a pertinent social issue for the culminating project of the course, which required he and a small group of students to identify, research, and pose solutions to a significant sustainability issue. He expressed,

I'm passionate about clean water so I convinced my group to build a water filtration system. We researched water purification systems, determined which one would be cheap, and then we built a 5-gallon bucket and shipped it down to Haiti with my church.

Atticus believed that the examination of sustainability issues in authentic and "real life" ways fostered his concern for and commitment to improving social issues, particularly those that did not always directly impact his life.

Atticus shared a similar experience during a project-based unit in a social studies education course at Proctor. The project required him to "*do* history, work cooperatively, read

and write for a meaningful purpose within social studies, and conduct historical research"
(personal communication, October 21 2016), as he and a group of colleagues composed a
biography about Rosa Parks. It was different than how Atticus had learned in social studies
courses in grade school. He shared, "Social studies always just meant history to me. You learned
the state history in elementary school. In high school it was World Civilizations, Economics, and
Government, but Government class just talked about government. We didn't talk about social
issues." It impacted how Atticus understood citizenship as a more critical endeavor.

> We did Rosa Parks! And social justice was one of the big things. The professor was
> so into social justice and the revolution that she [Rosa Parks] started, and then that
> started my thoughts about how I view what a citizen is, you know? It's someone
> who advocates for himself. Rosa did that. It's someone who is able to speak their
> ideas and share their ideas and she did that in a non-verbal way, but it sparked
> others. It's something where you're not only thinking about yourself, but others.
> She sat on that bus and you know what? She sparked a revolution which later helped
> other people.

The cooperative biography experience helped shape how Atticus understood social
justice, and more particularly, collective action, as an essential element of civic responsibility.
He expressed,

> Being a citizen is being helpful to others; you're doing things for the greater good
> of the whole community and Rosa thought about that. The sit-in counters, those
> kids sitting in and learning about the sit-in counters. They didn't just sit in for
> themselves, they sat in for a whole race of people. For an injustice.

As a future teacher, Atticus perceived social studies as a subject that could be used to encourage the study of history and other disciplines in meaningful and authentic ways and to foster more critical notions of citizenship.

> Social studies is not just history. It's taking history, looking at the historical context, looking at the historical issues, and the bigger picture. It's not just "what happened" or cut and dry facts. Social studies is more than just history.

Atticus planned to teach for more critical modes of citizenship with his future students by implementing similar projects.

The following section unpacks Atticus's emphasis on engagement as an important element of his more critical civic identity. It is organized to illuminate the civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions that Atticus embodied as a more critical citizen and to interpret how his experiences in teacher education fostered his engagement in historical and contemporary social issues in ways that addressed social justice concerns.

Analysis & Interpretation

Real-life and authentic experiences in which Atticus engaged in his communities to address social issues helped shape his identity as a more critical citizen (Westheimer, 2015). He participated in the Best Buddies program and his experiences helping his buddy feel valued and empowered fostered his desire to teach students with special needs. The local protest is one place influenced him to perceive citizenship in non-traditional ways as he used his voice collectively to protest a law that he perceived to be unjust, reflecting essential characteristics from the analytic framework (DeJaeghere, 2009; Giroux, 1980; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009). Learning experiences at Proctor that encouraged authentic opportunities for engagement with social issues fostered Atticus's identity as a more critical citizen.

Such experiences provided opportunities for Atticus to learn-by-doing, referred to as project-based learning, or PBL (Larmer, 2018; Lo, 2018). PBL is a strategy used across the curriculum and can provide learning experiences that foster critical thinking through deep inquiry (Lo, 2018). Such instructional techniques are more authentic and, when implemented skillfully, can connect students to outside communities in ways that engage them in problem-solving and collaboration with peers (Larmer, 2018). Furthermore, when students engage in thoughtful discussions about real-life issues, their learning is more deeply connected to the "preparation of thoughtful, active, and democratically engaged citizens" (Westheimer, 2015, p. 1358). Through PBL, Atticus conducted research and participated in discussions about sustainability issues in a science education course that compelled him to consider them on a larger, global scale. Such experiences fostered his desire to become more informed about social issues and take action.

Although Atticus's experiences in the science education course encouraged the examination of sustainability issues, they lacked more critical discussions about why particular social issues endured for some but not all (DeJaeghere, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). For example, he and a small group of preservice teachers identified clean water to be a social issue experienced in Haiti and they developed a water filtration system that was later donated to the country; however, were not encouraged to consider why Haiti lacked clean water while other countries did not. This approach to the issue of clean water reflected what Straubhaar (2015) characterized as a White savior mentality as it focused on their abilities to improve the living conditions of developing countries rather than to work collectively with Haitian citizens in order to understand and solve the issue. Preservice teachers need to

confront this mentality as they construct more critical understandings of what it means to be a citizen.

Finally, the cooperative biography project, another example of PBL, engaged Atticus in historical inquiry of the Civil Rights Movement and provided opportunities for critical discussions surrounding enduring social issues in the United States. Throughout this project, he grappled with the concept of citizen in authentic historical contexts, while drawing the conclusion that Rosa's civic actions sparked a revolution to help people. Atticus's experiences during this project encouraged him to think about the past "not as titillating tidbits of [nostalgia] to be dismissed, but rather as "stories about what is possible when citizens commit to act" (Westheimer, 2015, p. 1525). By examining the experiences African Americans during this time period through activities such as primary source analysis and the reconstruction of historical narratives, he began to understand the Civil Rights Movement as more than a list of influential names, dates, and events, and instead as a powerful representation of the impact of collective social action.

Summary

Atticus's narratives exhibited two essential characteristics from the analytic framework that characterized his identity as a more critical citizen: 1) understanding identity and social positioning, and 2) engaging with social issues. Having grown up in a predominantly White and middle-class community, Atticus did not feel as though he experienced much cultural diversity throughout his childhood. As a gay man, he began to recognize earlier in life that an individual's identities were positioned differently in terms of privilege and power (Bell, 2016; DeJaeghere, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011; May & Sleeter, 2010); however, it was not until he attended Proctor that he was exposed to identities and lived experiences quite different than his own.

Although a number of learning experiences initially made Atticus feel some discomfort, he believed that it was through these experiences that he strengthened his sense of understanding and empathy and felt further compelled to work in ways that would improve his communities (DeJaeghere, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011; Knight Abowitz & Harnish, 2006). Thus, the essential civic characteristics of understanding identity and social positioning and engaging with social issues from the analytic framework characterized how Atticus made sense of his experiences in teacher education in relation to his evolving civic identity development as a more critical citizen.

Through Atticus's narratives, he illuminated how certain experiences throughout the teacher education program did and did not foster these elements of his civic identity. He described course experiences, like the Black Literature course and the third-grade clinical experience, as eye-opening and boundary pushing, as they encouraged him to think more critically about the lived experiences of others, particularly those from marginalized communities. In courses like the multicultural education course, Atticus learned about the challenges faced by students of differing cultural groups in the U.S.; however, he believed that the lack of discomfort experienced in the class prevented him from feeling an emotional response to the content. Other experiences, such as the sustainability project, compelled him to work actively to improve the lived conditions of communities in need, such as Haiti, though he did not participate in discussions that addressed the root causes of global water issues. Atticus's continued development as a more critical citizen was both supported and constrained in her teacher education program. While he believed that his experiences strengthened his more disposition for social justice, there were some missed opportunities for more critical discussion.

Aamina

If the students are not passionate about changing the way other humans are being

treated or the way the justice system is set in whichever nation they're in, then there

really isn't a way for you to teach social justice.

Valuing the Feeling of Discomfort

Aamina spent much of her life in multicultural contexts, which led her to become a more open-minded and empathetic citizen in the ways that she perceived the world and the people who inhabited it. She attended an international school with peers of many different nationalities and backgrounds from sixth through twelfth grade in her native country of Saudi Arabia. "I had friends from South America, Europe, Asia, all over," Aamina shared. It was there that she "was exposed to different cultures and different ways of thinking," that helped her to understand the perspectives of those with life experiences different than her own. "Being surrounded by diversity from such a young age, it just becomes a part of who you are," she shared. Aamina also explained that "because there are so many different cultures you kind of create a mutual culture, one that works for everyone." Additionally, her Islamic faith also helped shape her value for cultural diversity and her capacity for understanding a multitude of life experiences and perspectives. She expressed,

> These are things that are heavily taught or emphasized in our teachings, and our
> guidelines and principles… so just being a good human being to everyone
> regardless of other people's religions, non-religious faiths, or whatever they may
> be. I've never been taught to think, 'If this person is this [insert characteristic], then
> you treat them this way.'

Aamina "realized how impactful her experiences at the international school had been" when she attended Proctor University, whose teacher education program was comprised of "mainly White girls." Although she had never felt compelled to compromise her cultural background or assimilate, it was "sometimes hard to fit in" and was "potentially challenging for her peers, who likely viewed her as different without knowing much about where she came from." "You really stand out," Aamina admitted.

> Even the way I dress is obviously different. The younger children in clinical have sometimes asked me, 'Why are you wearing a scarf?' It's hard to answer their questions. Sometimes I tell them it's for religious reasons; sometimes it's for modesty. I don't want to make it too complicated for them.

Aamina knew what it felt like to be one of only a few students outside of the dominant culture at Proctor University; however, she believed that her experiences at the international school fostered her ability to learn and grow in unfamiliar or uncomfortable cultural contexts. "It wasn't so hard for me to adjust," she explained. Aamina often sought out experiences that pushed her outside of her comfort zone as she believed that they strengthened her understanding about diverse peoples and places, as well as her sense of empathy.

One reason that Aamina chose to travel to Tanzania for a study abroad program was to immerse herself in a new and unfamiliar culture. She and the other preservice teachers who participated spent each day in the local school teaching lessons that focused on their students' development of the English language and each night engaged in course discussions that centered on many important aspects of multicultural education. Of these, Aamina deemed "global citizenship" and "openness" to be the most important. She shared,

I believe global citizenship encompasses a range of other qualities, including critical thinking, self-awareness, and empathy as it requires individuals to assess their role in society and impact on surroundings. Openness to differences and change is also very important, especially when immersing oneself in a completely different society.

This experience strengthened Aamina's sense of openness and empathy as she was exposed to culture and lived experiences different than her own. Though "the religious faith of the village was predominantly Muslim," the language difference and extreme poverty experienced by the village's residents were two elements that pushed her outside of her comfort zone.

The school was located in a very rural village. They spoke Swahili but didn't have access to people who spoke English. The houses didn't have wifi and many were made of mud and bamboo trees. There was a huge lack of resources and the classrooms had old textbooks. Some didn't have any textbooks at all. They didn't use Smartboards or tablets. The teachers were actually the most well-off and they lived right in front of the school.

Aamina's perceptions of the teachers and students expanded throughout the three-week experience. "They don't have access to the resources they need, but you don't see people who aren't dreaming of things," she shared, "You shouldn't change the expectations that you have for their learning." To reinforce and help strengthen the students' English-speaking skills, Aamina created a lesson that included singing and movement to teach the vocabulary terms of different body parts using the melody, "Head, Shoulders, Knees, and Toes." She proclaimed, "They're eager to learn. These kids still have dreams just like everyone else." She emphasized the school's

role in the community as she shared, "They really value the teachers and this space." Therefore, Aamina and the other preservice teachers helped them plant trees around the perimeter of the school as part of a service project.

Aamina valued experiences with diversity at Proctor, particularly those that pushed her outside of her comfort zone; however, she expected more opportunities to "immerse herself in different challenging situations and to be exposed to differences – either different cultures or different needs – just differences in general, whatever they might be." Aamina believed that such learning experiences led to one's development of empathy and mutual understanding and she argued that in order to compel children to work for social change, you had to evoke a sense of empathy for human suffering. "If the students are not passionate about changing the way other human beings are being treated then there really isn't a way for you to teach social justice," she expressed. She did not feel that these critical dispositions were embedded in many of her experiences at Proctor. The multicultural education course "was probably the most open class that we've had where we talked about different issues, equality, and justice," she explained, and the social studies methods course included opportunities to compose lessons in which "students worked and deliberated with people who didn't necessarily have the same views." Aamina felt that a stronger focus on diversity and exposure to differences within the teacher education program would foster more social justice-oriented dispositions of preservice teachers.

The following section unpacks Aamina's values of cultural diversity and differences as an important element of her more critical civic identity. It is organized to illuminate the civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions that Aamina embodied as a more critical citizen and to interpret how her experiences in teacher education shaped her value of multiculturalism and learning experiences that pushed her beyond levels of comfort and understanding.

Analysis & Interpretation

An important element of Aamina's civic identity as a more critical citizen is that she values and promotes cultural pluralism and seeks out opportunities to learn from those whose backgrounds and lived experiences are different than her own (DeJaeghere, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011; Wade, 2003). When considering Aamina as in a temporal transition, she was encouraged to respect and cultivate her own cultural identities and lived experiences, as well as those of her peers, while she attended the international school in Saudi Arabia. Together, Aamina and her peers developed a "mutual culture" in order to create a sense of belonging and unity among its members and across cultural differences. Parker (2003) described this as a "new sense of citizenship…. That embraces individual differences, multiple group identities, and a unifying political community all at once" (p. 25). Because of Aamina's experiences engaging with and learning from people of diverse backgrounds, she deemed diversity as central to a community and believed that one's exposure to such differences fostered understanding and empathy for others.

A study abroad experienced that immersed Aamina in diversity influenced her "to reflect on their own unexamined beliefs, misinformation… and entrenched modes of thinking" (Adams, 2016, p. 33), as she did during her time studying abroad in Tanzania.

Aamina's experiences with cultural differences, particularly those that generated feelings of discomfort, fostered a more critical understanding of citizenship during her time at Proctor (DeJaeghere, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011; Wade, 2003). She experienced this as a cultural "other", or the feeling of being culturally marginal (Suarez, 2002), in a program where a majority of the students fit the national profile, and where she believed an explicit focus on understanding cultural differences was absent in courses other than those that typically included such learning

experiences, like social studies (Michelli, 2005) and multicultural education (May & Sleeter, 2010). Aamina was used to being in the cultural minority, which helped shape how she valued diversity in ideas, ethnicity, ability, etc., as reflected in the analytic framework (DeJaeghere, 2009; Giroux, 1980; Johnson & Morris, 2011). She embraced the discomfort often felt in such contexts and sought out cultural experiences that pushed her beyond her comfort zone (Baily et al., 2014; Zemblyas, 2015). Aamina believed that these types of experiences shaped her senses of tolerance and empathy.

Community Engagement

Aamina is a citizen who engages in her communities. Therefore, she became a member of the Students for Justice in Palestine organization at Proctor. "If you truly believe in a cause, you will do what it takes," she stated, as she thought about the social justice issues closest to her heart, such as the conflicts occurring in Palestine and Syria. She explained, "These people [Palestinians] are being oppressed in every way. Their rights have been taken away from them for generations. Basic rights, like water and food, are being controlled." Raised in a family of strong Islamic faith, she shared, "Palestine has always been an issue for all Muslims around the world. It's something that we're all passionate about… you're just kind of born empathizing for your fellow Muslim brothers and sisters." Because of this, Aamina helped the organization with community outreach, but the experience was not easy.

> Some of the nationwide members received backlash online. They were called 'anti-
> Jews' and 'anti-human rights.' It kind of just makes you step back and say, 'Is this
> really worth it,' or, 'Do I even make a difference?' It's at that point that it's really
> important to focus on your values and the reason you started advocating for that
> particular movement in the first place.

Aamina believed that good citizens worked to improve their communities and the lives of those who share them. Therefore, she planned to pursue a career in special education to work in service of a vulnerable population of citizens often on the margins of society. Her primary goals are to raise awareness and educate others about the experiences of children with special needs, a paradigm shift that Saudi Arabia has begun to make.

> There's still so much that we can do to offer special education to people who need it or to offer awareness to the community. Previously if you had a child with special needs it was not something you were proud of. It was something you didn't really want to share with people, so it was kind of kept behind closed doors.

Rewriting the narrative of children with special needs in Saudi Arabia was a shift that would require compassion and empathy and one that she believed would take continuous time and effort, an endeavor "that wouldn't just develop overnight."

> In Saudi, and the Middle East in general, special education is not what it should be as of today. There are still places around the world that don't necessarily give this population the things that they need. Inclusion in classrooms isn't as popular as it is here. Usually students with special needs are in a separate school or center. It's not accessible to everyone. Sometimes they're too expensive or people don't know that they exist.

As a citizen and as a future teacher, Aamina believed it to be her responsibility to help students with special needs gain access to the "opportunities and resources necessary to help them reach their full potential, to become the best version of themselves." It was her goal to be a part of that change.

Aamina engaged in her local community for a project in a multicultural education course at Proctor as she and a group of her colleagues were required to identify and research a social issue relevant to elementary school settings, brainstorm possible solutions, and execute a course of action. She appreciated this project, as she believed that "taking action for an important issue must be every educator's priority towards their students." Aamina and her colleagues selected ethnic stereotyping as a pertinent issue in today's schools.

> This belief that Whites constantly perform better than other minority groups, the 'achievement gap' is making it harder for schools to truly be successful in giving all their students a fair and equal education. Letting Hispanics be labeled as 'lazy' and African Americans as 'those who underperform on standardized tests' and Asians as 'the ones who are good in math' should not be tolerated in any way.

They collected data from numerous sources, including interviews of fellow Proctor students directly affected by the issue, and by which they "had a lot to say about things they've learned or witnessed themselves." The group ultimately decided to take action by creating a website that included information about the issue, its relevance to education, as well as videos and other helpful resources. Additionally, they included a number of potential solutions to the problem such as,

> being more open-minded, stepping out of your comfort zone, and reading about other people's background and culture to understand where they are coming from. These were just a few of the possible solutions one can take to unlearn any ethnic stereotypes they have learned.

Through this project, Aamina acted as an agent of change in the local community. She became informed about how ethnic stereotyping impacts the experiences of children in schools

and helped to create a viable resource for community members. Moreover, Aamina shared, "I learned that action can be taken, no matter how small it is, to help the local community." This was a critical understanding that she vowed to promote as a future teacher of citizenship.

Aamina also engaged in her local community throughout the teacher education program at Proctor by participating in various clinical experiences. She took a special education course that had been revised to include a community element, as she explained, "it was something new the professor had started, just an extra thing to get us out there." Per the course requirements, Aamina and the other students in her class spent a specified number of hours at a local center that serviced both adults and children with special needs and abilities. "We mostly observed but sometimes we volunteered with the activities," Aamina shared, "They have a sheltered workshop that we got to see." In addition, Aamina participated in the Read to Succeed program (Read to Succeed, 2018), in which community members spend one hour per week in local classrooms helping children develop and improve literacy skills, as a part of a literacy methods course. To meet the major course requirements, she administered and analyzed a Dynamic Indicators of Basic Early Literacy Skills (DIBELS) assessment (Good & Kaminski, 1996) and composed weekly reflection papers that addressed how specific course foci such as, "reading fluency, vocabulary instruction, or explicit instruction," related to her experiences in the school each week. During the hour of service, Aamina "read with the students or did language arts assignments." She explained, "It was mainly for students who are in Response to Intervention (RTI) (Fuchs & Fuchs, 2006), so if they're having trouble catching up with their peers, but sometimes the teacher sent out a group of students regardless of what their abilities were." Aamina was required to consider the context as part of the overall project for the literacy course.

We started our edTPA projects and one of the tasks for that is our Context for Learning and that's when we focus on the student and the environment. So, we'd have to talk about the school and the different percentages of races in that school. We had to talk about the student, their needs, their strengths, their weaknesses, if they come from a different cultural background, or if they're English language learners. We had to take all of that into consideration for the project. We didn't discuss how race affects academic achievement or anything like that though.

Aamina felt that observing at the community center and volunteering for the literacy program were great ways to provide services and build professional relationships in the local community, but that the experiences were not rooted in social justice as others had been.

The following section unpacks Aamina's emphasis on community engagement and social action as important elements of her more critical civic identity. It is organized to illuminate the civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions that Aamina embodied as a more critical citizen and to interpret how her experiences in teacher education fostered such experiences both with and without emphases on social justice.

Analysis & Interpretation

As a more critical citizen, Aamina believed that action was necessary to improve issues in society (Daly et al., 2010; DeJaeghere, 2009; Giroux, 1980; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009; James & Iverson, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011). This was evident in her engagement with the Students for Social Justice in Palestine organization at Proctor. Aamina also felt that action was a vital responsibility of teachers in teaching for citizenship education. Her commitment to improving the perceptions of and educational opportunities for students with special needs in Saudi Arabia was testament to this element of her civic identity. Opportunities

throughout Aamina's teacher education program at Proctor that included social action strengthened her dispositions and skills to improve the communities of which she was a part.

One such opportunity that built on Aamina's civic identity as a more critical citizen committed to social action was the project that she and colleagues completed in a multicultural education course. The project, which required them to identify, research, and promote solutions for a critical issue in education, fostered the development of a "critical consciousness", as they "[worked] in solidarity with others to question, analyze, and challenge oppressive systems" (Bell, 2016, p. 16). The group of students chose to examine ethnic stereotyping as an issue of structural oppression (Adams, 2016; Giroux, 1980; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009), as they had learned that students from non-dominant cultural groups were often labeled in ways that further marginalized them. Through extensive data collection, Aamina and the other students posed solutions and created a website full of resources for the local community to combat ethnic stereotyping in schools, as they utilized civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions to examine and disrupt oppressive patterns in the institutions of which they are a part (Adams, 2016; DeJaeghere, 2009; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011). This educational experience fostered Aamina's civic identity as it reinforced her commitment to social action in her communities.

The additional community-based experiences that Aamina completed throughout the program served as opportunities to observe and volunteer in the local community; however, they did not foster social action in ways that disrupted patterns of social inequality (Giroux, 1980; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011). Westheimer and Kahne (2004) characterized these types of experiences, such as Aamina's volunteer efforts at the local center for adults and children with special needs and her participation in the Read to Succeed program,

as "participatory" forms of civic engagement (p. 240), as they promoted a commitment to improve communities but lacked opportunities for the critical examination of and action to disrupt oppressive structures. Scholars have argued that more critical civic engagement opportunities in preservice teacher education are necessary in fostering social action that values non-dominant identities and advocates for equal rights and opportunities of vulnerable populations (DeJaeghere, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011), such as individuals with disabilities. Aamina explained that the edTPA project in the literacy methods course required her to examine the context for learning that included individual student's academic, social, and cultural needs, but that the course discussions and assignments centered on her implementation of particular literacy strategies, such as reading fluency and vocabulary.

Summary

Aamina's narratives exhibited two essential characteristics from the analytic framework that characterized her identity as a more critical citizen: 1) experiencing cultural differences, and 2) taking social action. Through Aamina's experiences attending an international school, as well as her time as an international student at Proctor, she collaborated and built connections with people whose identities and lived experiences were different than her own (DeJaeghere, 2009; Giroux, 1980; Johnson & Morris, 2011; Wade, 2003). She embraced the discomfort that accompanied the experience of not being a member of the dominant cultural group and believed that it helped contribute to her sense of understanding and empathy. Additionally, her Islamic faith shaped her concern for the well-being of others, and Aamina engaged in her communities in order to improve the lived conditions of those around her (DeJaeghere, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011; Knight Abowitz & Harnish, 2006). Thus, the essential civic characteristics of experiencing cultural differences and taking social action from the analytic framework characterized how

Zaima made sense of her experiences in teacher education in relation to her evolving civic identity development as a more critical citizen.

Through Aamina's narratives, she illuminated how certain experiences throughout the teacher education program both did and did not foster these elements of her civic identity. She participated in course discussions that encouraged the diverse perspectives of different issues and created a social action plan to implement in a local elementary school. Furthermore, Aamina participated in a study abroad program in order to immerse herself in an unfamiliar culture; however, she felt that the teacher education program lacked enough exposure to differences in culture, ideas, lived experiences, etc. She felt this within her courses and clinical experiences. Additionally, while one course provided an opportunity to engage with social justice issues in schools, such as ethnic stereotyping, other volunteer opportunities focused more on skills and did not assume a more critical approach. Aamina's continued development as a more critical citizen was both supported and constrained in her teacher education program. She clearly thought that her program should include more experiences that fostered critical approaches and was frustrated when opportunities were missed. Aamina's own identity as a more critical citizen made it possible for her to see these missed opportunities.

Cross-Case Analysis

This section presents larger themes of meaning that cut across the five participants in the effort to strengthen explanations in addressing the research questions and to promote recommendations for teacher education programs (Miles & Huberman, 1994). The findings of the cross-case analysis help to deepen an understanding of the types of experiences that fostered the participants' civic identity development as more critical citizens.

Chapter 3 of this dissertation illuminated the conditional nature of narrative inquiry, as each participant's narratives were socially, economically, and politically situated. These contexts influenced how each participant understood and engaged as citizens throughout their experiences in teacher education. Therefore, one cannot generalize these findings across all preservice teachers or teacher education programs. However, the purpose of conducting research *is* to introduce or advance theories that explain the phenomenon that the study sought to explore. Therefore, a cross-case analysis can help the researcher answer the reasonable question, "Do these findings make sense beyond this specific case" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 185)? Thus, this section will discuss two major findings among the five participants of the study in order to advance the fields of critical citizenship education and preservice teacher education.

Finding One: Understanding Identity, Social Positioning, and Power Hierarchies

The preservice teachers of this study highlighted experiences in teacher education that engaged them in a deeper understanding of how people are members of social groups that are located differently on a societal hierarchy of power (Bell, 2016; DeJaeghere, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011; May & Sleeter, 2010; Parker, 2003). They took part in learning experiences that made visible how individuals are members of (often) involuntary social groups structured by social class, race, gender, nationality, religion, sexual orientation, first and second language, among others, and that the groups people are "thrown into" (Parker, 2003, p. 95) are positioned differently based on perceptions in society. For example, Kathrine explained how her understanding of what constitutes citizenship, or even more simply, personhood, evolved after having spent a semester working with students with severe and profound disabilities whose identities often did not reflect more dominant, mainstream ideals. Kathrine problematized a more traditional understanding of what it means to be a citizen and recognized how certain established

norms, such as defining the concept of citizen as someone who votes, set unattainable standards for some individuals and/or or social groups in society. She raised a thought-provoking and controversial question for educators to consider as she asked, "Does that mean that we don't consider people with severe disabilities to be citizens?" Aamina also understood the interplay of identity and social positioning as she self-reflected on her experiences as a cultural "other" at Proctor University. She had previously attended an international school, a setting in which there was no majority culture and a "mutual culture" had organically developed to connect them. At Proctor, however, Aamina recognized that "she really stood out" from the majority of the students in the teacher education program, as well as with the children she taught during clinical experiences, and she often found it hard to fit in. Through these experiences, Kathrine and Aamina understood that individuals were members, often involuntarily, of social groups and that such groups were positioned differently in society.

The preservice teachers examined their own social positions and considered how they helped shape their worldviews and lived experiences (Bell, 2016; Parker, 2003). This is important because, as Parker (2003) argued, "*Where* one is situated matters in terms of *how* one sees the world and *what* one attends to in it" (p. 96), meaning that citizens are more or less connected to particular social issues depending on how their identities are positioned in society. These are essential understandings in fostering citizens' knowledge of and commitment to disrupting patterns of privilege and oppression, especially when one's many identities are not directly targeted (DeJaeghere, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). Zaima described how she analyzed her social positions through her participation in a Privilege Walk (Chizhik & Chizhik, 2005), an interactive activity intended to help students understand the nature of privilege. As part of a course focused primarily on the process of identity construction

and its implications for teaching and learning, she stated, "It [privilege walk] helped bring that

awareness. Ok, so there's all these identities. Am I in the privileged group or the oppressed

group?" While Zaima illuminated her privilege as a citizen in the middle socioeconomic class,

she acknowledged that not all of her identities were positioned toward the top of the hierarchy as

she stated, "Being a Muslim in a predominantly Christian society has shed light on the many

prejudices still held against those with varying religious beliefs." She explained that this aspect

of her identity influenced how she would approach the teaching of multiple religions in her

future classroom. Furthermore, Aamina reconsidered her preconceived ideas and how she had

positioned people living in poverty, an experience she was unfamiliar with, during her study

abroad program in a rural Tanzanian village. She explained how her students, who lived in

houses made mostly of "mud and bamboo trees," "were eager to learn" and "that they still had

dreams like everyone else." The experience influenced how she would approach such issues in

her future classroom as she argued that teachers, "shouldn't change the expectations they have

for their learning," because they are living in poverty. In both cases, the preservice teachers

understood that the social groups of which they were a part helped shape how they perceived

others.

The preservice teachers highlighted experiences that influenced how they understood

their roles as teachers in improving the educational experiences of students, particularly those

who faced more social challenges than others (Johnson & Morris, 2011; Wade, 2003). Jane

recognized that she often came from positions of privilege and "that it was her first exposure to

this kind of stuff" as she worked with Buddy and Jacob, students who dealt with significant

social challenges outside of the classroom. Through these experiences, Jane came to the

realization that "we [teachers] have to care for our students as a whole person and not just as a

student," and she expressed commitment to fostering both social and academic goals in her future classroom. Atticus also reconsidered his role as a teacher after having worked with third-grade students who experienced significant social challenges, as he committed to helping future students with similar circumstances see that "there's another life out there," and that it was possible to "break the cycle." Kathrine's experiences in the identity course at Lawson also fueled her desire to harness her positions of privilege in order to "help" future students. While all three preservice teachers felt compelled to use their positions of privilege to provide educational opportunities that would better meet the needs of students who faced more significant social challenges, they still exhibited a sense of a White Savior mentality (Straubhaar, 2015). They admittedly had never experienced such hardship before and approached their roles as teachers from positions of power rather than as collectively alongside others in the fight against oppression. It is worth noting that these three teachers are members of the dominant cultural group and fit the typical profile of the teacher candidate in the U.S. While this does not ensure that their lived experiences are the same, it does provide a point of contention that should be considered when planning for more critical learning experiences in teacher education programs.

Although many of the preservice teachers understood the relationship between identity and social positioning and they were able to analyze their own social positions in relationship to others, most did not engage in critical discussions about oppression, or the forces that create and sustain injustice in society (Bell, 2016). For example, Zaima shared a revelation she had had during a lesson in a math methods course where she realized that a more critical discussion about culture and power could have taken place but did not. As a person of color, she expressed how the hieroglyphics lesson she experienced could have reached deeper than, "this is how you connect your students in a math setting," to instead illuminate, "that math didn't just come from

the White Europeans, that hieroglyphics had such an important role in the number system being developed… Someone saying zero had to be a thing." Zaima envisioned that the alternative approach would not only connect but empower students of color as co-constructors of knowledge in their communities. There were also missed opportunities throughout Kathrine's and Atticus's clinical experiences, as neither preservice teacher engaged in critical discussions regarding the larger institutions that help contribute to the social conditions experienced by individuals and social groups in society, including their own students. Examining oppression and domination within the context of every day institutions is a piece of the puzzle that needs strengthening in fostering more critical civic identity development within preservice teacher education.

Finding Two: Pushed Beyond Levels of Comfort and Familiarity

The preservice teachers in this study felt deeply impacted by the experiences throughout their teacher education programs in which they engaged with others whose identities and lived experiences were vastly different than their own, often causing feelings of discomfort and dissonance (Doerr, 2011; Zembylas, 2015). These types of learning experiences exposed them to ways of thinking, living, and being that they had not considered before. Berger (2004) argued that such experiences push one to the "edge of meaning," increasing the potential for transformative thinking as he or she "[moves] outside the form of current understanding and into a new place" (p. 338). This learning process can often cause discomfort as it encourages the learner to identify and reexamine his or her existing assumptions about the world.

Kathrine engaged in more transformative learning during a clinical experience with students with severe and profound disabilities where she was pushed beyond levels of comfort and familiarity. She "worked with students who were drastically different and had different needs and desires, but also similar needs and desires," and it was unlike anything she had ever

experienced before, even as a former mentor for the Best Buddies program. She realized that her students faced significant challenges that she did not, but that they also shared similar needs as human beings and she began to think about their lived experiences as more connected than before. This is essential in fostering more critical citizenship, as Wade (2003) argued that social justice begins with the premise that, "each human is the equal of every other human being" (p. viii). Additionally, as Katherine learned more about the realities in which her students lived, she challenged preconceived ideas that there are more *normal* ways to live or to exist, disrupting dominant norms and challenging the status quo (DeJaeghere, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011). She redefined concepts that have the potential to be exclusionary in society, such as "citizen" and "person", in ways that demonstrated empathy and inclusion. This transformative thinking might not have occurred had Kathrine not worked with these particular students.

The preservice teachers thought critically about the lived experiences of those who differed from their own as they engaged in perspective-taking, an essential skill in fostering a more empathetic and culturally inclusive society (Bell, 2016; DeJaeghere, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011; Wade, 2003). Atticus was aware that he had been raised in a more culturally homogenous community where most residents shared similar racial, religious, and political backgrounds, but he believed that he experienced more cultural diversity when he attended Proctor. In an African American literature course, he was exposed to and considered how people experienced life differently due to their membership in certain social groups, such as race, as he and his colleagues studied "social issues concerning Black America." He admitted, "I could empathize with someone with a different idea but understanding where someone from the ghetto of Harlem came from, I didn't understand that." Through the course experiences, he began to understand and empathize with those whose experiences were different than his own, particularly

those who had faced more social barriers than he had (DeJaeghere, 2009; Giroux, 1980; Johnson & Morris, 2011). Jane was also introduced to cultural ways of living outside of her own familiar experiences as she spent a summer in Thailand as part of a program through Lawson. She believed experiences that "immersed one in another culture" and required him or her "to learn the history" fostered the desire to "help and protect others outside of his or her direct community," a disposition vital in a citizenry committed to social justice of all its citizens (DeJaeghere, 2009; Giroux, 1980; Johnson & Morris, 2011). She highlighted the time spent with "extremely open-minded people that I had never felt I shared so many values and ways of life with before then," and felt that, "she became so educated by being around them." Not only did Jane find connections with citizens from around the world, regardless of their vastly different cultural backgrounds, but she also determined that her own background knowledge was strengthened because of her experiences with them.

Two of the preservice teachers "reflected on their own unexamined beliefs, biases, misinformation, stereotypes, and entrenched modes of thinking" (Adams, 2016, p. 33), as they engaged with others whose lived experiences were vastly different than their own. These are critical experiences in fostering an understanding of and commitment to dismantling systems that contribute to privilege and oppression (DeJaeghere, 2009; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011). Kathrine explained how her experiences in a philosophy course, coupled with the clinical experiences where she worked with students with severe and profound disabilities, "changed the way she thought about what a person was." She grappled with the thought that, "In a traditional sense, we think of a person as someone who has the cognitive ability to do this… and this… and this… but that's not the reality for a lot of people. Some might argue that they're not people then, which I think relates to how we consider people to be

valuable." Kathrine reflected critically on how those who do not reflect the status quo are generally positioned as "less than" or "lower than," and she reconceptualized her own standard for who she considered to be a "person." Learning experiences such as Kathrine's, that encourage preservice teachers to hear perspectives and learn information that contradict what they had previously believed, "can pull the rug out from under the status quo on which their lives had been built" (Adams, 2016, p. 28). This is where the opportunity for transformational learning lies (Doerr, 2011). Although Aamina did not have personal experiences with poverty, she realized that her students and their families in an under resourced and underfunded Tanzanian school "were still dreaming of things" just like other students she had worked with. Her students still "worked hard" and "valued the school and teachers," though children in poverty are generally perceived through a more deficit lens (Ladsen-Billings, 2017). It is essential that preservice teachers revise misconceptions they might have about specific individuals and social groups in order to help foster emotional connections and drive concern for the well-being of others.

Although the preservice teachers were exposed to diverse lived experiences and at times the experiences disrupted how they originally thought about the world, causing some feelings of discomfort, only two of them participated in intentional and facilitated discussions as part of their course experiences. The course objectives for Aamina's program in Tanzania intended for participants to "investigate perspectives on African history, culture, language, and education," and they discussed concepts such as "tolerance, empathy, and self-awareness" (personal communication, October 21 2016). It makes sense that she confronted her preconceived assumptions through self-reflective thinking, strengthening her civic identity as a more critical citizen. The African American literature course that Atticus completed also approached the

students' learning through a social change perspective (Doerr, 2011). Thus, his worldviews as a White, middle-class male from a rural community were challenged and the feelings of discomfort influenced him to think about the relationship between identity and privilege in more transformative ways. Omitting intentional and facilitated discussions that foster preservice teachers' more critical understandings about their experiences increases the potential to develop misconceptions about individuals and social groups and limits the opportunity for a deeper understanding of the structural forces that contribute to privilege and oppression in society.

Summary

This chapter provided the findings of the study and illuminated how the preservice teachers understood their experiences in teacher education to contribute to their ongoing civic identity development as more critical citizens. Each of the preservice teacher's narratives illuminated the social, economic, and political contexts that influenced their perceptions and revealed their understandings on a continuous spectrum of civic identity development as more critical citizens. The most notable findings across all five preservice teachers included the learning experiences that strengthened their understandings of identity and social positioning, and those that fostered feelings of discomfort as they grappled with ideas that challenged their existing worldviews. The next chapter will discuss these findings in light of current research and will suggest appropriate implications for teacher education.

CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Introduction

Elementary school classrooms are microcosms of democracy; comprised of the myriad of cultures, lifestyles, socioeconomic classes, religions, and intellectual and physical abilities present in the greater society (Wade, 2003). As Wade (2003) asserted, "One could hardly design a more ideal situation to practice building and nurturing a socially just community" (p. 16). Thus, education is an inherently political context (Freire, 2015; Hess & McAvoy, 2014). A commitment to critical citizenship education in elementary school classrooms must be rooted in the theoretical perceptions of teachers (Giroux, 1980). Visions for, and the pedagogy of citizenship education "depends on *how* I [teacher] see myself in the world politically" (Freire, 2015). Therefore, it is vital that teacher education programs strategically plan and facilitate experiences that foster preservice teachers' more critical understandings of what it means to be a citizen. Additionally, these experiences must be implemented across the curriculum (Costandius et al., 2015), with faculty that construct and share the same vision for education as the foundation of critical democratic citizenship.

The purpose of this study was to provide a better understanding of how teacher education programs contribute to the critical civic identity development of preservice teachers, particularly through the lens of those who possess varying capacities of civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions that are committed to social justice. These perspectives are substantially unexplored in the current literature. The following research question was explored: 1) How do preservice teachers make sense of their experiences in teacher education as they relate to their ongoing civic identity development as more critical citizens?

To address this question, Chapter Four included the narratives of five preservice teachers determined to possess more critical civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions, as synthesized by relevant scholarship (DeJaeghere, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009; Knight Abowitz & Harnish, 2006; Westheimer, 2015; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004). The narratives revealed a continuum of perceptions in the participants' civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions as more critical citizens, as well as in how they interpreted experiences in teacher education to contribute to their civic identity development. A cross-case analysis was constructed to illuminate patterns of meaning across the participants in order to consider how the findings contributed to the larger picture of teacher education.

It is important to note that as I listened to the stories of each preservice teacher, I reconceptualized how I thought about them as civic beings. Civic identity development is a contextual, evolving, and never-ending process. When I self-reflect on my own civic journey, I can pinpoint specific critical events that influenced me to reconceptualize how I understood the roles of citizens and transformed how I engaged as a citizen in my communities. Our background experiences matter and because of that, how we engage as citizens – and even as critical citizens – will differ. I was particularly moved by Freire's (2015) assertion that we are *unfinished* beings. Some of the critical events that I experienced occurred seven years ago. Some occurred just this past year. The preservice teachers that I worked with throughout this study ranged from 20 to 22 years old and most of them had only moved from the communities in which they were raised two to three years prior. Most of them had voted for the first time during the presidential election of 2016. They are quite *unfinished*. As a teacher educator and as a steward of critical citizenship, I began to think more about my preservice teachers as citizens on a continuum, as citizens in progress, rather than as a critical/non-critical binary.

The following sections of this chapter present an overview of the study findings and their relationship to the current literature base on preservice teachers and civic identity development and critical citizenship education. I include implications for teacher education programs to consider in light of the research findings as well as the limitations of the study. The chapter concludes with suggestions for future research and overall remarks.

Overview of Findings

The first theme, *Understanding Identity, Social Positioning, and Power Hierarchies*, explored how the preservice teachers' experiences in analyzing identity and social positioning contributed to their ongoing civic identity development as more critical citizens throughout the teacher education program. Data from this theme revealed that a variety of experiences such as course discussions, projects, and clinical lessons provided opportunities for the preservice teachers to critically examine how aspects of an individual's identities renders him or her a member of a variety of different social groups. They strengthened their understanding that an individual's membership of different social groups, such as social class, race, gender, nationality, religion, and sexual orientation, are often involuntary and are groups that one is born into (Parker, 2003). Furthermore, the preservice teachers analyzed how social groups are perceived differently in society, causing them to be positioned unequally on a societal hierarchy of power (Bell, 2016; May & Sleeter, 2010). They explored how their own identities were positioned and how their social positions shaped their worldviews and interactions with others, contributing to patterns of privilege and/or oppression in society (Bell, 2016; Lea, 2010; May & Sleeter, 2010). The preservice teachers were most impacted by course experiences such as the Privilege Walk (Chizhik & Chizhik, 2005), in which they confronted how their own membership in different social groups and particular lived experiences reflected certain social positions in relationship to

others. Their engagement with professors, fellow teacher education students, and clinical

students, whose social locations and lived experiences were different than their own, also

fostered a strong sense of understanding and empathy. While each of the preservice teachers

explained how they benefited from positions of privilege, two of them also shared how their

experiences in teacher education illuminated positions of marginalization. Only two of the

preservice teachers deepened their understanding by participating in intentional and facilitated

discussions about their learning. This is an area where the teacher education programs seemed to

miss the mark as three of the preservice teachers who reported not to have engaged in more

critical discussions in class exhibited more of a "White Savior complex" (Straubhaar, 2015)

when discussing possibilities for social change. All five preservice teachers considered how they

would harness their social positions to strengthen their roles as future teachers.

The second theme, *Pushed Beyond Levels of Comfort and Familiarity*, explored how

experiences that pushed the preservice teachers beyond their comfort zones as they engaged with

those whose cultural backgrounds and lived experiences were different than their own

contributed to their ongoing civic identity development as more critical citizens throughout the

teacher education program. Data from this theme revealed that a variety of experiences such as

course experiences, clinical lessons, and study abroad programs pushed the preservice teachers

beyond levels of comfort and familiarity and encouraged them to confront preassumptions about

person and place, engage in perspective-taking, and analyze how one's biases and entrenched

modes of thinking contributed to patterns of privilege and oppression in society (DeJaeghere,

2009; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011). The preservice teachers

engaged in experiences that pushed them to reexamine how they perceived cultural differences in

positive and negative ways and they strengthened empathetic dispositions as they reflected on

the experiences of diverse others. The preservice teachers were most impacted by clinical experiences that exposed them to social challenges they had never experienced before, such as poverty or living with a severe disability, as they felt compelled to help improve the lived conditions of their students. Immersing oneself in unfamiliar cultures through study abroad programs, particularly in areas that experienced social hardship like rural Tanzania, also sparked uncomfortable feelings that fostered the desire to improve society. However, only two of the preservice teachers explained how analyzing their preassumptions about specific social and/or cultural groups led them to reconsider their initial worldviews, and again, only two deepened their understanding by participating in intentional and facilitated discussions about their learning. This is of considerable concern when a majority of preservice teachers are members of the dominant cultural and socioeconomic group, many of whom will teach children that do not look or live like they do. Although all five preservice teachers in this study reflected some capacity of more critical civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions, they were not always pushed to think in more critical ways about their experiences. This has the potential to fuel misconceptions about people and place and can lead to a lack of understanding and empathy. This is an area where the preservice teachers' experiences in the teacher education programs could be strengthened.

Discussion

The findings of this study extend what we know about preservice teachers' civic identities. Much of the existing literature has revealed how preservice teachers conceptualized what it means to be a citizen in more traditional ways, such as voting, paying taxes, and serving on jury duty (Chiodo, Martin, & Worthington, 2010; Doppen et al., 2011; James & Iverson, 2009; Iverson & James, 2013; Marri et al. (2014); Martin, 2012; O'Brien & Smith, 2011), and has illuminated particular learning experiences in teacher education that helped preservice

teachers' consider more critical notions of citizenship. This study contributes to the literature base on preservice teacher education and civic identity development by highlighting the perceptions and experiences of teacher candidates with more critical civic identities. It uncovered how preservice teachers think about citizenship in ways that promoted social justice and the connections they made between their identities as citizens and their experiences in teacher education programs.

A significant understanding of this research builds on the notion that preservice teachers come to teacher education with a wealth of background experiences that are socially, culturally, and politically located, and because of that, how they understand and enact citizenship should be considered to be on a fluid and evolving continuum of development. Through a rigorous methodology, all five preservice teachers of this study were determined to embody more critical civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions; however, how each participant exhibited these characteristics during the interviews was tied to their diverse lived experiences – both in and outside of educational contexts. The way that Zaima considered cultural histories and forms of knowledge of non-mainstream peoples (DeJaeghere, 2009; Giroux, 1980; Johnson & Morris, 2011; Knight, Abowitz & Harnish, 2006) throughout the teacher education program was different than the way that Atticus understood these ideas. Moreover, Zaima and Atticus will continue to reconceptualize these understandings through their continued experiences in social spaces. Like Freire (2015) stated, "No one is finished. Everyone is still being" (p. 94). As teacher educators, we need to think about our students as citizens in progress, rather than as a critical/non-critical binary.

As previous research has done, the findings of this study help us to understand the types of experiences in teacher education that have contributed to more critical understandings of what

it means to be a citizen in a multicultural democratic society. This work helps fill a gap by investigating the voices of preservice teachers with more critical civic identities and adds to the existing work on civic identity development and preservice teacher education (Carrington & Selva, 2010; James & Iverson, 2009; Kayi-Aydar, 2015; Layne & Lipponen, 2016; Porfilio, 2011; Salinas, Vickery, & Franquiz, 2016; Stenhouse, 2012) by addressing learning experiences that fostered feelings of discomfort and more critical understandings of societal power hierarchies. However, this particular study sought to enrich the existing literature base as it illuminated how preservice teachers with more critical civic worldviews made sense of their experiences. As teacher educators, the findings help us answer questions regarding our students' learning as citizens at different points on a continuum of civic identity development, but it also leads us to ask, "How can we differentiate learning experiences to promote continued growth for learners at different points on the continuum?" This is a question that needs further exploring.

While this research builds on the existing studies that have explored how preservice teachers understood essential concepts in fostering more social justice-oriented dispositions, like identity, culture, and social positioning (Carrington & Selva, 2010; Kayi-Aydar, 2015; Layne & Lipponen, 2016; Sassi, Lajimodiere, Bertolini, & Ketterling, 2012; Sharma, Phillion, & Malewski, 2011; Silverman, 2010; Ukpokodu, 2011), it revealed that even those with more critical civic identities fall short in recognizing and understanding how oppressive forces help to shape trajectories of lived experiences for marginalized individuals and groups in society. This may limit how one perceives the concept of social justice, as well as the goals for more social justice-oriented citizenship education. If we were to consider a scope and sequence, of sorts, for incorporating critical theory and pedagogy throughout teacher education experiences, analyses of institutional oppression would be an important component.

A troubling aspect of the research findings was that the preservice teachers whose identities reflected the more typical, white, and middle-class profile were the participants who did not question the impact of larger, structural institutions on social inequalities. Like the preservice teachers in the research of Carrington and Selva (2010), they recognized that identity influenced opportunity in society and all three explained that aspects of their own identities afforded them more privilege than others; however, they did not question how such social disparities continued to exist. Therefore, the preservice teachers' solutions to such issues focused on using their positions of privilege to help those with less privilege thrive, assuming a "White Savior" complex (Straubhaur, 2015, p. 382), rather than a commitment to dismantle institutions that perpetuate oppression (Giroux, 1980; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011). This is particularly concerning when 82% of the teaching force in the U.S. are members of the dominant racial and socioeconomic groups.

This research supports Zembylas' (2015) advocacy for a pedagogy of discomfort as part of teacher education programs. The preservice teachers' experiences throughout their programs fostered a multitude of the essential civic characteristics from the analytic framework, from understanding social positioning to examining social issues (DeJaeghere, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011), but a unifying thread was that the learning experiences often caused the preservice teachers to feel uncomfortable as their worldviews were challenged and expanded. While most of the preservice teachers of this study, with the exception of Zaima, did not question larger social structures, such learning experiences have the potential to foster preservice teachers' understanding of systemic inequalities (Ohito, 2016; Smolcic & Arends, 2017). Teacher educators must be willing to make preservice teachers feel some discomfort in order to foster more transformative learning.

The most underrepresented characteristics in the analytic framework included the preservice teachers' knowledge of the interplay between social, economic, and political forces, as well as their skills to take action upon structures of domination and oppression (Giroux, 1980; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011). Not only did the majority of the preservice teachers in this study not question institutional systems that perpetuate social injustices, but they also did not possess the commitment to dismantle such oppressive forces. They felt compelled to help those that they determined to experience less privilege, and while these are noble intentions, they do not address the root causes of social issues. It is important that preservice teachers examine institutional oppression, but that they also experience opportunities to disrupt such patterns in their communities.

Another important take-away from this work is that the preservice teachers perceived cross-curricular experiences to contribute to their evolving identity development as more critical citizens, which is similar to the findings in existing research (Green, Medina-Jerez, & Bryant, 2016). The preservice teachers' experiences were not limited to subjects often deemed more suitable for discussions about citizenship, such as social studies (Michelli, 2005) and multicultural education (May & Sleeter, 2010), and they shared stories that revealed how they thought about concepts such as social positioning and cultural diversity in a variety of contexts throughout their teacher education program. This aligns with Westheimer's (2015) argument that, "teaching about citizenship is not solely the purview of social studies or a civic education class…. The entire school is party to the enterprise" (p. 166). Utilizing critical pedagogy as the foundation for learning throughout a preservice teacher's experiences in teacher education might offer a way to foster the construction of more critical civic identities as well as encourage the teaching of critical citizenship education.

What this research does not tell us is exactly what to teach, how to teach, and when to teach it. As an interpretive study, the findings are inherently dependent on context and no two preservice teachers or teacher education programs are exactly the same. What we can glean from this work are more intentional and strategic ideas for how to design learning experiences that have fostered more critical understandings of citizenship in different settings. The following section highlights implications for teacher education programs.

Implications

In regard to teacher education, three implications arise. First, preservice teachers need to participate in learning experiences that engage them in the critical analyses of institutions that contribute to patterns of privilege and/or oppression in society. Second, the learning experiences of preservice teachers should foster some level of discomfort in order to promote transformative learning. Finally, learning experiences in preservice teacher education should foster a connection between critical theory and praxis. These types of learning experiences *should* occur in social studies and multicultural education courses in order to foster more critical understandings about what it means to be a citizen; however, they should be infused throughout the curriculum. As teacher educators, it is our responsibility to provide learning opportunities that are grounded in critical theory in literacy courses, math courses, science courses, etc. The development of a critical civic identity is not limited to a single subject; it is a cross-curricular endeavor. This section details each implication and offers concrete suggestions for implementation.

The first implication that I offer teacher education programs is that preservice teachers need to examine, analyze, and critique institutions that contribute to patterns of privilege and/or oppression in society (Bell, 2016; Porfilio & Malott, 2011). As my research showed, the preservice teachers recognized unequal social positions and analyzed their own social locations

in relationship to others; however, most of them did not question how an unequal system continues to function. This will require the preservice teachers' careful evaluation of how oppression is woven into the fabric of society, from an individual's daily personal interactions with others to the most beloved of United States' institutions, such as education and the criminal justice system, as well as the broad understandings that pervade a social system, such as gender roles, family structure, and the expectations of physical and mental capacities (Bell, 2016). Additionally, preservice teachers should analyze how their behavior, attitudes, and actions that contribute to or dispel such oppressive forces. This is essential not only in developing a citizenry with the critical knowledge, skills, and dispositions necessary to challenge and transform unjust structures and power relations (Giroux, 1980; Johnson & Morris, 2011), but is particularly important for future teachers of citizenship education.

One way that teacher educators can foster preservice teachers' examination of institutional oppression is through facilitated discussion centered on powerful materials that humanize the concept such as personal anecdotes, video clips, etc. (Crowley & Smith, 2015; Porfilio & Malott, 2011). One example includes the work of Porfilio and Malott (2011), whose preservice teachers examined how youth composed hip-hop and punk music in response to social justice issues that pervaded their lives such as violence, homophobia, sexism, and social and economic disparities. Through the investigation of cultural texts that reflected "the lived realities of youth who have dealt with systemic oppression, marginalization, and discrimination on an everyday basis within schools and in the wider society" (Porfilio & Malott, 2011, p. 66), the preservice teachers came to understand social stratification as a byproduct of economic and social systems and many self-reflected on how they had experienced unearned privileges based on the color of their skin and class status. Additionally, most of the preservice teachers expressed

commitment to teaching in ways that transform existing social and economic structures that continue to oppress humanity. Although Porfilio and Malott (2011) acknowledged that preservice teachers needed continuous learning experiences that address, the use of hip-hop pedagogy and cultural texts provided a way to humanize the impact of institutional oppression and engage them in more critical understandings about citizenship.

The second implication that I offer teacher education programs is that the learning experiences of preservice teachers should foster some feelings of discomfort, creating opportunities for individual and social transformation (Baily et al., 2014; Baily & Katradis, 2016; Berger, 2004; Smolcic & Arends, 2017; Zembylas, 2015). While most of the current teaching force reflects the national profile and dominant culture, it is essential that teacher education programs provide opportunities that challenge dominant beliefs, social habits, and normative practices that sustain inequities. Such learning experiences "can pull the rug out from under the status quo on which their [preservice teachers'] lives had been built" (Adams, 2016, p. 28), opening doors for new and alternative ways of understanding the world. Facilitating this process is a necessary component of teacher education in fostering the civic identity development of preservice teachers and in preparing citizens committed to social justice.

Learning experiences that foster such discomfort should be infused across the curriculum of teacher education programs. Examples of instructional strategies with interdisciplinary potential include, but are not limited to, unpacking students' assumptions about students, parents, and communities and facilitating their reading of unsettling texts (Berger, 2004). In the work of Baily et al. (2014), teachers from a wide variety of content backgrounds and grade levels participated in "community walks" (p. 254) with the goal of addressing issues of power, privilege, social justice, and diversity. Having visited a number of local sites including a church

that encouraged the students to examine issues of religion and pluralism, they acknowledged the discomfort experienced as the discussions pushed against their closely held beliefs. However, they also shared that "it was often through this 'discomfort' that the greatest learning took place" (Baily et al., 2014, p. 258). Learning experiences such as community walks can be catered to support a variety of disciplines and intentionally planned to foster more critical understandings about the world.

As an assistant professor of both social studies and literacy methods courses at the University of North Alabama, I strive to foster learning experiences that push my students beyond comfort in order to foster more critical understandings about the world in both courses. To do this, I am deliberate about incorporating social studies content as the foundation for learning in my literacy, as well as social studies courses. Throughout the semester, I engaged my preservice teachers in both courses in lessons that utilized unsettling texts (Berger, 2004) about the Birmingham Children's Crusade of 1963 in order to model effective techniques for teaching comprehension, but equally so to illuminate how literacy can be harnessed as a vehicle for promoting social transformation. All of my students were raised in small communities somewhat close to UNA and – believe it or not – had never heard of the historic event that led to the physical assaults and arrests of thousands of children fighting for freedom during the modern day Civil Rights Movement. One specific text, Locked Up for Freedom: Civil Rights Protesters at the Leesburg Stockade (Schwartz, 2017), revealed the unsanitary conditions and brutal treatment experienced by young African American females who were imprisoned at a post-Civil War stockade located in Georgia. My preservice teachers engaged in discussions that demonstrated feelings of distress and empathy as they tried to make sense of the unfathomable human actions in light of significant social progress, and most of them chose to incorporate the content as part

of a literacy unit they taught during clinical experiences required for the course. I encourage my preservice teachers to confront and unpack these feelings of distress and to consider their roles as citizens and as future teachers in creating a more equal and just society for all. I am not arguing that this particular learning experience completely transformed my preservice teachers, but it fostered more critical perceptions about democracy, citizenship, and social justice and the necessity for teaching and learning such concepts in elementary settings.

The third implication that I offer teacher education is that preservice teachers need learning experiences across the curriculum that foster a deep connection between critical theory and classroom praxis (Castro, 2014; Payne, 2017). Critical theory, when at the foundation of teacher pedagogy, frames learning experiences that bring to light the power dimensions of racism, sexism, classism, ableism, and other forms of cultural oppression. Critical pedagogy frames learning experiences that are concerned with power, domination, and seeks to empower and liberate individuals and groups who are suffering (Kincheloe, 2008). Based on the findings of this study, the preservice teachers exhibited more critical understandings about what it means to be a citizen, but they did not root them in critical theory; nor did they teach for more critical understandings of what it means to be a citizen throughout their clinical experiences. Their narratives were tied primarily to personal experiences rather than a theoretical understanding of how society is structured. Teacher educators should implement learning experiences that foster a deep understanding of critical theory and critical pedagogy in order to foster the civic identity development of preservice teachers as more critical citizens and prepare them to teach for critical citizenship education (Castro, 2014; Payne, 2017). As future teachers of citizenship, preservice teachers should examine their practical experiences in classrooms through the lens of critical theory.

This means that preservice teachers should have opportunities to not only experience critical pedagogy across the curriculum in university methods courses, but to observe, develop, and teach critical curricula during their clinical experiences. Throughout Payne's (2017) work, the preservice teachers of a social studies methods course taught clinical lessons in classrooms where the mentor teachers championed democratic practices that fostered more critical understandings about what it means to be a citizen, and their students discussed concepts such as race and agency. Over the course of the semester, the preservice teachers were mentored and guided by the classroom teacher and university course professor as they developed and enacted lessons that addressed notions of justice and equity with elementary level students. Payne (2017) found that the preservice teachers demonstrated more critical perceptions about democracy, citizenship, and social justice, and that their confidence for teaching such lessons strengthened throughout the semester. Encouraging and guiding preservice teachers' pedagogy for more critical citizenship is a vital piece of their civic identity development. Additionally, preservice teachers should observe and teach in classrooms with teachers who share similar visions for more critical citizenship education as the foundation for learning.

Limitations and Future Directions

All research studies have limitations that impact the degree to which the findings can be considered valid or generalizable, this study included. Disclosing the limitations allows the researcher to acknowledge the extent to which understanding can be drawn from his or her work; however, it also provides an opportunity to consider where additional work is needed. This section will present the limitations and include suggestions for future research that would extend this line of work.

This study explored the voices of a small group of preservice teachers whose stories illuminated their diverse and contextualized experiences and points of view. At times, several of the preservice teachers who had participated in the same course experiences interpreted them completely differently, which was not a surprise given their background experiences and what is known about the processes of identity development. Therefore, the findings of this study cannot be generalized across all preservice teachers and/or teacher education programs. However, the implications offer specific types of learning experiences that have the potential to reach all preservice teachers across the curriculum, meeting them at whatever point they might be on a continuum of critical civic identity development. For example, fostering preservice teachers' understanding of the interplay between identity and social positioning, particularly by examining their own identities, is a powerful way to encourage them at any point in their civic development to confront their worldviews and preassumptions. I encourage continued research in the implementation of such learning experiences with preservice teachers.

The purpose of the study was to explore how preservice teachers made meaning of their experiences, therefore, additional perspectives were not represented in this work. Although the preservice teachers shared stories about experiences in their respective teacher education programs, this research did not include the voices of professors, mentor teachers, colleagues, clinical students, etc. I encourage future research that centers on the work and perspectives of professors across the curriculum in order to advance the field and gain a more holistic understanding of how critical civic identity construction is fostered through experiences in teacher education.

Finally, this research has given us a lot to contemplate as teacher educators, but there is still much work to be done in facilitating preservice teachers' cultivation of more critical civic

identities. I have already begun to consider the findings of this study as I prepare the learning experiences for my own undergraduate courses this upcoming school year. As a researcher, I plan to continue exploring how particular learning experiences elicit more critical perceptions of citizenship within both my social studies and literacy methods courses. Furthermore, I plan to investigate how preservice teachers understand critical theory as a foundation for interpreting the social world and, more particularly, in recognizing all facets of oppression as barriers to the construction of a more equal and just democratic society for all citizens.

Conclusion

Education plays a powerful role in civic identity development and is a crucial context in preparing citizens with the critical civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions needed to work for social justice. This need for a more critical citizenry is particularly urgent as the democratic republic of the United States continues to become more diverse, demanding a more culturally inclusive landscape, but also during a time when social, economic, and political inequality continues to thrive. Therefore, it is a profound responsibility of educators to teach for more critical citizenship if we are to transform society in ways that extend rights and opportunities, improving the quality of life for *all* of its citizens.

Thus, teacher education programs must support the pursuit for a more socially just world by fostering the civic identity development of preservice teachers as more critical citizens and by preparing them to teach for more critical citizenship in their future classrooms. This is an imperative endeavor when the majority of teacher candidates are members of the culturally and socioeconomically dominant group in the United States, and as most yield perceptions of citizenship that favor the status quo. Together, teacher educators must infuse a vision for social justice across the curriculum and engage their preservice teachers in ongoing and facilitated

learning experiences that challenge and advance their perceptions of and engagement as citizens, in both theory and praxis. While this vision is absolutely necessary in social studies education, in which the sole purpose is the development of democratic citizens (NCSS, 2010), it is crucial to foster such learning experiences across the curriculum. Civic identity development occurs in all social spaces and is not limited to a single subject in educational contexts. This study echoes the call for action to transform teacher education programs in ways that support the, arguably, sole purpose of public education – democratic citizenship – and to prepare preservice teachers as agents of social change.

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APPENDIX A: INITIAL (SELECTION) INTERVIEW

Table A-1: Initial (Selection) Interview

Knowledge	Skills	Dispositions
Critiques historical and contemporary constructs of citizenship and democracy; Constructs alternative, non-traditional definitions (DeJaeghere, 2009; Giroux, 1980; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009) *********	Engages with diverse others, including those typically marginalized, around contested social issues (DeJaeghere, 2009; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011) *********	Holds emotional connections to those different from him/her self; Embraces individual differences and multiple group identities (DeJaeghere, 2009; Giroux, 1980; Johnson & Morris, 2011; Wade, 2003) *********
Understands positionality; Critically reflects on one's own position in society (Bell, 2016; DeJaeghere, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011; May & Sleeter, 2010) *********	Analyzes social issues and patterns of social inequality; Addresses exclusions based on gender, culture, ethnicity, nationality, race, sexuality, or socioeconomic status (DeJaeghere, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004) *********	Holds commitment to challenge social injustices (Girous, 1980; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011; Knight, Abowitz, & Harnish, 2006) *********
Critiques master narratives of society; Understands cultural histories and forms of knowledge of non-mainstream peoples (DeJaeghere, 2009; Giroux, 1980; Johnson & Morris, 2011; Knight, Abowitz & Harnish, 2006) *********	Challenges the status quo; Seeks to transform power relations (Adams, 2016; DeJaeghere, 2009; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011) *********	Commitment to transform society in ways that extend equal rights and opportunities to all citizens (DeJaeghere, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011; Knight, Abowitz, & Harnish) *********

Table A-1 continued

Understands the interplay of social, economic, and political forces; Understands how individuals and groups resist and negotiate societal relations (Giroux, 1980; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011; Westheimer & Kahne, 2004) ********	Takes action upon structures of domination; Disrupts patterns of social inequality (Giroux, 1980; Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009; Johnson & Morris, 2011) ********	

1) What does it mean to be a citizen?
   a. What type of knowledge should citizens have?
   b. What type of skills?
   c. What type of values?
2) How would you describe yourself as a citizen?
   a. What rights do you think you have?
   b. What responsibilities do you think that you have as a citizen?
   c. What communities do you belong to, and how do you engage as a citizen in your communities?
   d. How has your position/status in society contributed to, or hindered your engagement in civic life? What would you like to see change in how rights and responsibilities are distributed? How have you, or could you, contribute to this change?
3) Can you describe a few specific events/experiences in your life that have strongly contributed to your understanding and engagement as a citizen?
   a. Probe for family experiences, religious experiences, outside organizations, K-12 educational experiences, trips, friends
4) In what ways are all citizens in the United States, or are they not, afforded the same rights and responsibilities?
   a. Is everyone able to participate in civic life? (Example – convicted felons; racial, social, economic, age, legal status, green card holders). Why do you think this?
   b. How has your position/status in society contributed to, or hindered your engagement in civic life? What would you like to see change in how rights and responsibilities are distributed? How have you, or could you, contribute to this change?
5) Is there anything else that you would like to tell me about your civic identity, or who you are as a civic being? Is there anything that you thought I would ask, but didn't?

APPENDIX B: SELECTION INTERVIEW ANALYSIS

Table B-1: Selection Interview Analysis

Knowledge	Skills	Dispositions
1. Critiques historical and contemporary constructs of citizenship and democracy; Constructs alternative, non-traditional definitions 2. Understands positionality; Critically reflects on one's own position in society 3. Critiques master narratives of society; Understands cultural histories and forms of knowledge of non-mainstream peoples 4. Understands the interplay of social, economic, and political forces; Understands how individuals and groups resist and negotiate societal relations	1. Engages with diverse others, including those typically marginalized, around contested social issues 2. Analyzes social issues and patterns of social inequality; Addresses exclusions based on gender, culture, ethnicity, nationality, race, sexuality, or socioeconomic status 3. Challenges the status quo; Seeks to transform power relations 4. Takes action upon structures of domination; Disrupts patterns of social inequality	1. Holds emotional connections to those different from him/her self; Embraces individual differences and multiple group identities 2. Holds commitment to challenge social injustices 3. Commitment to transform society in ways that extend equal rights and opportunities to all citizens

APPENDIX C: SUBSEQUENT INTERVIEW PROTOCOLS

Second Interview Protocol

1. Why did you choose to attend this university?
   a. Probe for mission statements.
2. Why did you choose to be a teacher?
3. Describe a few critical experiences in your teacher education courses that have helped to shape your understanding of what it means to be a citizen?
   a. Probe for what type of knowledge.
   b. Probe for what type of skills.
   c. Probe for what kind of values.
4. How do your experiences in your teacher education courses align with, or not align with, your perception of what it means to be a citizen? Have your perceptions about citizenship changed throughout your preparation as a teacher? If so, how?
5. What aspects of your teacher education program have had the greatest impact on your understanding of citizenship?
   a. Probe for formal courses and course experiences, relationships with instructors, peer relationships.
6. How might you change your teacher education program in order to help you further grow into the kind of citizen you want to be?
7. Is there anything else you would like to tell me about your college experiences and the impact on your growth as a citizen that I haven't already asked?

Third Interview Protocol

1. How do you plan to teach for citizenship education in your future classroom?
2. What is important to you when you think of building a democratic classroom?
3. How have your course experiences contributed to your philosophy for teaching citizenship education?
4. How have your clinical experiences contributed to your philosophy for teaching citizenship education?

Fourth Interview Protocol

1. How did your civic identity shape the way you experienced clinicals?
2. Describe any powerful clinical experiences that you feel shaped who you are as a citizen and as a future teacher of citizenship.