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What to Teach?

An examination of content decisions among social studies teachers in California

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requirements for the degree Doctor of Education

by

Curtis James Hartman

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

What to Teach?

An examination of content decisions among social studies teachers in California

by

Curtis James Hartman

Doctor of Education

University of California, Los Angeles, 2019

Professor Kathryn M. Anderson-Levitt, Co-Chair

Professor Patricia M. McDonough, Co-Chair

When the standards reform movement was introduced, researchers postulated the dual methods of rigorous standards and assessment to measure performance on those standards. Through the early part of the 21st century, the standards corpus has grown, and so too have the accompanying testing regimes (Delandshere and Arens, 2001). However, in California, the social studies standards landscape has grown, but measurement via testing was abandoned in 2013. In 2016, the state launched the curriculum framework, a document intended to clarify and harmonize, but not replace, the 1998 content standards and the 2010 Common Core standards that govern social studies instruction in California. Given the lack of any assessment, how are teachers incorporating the new standards guidance, along with older standards guidance, and making content decisions about what to teach?

For this qualitative comparative case study analysis, I interviewed fourteen teachers at two large, urban, comprehensive high schools in Southern California to determine how these teachers were using standards documents in planning, and how these teachers generally make content decisions. Interviews revealed that this sample of teachers have not adopted the 2016 Curriculum Framework into their practices, nor are they consulting the underlying standards in their planning and assessment. Instead, the teachers interviewed overwhelmingly relied on textbooks, professional content creators, and the College Board to make content decisions for their courses.

The dissertation of Curtis James Hartman is approved.

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2019

DEDICATION PAGE

For my father, who didn't get to see this finished, and my wife, who was with me each step of the way. I love you both.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

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Hartman, C. (2012). Talking Trash: Solid Waste Policy in the District of Columbia, 1878-1951. *Washington History* 24(2), pp 85-99.

Chapter I

The Problem

The social studies teacher sits at the nexus of several forces all impacting curriculum scope and instructional praxis (Grant, 1996). Within social studies education scholarship, there is wide disagreement on content scope, the role of narrative, and pedagogy (Wineburg 1999, 2001; Beck & Enno, 2012; Leming, Ellington & Schug, 2006; Anderson, Avery, Pederson, Smith & Sullivan, 1997). The lack of a clear consensus, and the fraught political landscape of social studies curriculum standards, is made manifest in the 2016 California Social Studies Curriculum Framework. This framework draws together California's aging History Content Standards with the Common Core History/Technical Subject standards and the English Language Arts standards. As the architects of the framework are aware, the adoption of both sets of standards requires teachers to perform the paradoxical task of covering a broad scope of content while simultaneously providing deep contextualization and opportunities for students to explore the contested nature of truth (Slutsky, 2017; McTygue, 2017; Rothstein, 2004).

Like many states, California no longer offers any state-level assessment of social studies coursework. As a result, teachers are given broad interpretive leeway to decide which curricular demands are granted primacy in their classroom (Vogler & Virtue, 2007; Grant, 1996). In elementary schools, this lack of focus and assessment, coupled with high stakes testing in mathematics and English, has contributed to a documented decline in instructional minutes dedicated to social studies (Heafner & Fitchett, 2012; Leming, Ellington & Schug, 2006). At the secondary level, social studies coursework is a required part of the curriculum, but the ambiguity in objectives remains. This study examines how secondary social studies

educators are using California's standards to inform their course content, and establish which factors play the paramount role in shaping teachers' content decisions.

Background to the Problem

The field of history instruction has seen the depth and breadth debate play out for over one-hundred years. The 1898 Annual Report of the American Historical Association argued that the purpose of history instruction was "not to fill the boy's head with a mass of material which he may perchance put forth again when a college examiner demands its production." While there was significant debate in the early part of the 20th Century, what has come to be known as the "coverage model," which emphasizes chronology, fact-based recall, and a large scope of content, dominated history instruction in the postwar era due largely to the explosive growth in class sizes that necessitated lecture format pedagogy (Sipress & Voelker, 2011).

In the latter half of the 20th century, several scholars began to criticize this method. Much of the early criticism of the coverage model stemmed from its reliance on grand narrative to sustain and render coherent the massive scope of content it sought to convey (McNeill, 1986; Loewen, 1995; Bentley, 2005; Rothstein, 2004, Journell, 2011). These grand narratives tended towards a Eurocentric worldview, with the underlying story of progress towards "modernity" as the implied teleological aim of history. As historians expanded the scope of curriculum in the late 20th century to include the experiences of marginalized communities, the narratives that sustained the coverage model began to fall apart as they could not reasonably encompass these groups while keeping the "story" coherent (Said, 1979; Butterfield, 1931; Limerick, 1987; Journell, 2011). While these criticisms were essential, the late 20th century saw little movement away from the coverage model as the critics did not offer a concrete alternative.

However, this debate has intensified in recent years due to developments in the fields of neuroscience and cognitive psychology, which have fundamentally re-oriented thinking about how humans think and learn (Calder, 2006). The 21st century has seen a sustained criticism of the coverage model within academic circles (Wineburg, 2001; Calder, 2006; Estes, 2007; Sipress & Voelker, 2009; Wineburg, 1999). This criticism reignited the debates from the early 20th century, and argued that the principal value of history instruction was in the development of student thinking skills and not in the mastery of a broad scope of content. This scholarship penetrated to the heart of secondary instruction with the enshrinement of skill mastery in the History-Social Science Standards for the Common Core State Standards as the sole metric for student success.

California, like many states, adopted the Common Core State Standards in 2010. Embedded in those standards are explicit skill goals laid out as history/social studies literacy skills, in addition to the English/language arts standards, which mandate specific skills in source analysis, argumentation and understanding of the contingent and varied interpretations of history as the essential skills for a high school graduate. Rather than listing key course content, these standards only mention skills. However, California did not accompany the adoption of the Common Core standards, which emphasize student skill acquisition and learning by doing, with the repeal of the state's 1998 social studies content standards, which were written to reflect the coverage model of history instruction. Therefore, since 2010 California's history teachers have been stuck with the dual mandate of depth from the Common Core, and breadth from the state standards. Responding to the concerns of teachers about this pressure, in 2016 the State Board of Education adopted a curriculum framework intended to offer instructional strategies for meeting the Common Core standards. The

framework's authors lacked the mandate to alter the 1998 content standards, and the resulting document did little to resolve these twin tensions. As such, California social studies teachers are left with a sprawling standards corpus that has grown in the last twenty years, with the twin mandates of depth and breadth, and with no external mechanism to assess which standards are being taught.

Existing Gaps to Fill

Several studies have examined the interaction between standards, teacher beliefs and classroom practices, though few have focused explicitly on the secondary social studies context. Greene, Musser, Casbon, Caskey, Samek, & Olson, (2008) examined the impact of No Child Left Behind's implementation on 162 middle school teachers in Oregon. In their comments, teachers explained how state standards' demands for breadth often took primacy over depth, as the scope of content was more frequently the subject of testing. Grant (1996) interviewed history teachers in New York to determine which actors or resources ultimately impacted what was actually taught in the classroom. Grant found that, generally, the individual teacher was the most significant factor in determining the impact of any specific reform on history content. Grant argued that the beliefs of the teacher as to what content was important were paramount in what was actually taught, and the local organization in terms of the department or school site was the second most significant factor. Grant found that policy influences, such as standards, tended to be weaker than personal beliefs or organizational influences in determining content by teachers.

Grant's work and questions are foundational to this study, especially since his work took place before much of the present standards framework was fully assembled. While California's content standards have been in place for over two decades, the Common Core

standards are much newer, and the 2016 Curriculum Framework that is intended to provide deeper guidance in Common Core implementation has only been available for three years. Given that a part of the purpose of the standards movement is to minimize the role of individual teacher beliefs in determining what gets taught, in this study, I interviewed secondary social studies teachers to determine where they are locating authority over content, and how they are balancing the competing demands of breadth and depth that currently are at the center of the policy debate.

The following research questions guide this study:

Research Questions

1. What does this sample of social studies teachers say influences their content decisions?
    a. Which actors (the teacher, peers, parents, students, textbook publishers, the College Board, site administrators, or the state standards) do teachers believe have authority over their course content?

2. How are these teachers implementing California's social studies standards? (i.e., HSS Content Standards, HSS Analysis Skills, CCSS for ELA/Literacy, ELD Standards, and 2016 Curriculum Framework)
    a. In what ways do teachers interpret the current state standards framework into instruction and assessment, if at all?
    b. How do teachers say they resolve the tension between depth and breadth?

3. What are these social studies teachers' attitudes towards the current standards environment?
    a. To what extent teachers aware of standards resources?

b. Which standards resources do teachers consult most frequently?

Research Site

Fourteen secondary social studies teachers in two large, comprehensive urban high schools in Southern California were recruited for this study. This study focused on teachers of those courses for which California has written state standards, US History, World History, US Government, and Economics. Focusing on these courses ensured that this study could assess the impact of state guidance on both Advanced Placement (AP) and non-AP coursework, while excluding those electives offered at some sites, like AP Psychology, for which the state has not adopted official standards guidance.

Research Design

This qualitative study consists primarily of interviews and document analysis from a sample of fourteen teachers. Interviews determined where teachers locate authority over content, and the complex relationship between personal beliefs, organization, and policy that results in curriculum decisions. Document analysis of summative assessments gave glimpses into both the type of content covered and the types of skills being assessed to determine how these teachers have struck a balance between the competing demands of California's curriculum landscape.

Significance of the Study

The stories we tell about ourselves as a nation and as a species have profound implications for the formation of our identities. One need only look at the 2016 presidential election to see the role of rhetoric and narrative in determining the "truth" of events. Scholars ranging from Thomas Jefferson to George Santayana have extolled the importance of history in education. In 2018 alone, eminent scholars Sam Wineburg and Lynn Hunt independently

published new books defending the importance of historical education. Both argue that historical education provides the skills of critical analysis and nuanced reading of complex texts, along with a host of other skills essential to creating an informed citizenry (Wineburg, 2018; Hunt, 2018). If we are to ensure that our students get the best possible education, we need to know whether standards are an effective measure of what is taught in the classroom. History and the social sciences in general do not have any form of standardized assessment in the state of California to which teachers are held accountable. While this should not be taken as an endorsement of standardized assessments, the absence means that there is no measurement of whether or not the new curriculum framework, or even the old curriculum framework, is being adopted with any fidelity. Put another way, we cannot know what new policies we might need without a study of how the current policy is functioning. This study sheds light on how some teachers in southern California are negotiating the current standards landscape, and how these policies are shaping classroom instruction.

Chapter II

Literature Review

"Our Nation is at risk." With a few powerful words, the U.S. Department of Education began their famous 1983 report, *A Nation at Risk*, which painted a bleak portrait of America's public education "being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a Nation and a people" (p. 1). At a time when the manufacturing base of the economy was eroding in the face of global wage pressure and inflation and interest rates both pushed into double digits, it is understandable that politicians and policymakers would feel a pervading sense of doom. Fears concerning globalized economic competition are evident throughout the document's introduction, which highlights pressure from Japanese automakers and German machine tools as direct threats to traditional American prosperity. For the architects of *A Nation at Risk*, immediate change was needed to ensure that American schools provided the economy with workers adept at meeting the challenges of the new global economy.

A Nation at Risk is credited with launching the modern incarnation of the standards reform movement, but it was the Clinton administration that enshrined standards-based education into law with the 1994 re-authorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA). From the outset, the development of high-quality educational standards was linked to assessment to measure those standards, demonstrated by Congress' creation of the National Council on Education Standards and Testing. Throughout the 1990s various states developed content standards and introduced assessment metrics for those standards to ensure fidelity and accountability to the new framework. In California, this took the form of a series

of content standards initiatives finalized for mathematics, science, English and social studies between 1997 and 1998. To ensure these new standards were carried out, measurement of these standards was authorized in a testing regime required under the California Public Schools Accountability Act of 1999 (PSAA).

The testing regime of the early 2000s intensified after the passage of No Child Left Behind (2001), and in California the PSAA exams, which generally took the form of the California Standards Tests (CSTs) functioned to meet the requirements of this high-stakes framework. Over time, several scholars began to question the utility of these exams and their unintended consequences (Darling-Hammond, 2004; Grant, 2007; Schmoker & Marzano, 1999; Linn, 2006; Linn, 2005; Abrams, Pedulla, Madaus 2003). Scholars argued that the fixation on high stakes testing had the impact of narrowing the curriculum to what was most likely to be tested, which was generally lower order recall forms of thinking (Settlage and Meadows, 2002; Darling-Hammond, 2004; Kornblith and Lasser, 2004; Berliner 2011; Winstead, 2011). Scholars argued that the standards themselves were the problem, as they were merely lists of facts and information students were expected to learn, with scholars from the Third International Mathematics and Science Study famously characterizing the science curriculum as "a mile wide and an inch deep" (Schmidt, McKnight, & Raizen, 1997). Rather than rolling back standards reforms, these criticisms brought about a second wave of the standards reform movement, culminating in the development of several new national standards initiatives intended to deepen student thinking and inquiry.

In 2010, California joined a majority of States in adopting the Common Core Standards, along with the English Language Development (ELD) Standards, and shortly thereafter the Next-Generation Science Standards. These standards offered a view of

education as skill-driven rather than content focused, and argued for deeper authentic assessment models to determine levels of skill mastery. In most subjects: English, mathematics, and the sciences, these new standards superseded the outmoded standards developed in the late 1990s. However, California elected to keep the 1998 social studies content standards, adding the new Common Core Literacy in History/Social Sciences, and ELD standards on top of the existing content standards. The resulting standards landscape, shown in Figure 1, highlights the layers of standards policy impacting instruction in the state.

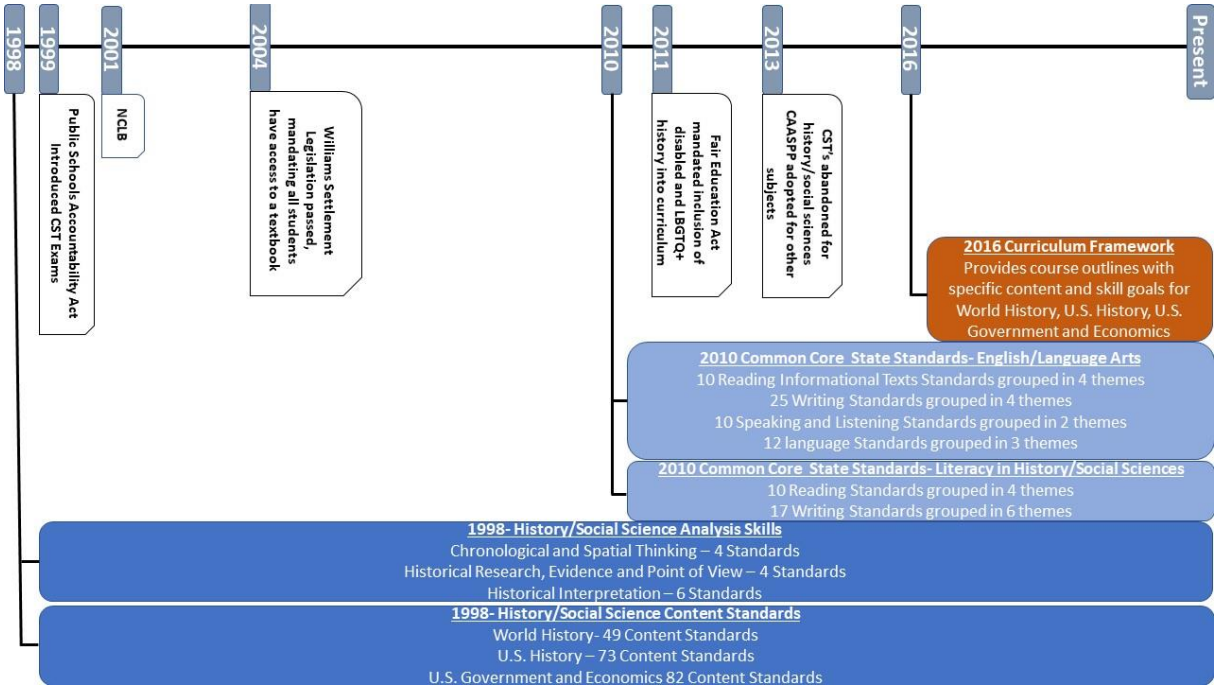


Figure 1. California's growing standards landscape.

The resulting social studies standards landscape is characterized by the twin demands of the 1998 content standard's demand for breadth of content competing with the Common Core's mandate for deep inquiry and research skills. In an examination of a similar problem with science standards, Li (2007)characterized this dichotomy as a curriculum that was "miles wide and *miles* deep" (emphasis in original). Rothstein (2004) argued that without resolving

the underlying tension of depth and breadth, meaningful assessment of historical knowledge is impossible. California's State Board of Education reached a similar conclusion, abandoning history testing in 2013 in an effort to reduce the overall testing burden.

To further clarify the goals of social studies instruction, the California State Board of Education authorized members of the California History-Social Sciences Project to author an updated Curriculum Framework, which was formally adopted in 2016. The new framework was not authorized to replace any of the prior standards documents, and further sought to incorporate elements of the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) C3 Curriculum Framework into California's standards landscape. Additionally, the 2016 Framework added content pertaining to LGBTQ+ and disabled history required under the 2011 Fair Education Act. These additions, while laudable, contribute to a standards landscape that requires social studies teachers to consult at least four different documents to construct their lessons, in a subject for which there is no standardized assessment. The addition of the new framework, the lack of measurement via standardized assessment, the fractured nature of the standards landscape as a whole, and the unresolved tensions between depth and breadth inherent in the current standards landscape ensures that some standards are not being met or taught due to the limitations of time in a given school year. Given all of these factors, how are teachers choosing which standards to teach and assess in the current environment?

The current social studies standards environment in California presents a unique challenge to educators and policymakers. While there exists a great deal of study on the impact of standards reform and high stakes testing on instruction, the implication of the bulk of the research has to do with the ways in which testing serves to narrow the curriculum to those topics most likely to be tested (Settlage and Meadows, 2002; Darling-Hammond, 2004;

Kornblith and Lasser, 2004; Berliner 2011; Winstead, 2011). By abandoning testing but keeping and expanding the standards' scope, California's social studies curriculum has ventured into a gap in existing research. Without a test to communicate areas of emphasis, how are teachers making content decisions? What resources are they using? Are teachers responding to the changing standards or are they ignoring the new curriculum framework? In order to answer these questions, it is useful to first examine the stated purposes of social studies instruction, examine how the standards reform movement has impacted social studies instruction, then look at the research surrounding how other factors like teacher beliefs, additional stakeholders, and standards all shape the enacted curriculum.

What are Social Studies?

The field of history and social studies instruction has seen the depth and breadth debate play out for over one-hundred years. The 1898 Annual Report of the American Historical Association argued that the purpose of history instruction was "not to fill the boy's head with a mass of material which he may perchance put forth again when a college examiner demands its production." While there was significant debate in the early part of the 20th century, what has come to be known as the "coverage model," which emphasizes chronology, fact-based recall, and a large scope of content, dominated instruction in the postwar era due largely to the explosive growth in class sizes that necessitated lecture format pedagogy (Sipress and Voelker, 2011).

While critical thinking, and in-depth analysis of a relatively small scope of content dominate the latter years of undergraduate coursework, to say nothing of graduate coursework, lower division undergraduate history coursework became dominated by the survey course which largely consists of storytelling and macro-narratives that simplify, often

to the point of distortion, the complexities of the past into digestible anecdotes. This trend continues down into the secondary courses, which take the cue from university courses, and into the primary classroom, which tends to veer towards hagiography and myth (Sipress and Voelker, 2011; Wineburg, 2008; McNeill, 1986; Bentley 2005, Calder, 2006, Journell, 2011).

At the close of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st, many scholars began to question the necessity of the coverage model. Some of the early criticism of the coverage model stemmed from its reliance on grand narrative to sustain and render coherent the massive scope of content it sought to convey (McNeill, 1986; Loewen, 1995; Bentley, 2005; Rothstein, 2004, Journell, 2011). These scholars pointed out the inherent Eurocentric or triumphal biases in these narratives often failed to incorporate the histories of marginalized communities. As historians expanded the scope of the field to include the experiences of marginalized communities, the narratives that sustained the coverage model began to fall apart as they could not reasonably encompass these groups while keeping the "story" coherent (Said, 1979; Butterfield, 1931; Limerick, 1987; Journell, 2011). These criticisms were an essential start, because they highlighted the problems of the existing narratives, but these scholars were not yet proposing an alternative to the coverage model, instead seeking only to increase what was covered.

This debate has intensified in recent years largely due to developments in the fields of neuroscience and cognitive psychology, which have fundamentally re-oriented thinking about how humans think and learn (Calder, 2006). These scholars point out that memorization of fact-based knowledge is extremely perishable. Thus, the underlying assumption of the coverage model, that students learn and remember facts to build upon later, does not reflect cognitive processes. The 21st century has seen a sustained criticism of the coverage model

within academic circles as anachronistic and fundamentally wrong in its focus (Wineburg, 1999; Wineburg, 2001; Calder, 2006; Estes, 2007; Sipress & Voelker, 2009). This criticism reignited the debates from the early 20th century arguing that the principal value of history instruction was in the development of student thinking skills and not in the mastery of a broad scope of content. This scholarship penetrated to the heart of secondary instruction with the enshrinement of skill mastery in the history/social studies standards for the Common Core State Standards as the sole metric for student success.

The current standards landscape in California reflects competing viewpoints for the purposes of history education. While there is an increasing trend away from the coverage model in academic circles, California's content standards presuppose the necessity of the coverage model as the sole method for teaching history. The 2016 Curriculum Framework's architects attempt to balance this by claiming that the new Curriculum Framework offers teachers guidance in how to balance these twin demands (McTygue, 2017; Slutsky, 2017). This tension is present in publications supporting the framework.

Slutsky, (2017) one of the authors of the framework, admits the tension between depth and breadth is still present in the framework but explicitly states that the 2016 Curriculum Framework "...firmly come[s] down on the side of depth, especially when there's a big payoff in content themes over time." Slutsky makes clear that teachers lack the time to cover everything, and so instead should be "selective about coverage" leaving it to the individual teacher to make content decisions (p. 21-22). In contrast, McTygue (2017), co-chair of the committee that produced the framework, reminds teachers that the History-Social Science Content Standards for California Public Schools from 1998 remain in effect, as the State Board of Education and California Department of Education have yet to gain approval or

funding for a needed update of those standards. Critically, McTygue does not echo Slutsky's endorsement of depth over breadth and argues instead that the framework provides an approach that allows teachers to cover all required content while exploring that content in-depth. Slutsky's argument better reflects the current trend away from the coverage model, and is a confirmation of the independence of the teacher to make meaningful curricular choices in their classroom, but the State Board's continued mandate for adherence to the content standards undercuts her own argument. When the authors of the framework themselves cannot seem to agree, how are teachers making sense of the debate? To understand this, we must examine the current research on the impact of standards on teaching.

Standards-Based Teaching?

As mentioned above, much of the discourse surrounding the standards reform movement involved two distinct components, the creation of rigorous standards and the implementation of high-stakes assessment to measure performance on those standards. Few studies exist that focus on social studies alone, and yet the tensions with the conflicting mandates and standards is a problem unique to the field. Those few studies of the influence of standards on social studies instruction to date have primarily examined districts facing high-stakes testing. While California currently does not require any such assessment, an examination of how standards influence content and pedagogy in a high stakes environment may help provide insight into how teachers negotiate the demands of state standards.

Fickel (2006) conducted an ethnographic study of nine social studies teachers in a single Kentucky high school, conducting interviews and sitting in on meetings and classes over a two year period to observe how the teachers negotiated the demands of the policy changes and high stakes testing in their classrooms. Fickel found that the state mandated

curriculum had a significant influence on course content and organization, but the coverage demands of the curriculum also influenced the type of teaching as well. Fickel contrasted the instructional praxes in elective courses, over which teachers enjoyed significant freedom, with those in state-required courses at the same site. Fickel highlighted that the content demands of the state curricula in the required courses narrowed content and changed pedagogy from a more inquiry-based modality seen in the electives to an emphasis on fact recall in order to meet the demands of the state test. Lecture time increased, and time spent on enrichment activities decreased to ensure students received adequate coverage. Further, Fickel found that when confronted with lower than expected test scores, teachers further modified assessments to mirror the state exams, moving from writing research papers to in-class short responses. While some teachers expressed concern that they were violating their own beliefs about the purposes for social studies instruction, these teachers responded to the policy environment by adapting their practices to the demands of the state curriculum.

Grant (2000) examined the implementation of the New York Regents exam to determine if the imposition of a high-stakes-testing regime would cause teachers to reform their teaching. Grant (2000) conducted focus group interviews with New York teachers over a two-year period consisting of nine elementary school teachers and counselors, and fifteen high school teachers from all subject areas. Grant found that social studies teachers were generally supportive of changes in the Regents exam that required students to engage primary source documents in essay responses, but those teachers also questioned the amount of fact-based multiple choice questions on the test. Teachers felt the social studies exams were largely designed to impact what was taught, though Grant found that they were also changing how teachers taught. Like Fickel, Grant found that the scope of content on the social studies

exams, mostly in the multiple-choice section, made teachers feel that they had to engage in more direct instruction, despite the skills development required for the document-based questions that emphasized depth of knowledge. Grant found that the exam influenced assessment, with teachers explicitly modeling in-class assessment on the Regents exam. The complexities of the interactions between assessment and practices in trying to look at multiple grade levels and disciplines led Grant to conduct a second wave of interviews, focusing on high school social studies teachers.

Grant (2001) used the findings from his focus group research (2000) to examine 9th and 10th grade Global History teachers and their instructional shifts as a result of the changes to the New York Regents exam. Grant and his team of research assistants interviewed sixteen teachers from thirteen schools in both urban and rural contexts with a broad range of years of experience. Grant used a semi-structured interview protocol, interviewing each teacher for approximately 90 minutes. As a result of these interviews, several key findings emerged.

First, all teachers felt pressed to cover too much content, and struggled with the impossibility of teaching global history. The chronological approach required too much hopping from place to place, and teachers expressed concerns that the approach confused rather than informed students. Grant also found that novice teachers were more likely to make decisions about content based on the test, while veteran teachers were less likely to shift their content. Both novice and veteran teachers reported some modification of the curriculum to meet the scope of the exam, relying on the textbook to drive instruction, and, in some cases, assigning fewer research projects and deep enrichment activities, citing a lack of time. Predictably, all teachers reported an increase in test preparation activities as a part of their curriculum, and have shifted assessment questions to mirror the Regents exam.

The changes in the Regents exam were accompanied by new standards that seemed to argue for a shift in pedagogy towards deeper engagement with complex issues and in-depth understanding. Grant (2001) argues that while the shifts in the Regents exam caused some minor changes in curriculum and assessment, the push in the revised standards for deeper learning and thinking had little impact on teacher instruction. Teachers reported a tension between the standards and the exam: while the standards seemed to advocate for more enrichment activities and a richer pedagogy, the Regents exam necessitated fewer such activities to meet the curricular scope. Further, teachers engaging in more enrichment activities reported that they did so not because of the new standards, but either because they had always done so or that they were doing deeper learning activities despite the new standards, not because of them.

A comparison of Mississippi and Tennessee state exams highlights the impact of both high and low stakes testing on instruction (Vogler, 2008). These states were chosen for comparison in that they closely mirror each other in terms of population demographics, education expenditures, and graduation rates. Both administer a secondary assessment in US History, but the stakes for these exams are quite different. Mississippi's exam is relatively high-stakes, with a student's high school graduation depending on the outcome, while Tennessee's End-Of-Course exam must constitute 15% of a student's grade in the course, but does not otherwise impact graduation. Vogler pointed out that the curriculum standards for each state mirrored the debate between depth and breadth, and the resulting exams indicate which side that state came down on. Tennessee's standards focus on lower level types of thinking, with an emphasis on fact recall and a singular correct answer. In contrast, Mississippi's standards emphasize higher level thinking like analysis and interpretive tasks.

To assess the influence of these respective exams on practice, Vogler had just over one-hundred secondary social studies teachers from each state complete a survey on their instructional practices, which highlight the impact of exam stakes on practices. While teachers in both states reported similar levels of teacher-centered and student-centered practices, 61.9% of Mississippi's teachers reported spending more than two months on exam preparation, while only 14.1% of Tennessee's teachers reported spending the same amount of time on exam preparation. At the other end of the spectrum, 45.2% of Tennessee's teacher reported spending no time at all preparing their students for the state examination, while only 16.8% of Mississippi's teachers spent no time on state exam preparation. Further, Vogler found a positive correlation between the use of teacher-centered practices and the amount of time spent on exam preparation. Vogler argued that teacher's desire for students to arrive at the correct answer likely influenced them to focus on the textbook and content coverage rather than exploration. Lastly, Mississippi teachers were much more likely to report that their instructional practices were influenced by the desire for students to succeed on the exam, while Tennessee's teachers were much more likely to highlight personal beliefs as the key factors in their instructional practices.

Vogler demonstrates that as the stakes for a state accountability exam rise, its impact on instruction rises as well. But within this broad assertion, there is remarkable diversity. Nearly seventeen percent of teachers in the higher stakes testing environment still refused to play the game, spending no time on exam preparation in the lower-stakes environment of Tennessee, over half of teachers still spent some time on exam preparation. While Vogler's finding that exam stakes influence exam preparation is significant, Vogler does not account for how the population demographics of a particular school or district may influence teaching

practices with regards to exam preparation. Similarly, Vogler fails to examine the impact of teacher preparation and years of teaching on instructional practices, despite collecting that data in his background survey. As a result, Vogler's study tells us that high-stakes exams strongly influence curricular decisions for many, but does not tell us which teachers are most likely to make changes to reflect tested curricula nor why some teachers do not make changes at all.

Standardized testing has predictable by-products. The higher the stakes of the exam for the teachers, the great the pressure to ensure that their practices closely mirror the content of the exam (Vogler, 2008). Exploratory practices in which a student has to discern intellectual dead-ends and eventually arrive at some kind of conclusion tend to fall by the wayside to ensure that students arrive at the correct answer, which is usually presented as singular and uncontested even in interpretive exercises (Grant 2001). While over half of states in the United States require some form of social studies assessment, California's teachers enjoy a great deal of autonomy thanks to the state's abandonment of social studies assessment in 2013. However, the presence of other high stakes subject tests serves to shape the educational landscape in ways that are not as beneficial to social studies teachers and students.

Vanishing History

The loss of high-stakes testing in social studies has not coincided with a move away from high-stakes testing altogether. At the primary level, this means teachers are still faced with examinations in other areas like mathematics and English/language arts, and primary teachers have responded by reducing the number of instructional minutes devoted to social studies.

Leming, Ellington & Schug (2006) highlighted that the prior two decades were filled with alarming surveys and testing data, indicating that students were completing high school with "...little basic knowledge of history, civics, economics, and geography." While this problem spawned a great deal of political hand-wringing, little had been done to study what was happening in primary school classrooms to teach the social sciences. Leming, Ellington & Schug point out that there were no large scale randomized studies of social studies instruction, highlighting that the few published studies had low response rates and problematic sampling methods. To remedy this, and help move the conversation forward on how improving instruction, Leming, Ellington & Schug focused their study on public elementary and middle school teachers, conducting fifteen minute telephonic interviews of 1,051 randomly selected second, fifth, and eighth grade teachers from across the United States. To engage in so many interviews, the authors developed a rigid interview protocol and employed the University of Connecticut's Center for Survey Research. From these interviews, several key findings emerged.

First, Leming, Ellington & Schug found that elementary teachers tended to spend less than one hour per day, on average, on social studies instruction. This trend was most pronounced among the second and fifth grade teachers, in which 70% of respondents spent fewer than four hours per week on social studies instruction. For comparison, only 11% of the second and fifth grade teachers spent fewer than four hours per week on mathematics and only 8% spent less than four hours on reading instruction. Leming, Ellington, & Schug pointed out that these teachers generally felt that their schools did not place much importance on social studies, with only 29% of respondents indicating that their school emphasized civics and government. Among eighth grade teachers, 50% of teachers sampled indicated that their

schools considered social studies to be highly important, well behind the 90% of respondents that rated reading and math as highly important.

In terms of how the content is actually taught, the time constraints likely are impacting methodology. While 67% of teachers indicated a preference for student-centered instruction, 90% selected whole class lecture/discussion as their most recently used methodology. In addition to the time constraints, standardized testing regimes are also a factor in the amount of direct instruction teachers are engaging in. Of the teachers sampled, 65% said they would do less direct instruction and spend more time on student inquiry if standardized testing were to disappear.

Leming, Ellington & Schug's data present a broad national picture, but their study is not alone in documenting a decline in instructional minutes spent on social studies at the elementary level. Hutton & Berstein (2008) surveyed 24 elementary school teachers in Southern California and found that roughly 40% of teachers spent an hour or less per week on social studies instruction, and 93% of the teachers did not meet the National Council for the Social Studies recommendation of five hours per week. In this study, teachers highlighted time constraints, and an increased emphasis (in the form of state testing) on reading and math, as the key factors in the reduction of social studies time. This decline is not unique to California, VanFossen (2005) surveyed 594 elementary teachers in Indiana, a response rate of 49.5% of a random sampling of 1200 teachers, and similarly found that in grades K-3, teachers spent about an hour per week on social studies while grade 4-5 averaged two hours.

The sparse time and attention given to social studies has a negative impact on student views of the subject. Zhao & Hoge (2005) trained fifty Georgia preservice teachers to interview six elementary students each on their attitudes about social studies. Nearly all of

the students were found to have negative views of history as a subject, with only fourth and fifth grade students able to partially define the purposes of social studies instruction. Teachers interviewed believed students disliked social studies due to the lack of time for memorable activities. Teachers also reported that the lack of time forced reliance on a textbook as the sole resource for social studies instruction, a method that students cited as particularly boring (Zhao & Hoge, 2005).

While this study focuses on secondary education, students entering high school social studies classrooms are less prepared as a result of the standards landscape and testing regimes that have marginalized social studies instruction in their primary schooling years. Rather than building upon and deepening an existing knowledge base, many middle and high school social studies teachers must start from scratch. The sparse attention given to social studies by the current testing regime has contributed to a contraction of instructional minutes devoted to social studies at the primary level (Leming, Ellington & Schug, 2006; Hutton & Berstein, 2008; VanFossen, 2005; Zhao & Hoge, 2005). However, in the secondary setting, where social studies are required courses in their own right, we have little information about how teachers are reacting to the current policy environment.

Of Teachers' Beliefs

While subjects like mathematics or science lend themselves to generally accepted theories, and the subjective nature of English and art are readily apparent, social studies occupies a sort of middle space. There are brute facts of the past, but the meaning and relative importance of those facts are highly variable from time to time and place to place. Standards are an important source of curricular guidance, but that guidance plays out in every classroom slightly differently. In a recent example of the variability of classroom instruction,

the Southern Poverty Law Center (2018) conducted a survey of 1,000 high school seniors that found only eight percent of those surveyed identified slavery as the cause of the American Civil War. While the facts of history are clear, their meaning is reconstructed by teachers and students independent of curricular frameworks daily.

Teachers interpret their role and conceptualize their relationship with official curriculum differently. Teacher belief about the purposes of social studies education plays out in the classroom in terms of both what is taught, and how it is taught (Peck & Harriot, 2014). Thornton (1991) argued that a social studies teacher is best understood as the gatekeeper for curriculum and instruction, making sense of their past experiences and beliefs in dialogue with the broad curriculum. Thornton argued that teacher's assemblages of beliefs and meanings, which are seldom examined by the practitioner, often supplant the meanings and reasoning intended in the adopted curriculum. To make sense of the beliefs that impact instruction, Peck and Harriot divided the types of beliefs into three broad categories: beliefs about the purposes of social studies education; beliefs about content and pedagogy; and beliefs about general history and citizenship.

Peck and Harriot found that most teachers generally agree about the purposes of social studies instruction. Teachers generally cited citizenship education, cultivating national identity, and empathy skills development as key reasons for including social studies in the curriculum (Anderson, Avery & Pederson, 1997; Hoge, 2002; Castro & Knowles, 2017). This broad agreement among practitioners belies the disagreement as to how to accomplish these goals.

The principal division between practitioners lies in the second domain, the beliefs about content and pedagogy. Generally, there are two camps surrounding history content,

supporters of the coverage model and those who reject it. Some reformers reject textbooks and the coverage model altogether, favoring an inquiry-based approach that centers logical reasoning and evidence-based argumentation as the focus of the social studies curriculum (Wineburg, 1999, Calder, 2006; Sipress & Voelker 2009, 2011; Engle, 2003). Others hold that the coverage model provides necessary background knowledge needed for any student to engage in historical reasoning, and question the developmental appropriateness of a critical thinking curriculum for secondary students who are still acquiring a knowledge base (Leming, Ellington, & Schug, 2006; Leming, Ellington, & Porter-Magee 2003). While the development and adoption of the Common Core State Standards may imply the ascendancy of the inquiry-based reformers, many states, like California, still have content standards that emphasize the coverage model. Further, textbook adoption and adherence in line with those content standards are still a significant feature of the secondary social studies landscape, a practice at odds with the goal of reformers. As a result, the adoption of the Common Core has done little to destabilize the hegemony of the coverage model.

Additionally, social studies teachers face many constraints on their ability to enact radical pedagogy reform. The perceived expendability of social studies compared with other core subjects causes site leaders to disproportionately hire high school social studies teachers who can double as athletic coaches (Brown & Sieben, 2013; Chiodo, Martin, & Rowan, 2002). While many coaches are fine teachers, the demands on time reduce opportunities for professional development and collaboration. Further, the emphasis on tested subjects in the secondary environment has led to a general decline in both the quantity and resourcing of professional development for the social studies (Thacker, 2017). These factors lead to an environment where social studies teachers are less likely to be exposed to different

pedagogies or have the time to develop and implement curricula based on alternative pedagogies. This resource and professional development scarcity is reflected in the continued dominance of direct instruction as the principal means of social studies instruction across most classrooms (Fickel, 2006; Leming, Ellington & Schug, 2006).

Teacher beliefs about what kind of history matters shapes the curriculum, as do their beliefs about pedagogy. However, the linkage between belief and enacted curriculum is not a straightforward path. As mentioned above, in the discussion of high-stakes testing, teachers react to different contextual factors that mediate the ways in which their beliefs are enacted in curricular decisions.

Limits of Belief- The Role of Context

Teacher belief is a complex field and it is difficult to determine the extent to which beliefs are enacted as curriculum. Much of the research on teacher belief is predicated on the notion that beliefs are enacted in the classroom in a direct manner, but Skott (2009) argues that scholars have failed to demonstrate this linkage. Beliefs may offer some explanation for enacted curriculum, but contextual factors are equally important to determining what gets taught (Skott 2009). To demonstrate this, Skott conducted a series of interviews with Larry, a new teacher at a prestigious private school. At the outset, Larry's espoused beliefs generally aligned with mathematics teaching reform which emphasized student inquiry and exploration. As the months passed at the site, Larry became aware of a gulf between his beliefs and those of his peers and site leadership. This school used a great deal of high stakes testing for student measurement and placement. While Larry indicated valuing student inquiry, his enacted practice involved a great deal of direct instruction and coverage in order to ensure that his testing results were acceptable to the school leadership. Larry found limited opportunities

to resist the scripted curriculum, but those opportunities were relatively small, and were contingent on Larry's ability to keep his test scores up (Skott, 2009).

Skott highlights the ways in which site and belief interact in a high-stakes environment. As found above, even in the absence of official measures, the school site may employ a site-specific examination in a way that has profound implications for a teacher's continued employment. While exams were used at this site to measure teacher performance, it is not difficult to imagine teacher observations or student evaluations used in a similar manner. If school administration has certain practices they feel must be present in the classroom during an observation, even if that practice runs counter to a teacher's beliefs, teachers are likely to comply. In this manner, local context can influence instruction to a greater degree than belief.

In a social studies context, Grant (1996) examined where teachers believed content and pedagogy came from and asked those teachers how they believed the different forces developing such standards interacted with each other and with the classroom. Grant points out that teachers sit at the nexus of several factors which push and pull instruction. Prior research demonstrated that no single factor determines course content and pedagogy, but rather our fractured educational landscape ensures that national, state and local reformers all interact with the teachers' own background, training and beliefs to create the instruction in any given classroom. To help understand how each of these factors interact, Grant observed and interviewed teachers to answer three questions:

- "What sense do teachers make of state social studies reforms?"
- "How do teachers' responses to multiple reforms interact?"
- "What influences teachers' responses to reforms?" (Grant, 239)

As a result of interviews, document analysis and observations, Grant recognized three key influences that played the most significant role in shaping education: personal, organizational and policy influences.

The experiences of the individual teacher are still perhaps the most significant indicator of curriculum and pedagogy (Grant, 1996). The teachers' experiences as students play a key role in their attitudes and beliefs about education. These experiences include both professional development settings and childhood educational experiences. Further, Grant identified that familial interactions played a role in shaping teachers' professional opinions as does their individual belief system. Lastly, Grant pointed out that teachers' view on social studies as a discipline, and their own content knowledge, play a significant role in how they structure their own courses.

Grant went on to demonstrate how organizational influences overlaid the personal influences. Individuals like district administrators, principals, peers, and the students themselves all play a complex role in determining instruction. Teachers overwhelmingly rated experiences with district officials in a negative light, but the closer the individual was to the classroom, the more significant they were to curriculum and instruction and better they were presented. Grant pointed out that this was highly varied, citing how some teachers interviewed defied direct instructions from site principals in grading policy and hid their disobedience rather than face consequences. Students influenced curriculum based on their perceived ability levels and discipline habits. Some teachers highlighted how the battle to get students to engage in class made doing "fun" lessons more or less impossible. Overall, the variability of teacher responses indicates that organizational influences on an individual teacher depend on the relationship between the teacher and their organization.

The final key influence Grant identified were policy influences. Of the broad web of policy issues that face teachers, textbooks were a commonly cited factor in teaching. Many teachers interviewed disliked their respective text, or advocated for a different one, but few could imagine teaching without one altogether. More significant to instruction were assessments, which seemed to play a strong role in curriculum and assessment practices in the classroom. Teachers mentioned explicitly modeling their own assessments after the state standardized exam, to ensure that their own students would pass. Lastly, despite the effort expended in formulating and publishing them, standards played the weakest role in both curriculum and instruction. Some teachers claimed they used them, while others said that standards were ignored altogether.

Grant's work highlights that, at the individual level, there is no single systemic answer for what factors influence teachers in their pedagogical and content decisions. A rigid structuralist or reformer policy-centered view ignores the importance of the individual teacher, while emphasizing the individual ignores the complex organizational and structural landscape that the individual teacher inhabits. Instead, Grant proposes an interactional model, in which teachers construct personal meaning and reality against a structural backdrop. While teachers react to policy, those reactions cannot be taken out of context, as teacher beliefs and experiences will dramatically shape how a teacher might implement or reject a policy change altogether. Rather than a concrete list of how reforms interact with the classroom, Grant argues that the only certain feature is uncertainty. No two teachers will react to the same reforms in the same way, as no two humans construct meaning in the same way.

While there is broad agreement on the complex interaction of factors, one consistent factor that has emerged as a significant predictor of teacher content and pedagogy was

departmental relationships (Bidwell, 2001). Unlike elementary school teachers, secondary educators are grouped in departments emphasizing a specialized content area. In the mid-1990s, several scholars found that this grouping has a profound impact on norms and practices within the classrooms at the school site level (Talbert & McLaughlin, 1994; Siskin, 1994; Grossman & Stodolsky, 1995; Talbert, 1995). In the wake of the modern standards movement, do departments continue to exert a strong influence on course curriculum?

The teacher sits at the nexus of several forces that impact curriculum and instruction, of which the standards landscape is only a part. While this study largely agrees with Grant, it argues that the long-term impacts of the standard reform movement has been an increase in the impact of context on instruction. In a school context where administration link performance evaluations with standards adherence, coupled with frequent observations, it is easy to imagine those site variables trumping teacher belief. Performance evaluations by administration only increase in importance in the absence of an external metric for assessing teacher efficacy. Thus, in the absence of a standardized assessment, site leadership, peer interactions, and departmental leadership with and between social studies teachers will likely play a strong role in teacher's content decisions.

Conclusion

The standards reform movement in California has resulted in a growing web of standards documents that are intended to drive and shape social studies instruction. At present, teachers are expected to consult the 2016 Curriculum Framework, the Common Core State Standards for English/Language Arts and Literacy, the Common Core State Standards for English Language Development, the California History/Social Science Analysis Skills, and the California History Social Science Content Standards. Combined, this means that an

11th grade US history teacher should be consulting 157 different standards across five different documents to guide their instruction. Ross, Matheson, & Vinson (2014) argue that the goal of the standards reform movement has been to deskill the teaching workforce, and change teachers from designers of curriculum into implementors of policy. While this study does not take such a negative view of standards, the current policy landscape does not provide clear guidance to teachers in California as to how they should resolve the tensions of depth and breadth, and the lack of any measurement of standards compliance means we have no idea if and how teachers are incorporating new guidance into their instructional practices.

The linkage between standards and enacted classroom instruction is a complicated one. In a high-stakes environment, standards can powerfully impact curriculum, though not always for the better. As stakes rise, teachers tend to narrow curriculum and engage in fewer constructivist practices, favoring teacher-centered instruction and the drilling of "facts." This is largely a result of an emphasis on fact-based recall in many standardized examinations.

California, however, does not feature any assessment of social studies at the state level. In elementary education, this lack of assessment has led to a dramatic shrinkage of the instructional minutes devoted to social studies instruction. At the secondary level, this has exacerbated the perception that social studies teachers need to fulfill additional roles (such as coaching) in the school to find employment, and reduced funding and opportunities for professional development. Given these challenges, there is no data on how secondary teachers are implementing the growing curricular guidance from the state. A survey is not a suitable instrument, as site and teacher specific contextual factors are likely amplified in the absence of standardized assessment, making the collection of rich contextual data a necessary condition for understanding what causes teachers to make their particular content decisions.

Vogler's (2008) work highlights the limitations of survey in this regard. He was able to determine broad trends in test preparation, but his survey was unable to explain why a minority of teachers in a high stakes environment spent no time on exam preparation, or whether less affluent districts spend more or less time on test preparation. This contextual data is necessary if we are to fully understand the impacts of the standards landscape on instruction. Therefore, we need to conduct comparative multiple case study research into how teachers make sense of this policy environment and enact state reforms to determine if the current policy environment is meeting the needs of our teachers and meaningfully guiding instruction.

Chapter III

Research Design

This study employed comparative qualitative case study analysis of two school sites to answer its research questions. Stake (1995) argued that case study allows us to explore the ways in which problems are unique to a given context. Each teacher interacts with standards, their department, and site leadership in complex ways to determine what instruction looks like. By examining a department as a singular case, this study draws on the work of Bidwell (2001), which highlighted the ways in which collegial departmental connections were significant predictors of pedagogical norms and values. Like Grant, this work assumes an interactionist perspective for teacher content decisions. Rather than looking solely at beliefs or training, teachers construct meaning and instructional practices against an institutional and policy backdrop that shapes the field of possible choices. By interviewing teachers at two sites, this study examined how these communities of practice incorporated state instructional guidance, and how individual teachers negotiated their place within the departmental context to inform their classroom instruction.

Qualitative case study design captured the issues of teacher belief, content coverage, and pedagogy while filtering that data through the lens of the local site. There has already been some quantitative research done on how California's social studies policy environment has precipitated the collapse of social studies instructional minutes in the elementary setting (Leming Ellington, & Schug, 2006; Hutton and Berstein, 2008; VanFossen, 2005; Zhao and Hoge, 2005). While some quantitative researchers have measured the number of instructional minutes spent on explicit test preparation in a high stakes secondary environment, we cannot use this method to capture the variability of adaptations teachers may employ in a no-stakes

policy environment (Vogler, 2008; Grant, 2000; Fickel 2006). These studies, while foundational to this work, cannot tell us how teachers will implement state curricula in the absence of accountability metrics.

Research on teacher belief suggests that curricular choices are dependent on a host of factors: the individual teacher, site of instruction and the standards all working together in individualized and nuanced ways (Grant 1997b, 2000). Bidwell (2001) found informal departmental relationships to be the most significant predictor of teaching. This study does not employ a survey methodology, because any sort of survey that captures all variables would fail to capture the rich contextual data that influences instruction. Survey methodology focuses on the individual teacher as the sole locus of instructional decisions, absent those collegial relationships and other site-specific factors that may be influencing content decisions.

Some survey tools exist to capture individual belief, but Grant (1998) emphasized that beliefs are not the sole factor that influences instructional praxes. Teachers who seldom consult or reference standards are likely to forget to mention them if asked an open-ended question about course content resources, but if given as a survey option, teachers may select standards even if they are seldom consulted. Further, a survey cannot capture the impact of intradepartmental dynamics on curriculum and instruction, and the complex ways in which teacher relationships with their peers influence what gets taught. Within the departmental context, teachers may share courses, or allow deferential and longstanding relationships to influence what and how they teach. By comparing across two sites, this study can highlight the ways in which different departmental dynamics yield differences in instructional decisions. For these reasons, a comparative case study analysis will best capture how

individual and site characteristics interact to influence instruction, while illuminating the role of standards on instruction across individuals and sites.

Site Rationale

By comparing practices across these two sites, we can discuss how a relatively higher income school and lower income school meet many of the same instructional challenges and look at how site demographic considerations impact teacher content decisions. Both sites are large, urban southern California high schools, but they are located in differing districts and cities, which impacts resourcing at both sites. Tristram is part of a smaller, poorer urban district in Southern California that serves an overwhelmingly Hispanic majority population. Sweet Water is part of a large, wealthy urban district. Sweet Water is situated in a wealthier neighborhood in its district, while Tristram is located in one of the poorer sections of its district. By comparing such different sites, with access to different resources, this study will help show the ways in which instructional practices shift to reflect the student population in the room, and the ways in which resourcing shapes departmental relationships. Further, looking at two sites allows an exploration of the role of site leadership in shaping departmental culture and shaping curricular decisions.

Tristram High School was selected because it reflects the richness and challenges of many public high schools in Southern California. Tristram is a large, comprehensive public high school with an enrollment over 2,000 students located in a relatively small and poorer school district in Southern California. The student body is over 95% Hispanic, and over, 90% of its students are socioeconomically disadvantaged with nearly 20% of students homeless. Linguistically, roughly 30% of Tristram's student body are designated English Learners, and nearly a third of those students test at the lowest level of English proficiency. While over 80%

of Tristram's students graduate, about a third meet college preparedness guidelines. Tristram reflects the challenges that face many of California's low-income high schools.

In terms of facilities, Tristram is a mixed bag. Many of the buildings are older and date to the founding of the school in the late 1950's. Many of these older buildings were remodeled in the mid 2000s to add air conditioning and technology. They are relatively newly painted and in good repair, though their age is still apparent. Towards the rear of the campus there are new classroom buildings that are two-story and house dozens of classrooms. All classrooms, in the new buildings and old ones, feature projectors or smartboards, computers for staff, and internet access. Like many sites in Southern California, there is a backlog of deferred maintenance on legacy buildings, and the constant need to devote resources to those. The front office, in particular, has been the least funded space to ensure allocation of funds for instructional spaces. In general, the campus is older, but well maintained and clean, with a few newer buildings that are state-of-the-art.

Sweet Water was selected because it mirrors Tristram is size, but little else. Sweet Water is a large, diverse Southern California high school in a large, relatively wealthy school district. Sweet Water similarly hosts over 2,000 students, with student demographics broadly reflective of its surrounding community: roughly 40% White, 30% Hispanic, 15% Asian, with other minority groups make Sweet Water an ethnically diverse site. Nearly 40% of Sweet Water's students are socioeconomically disadvantaged, with roughly 1% homeless and just over 3% designated English Language Learners. Sweet Water is widely regarded as one of the best high schools in its district, with over 95% of students graduating and over 75% of those students meeting college readiness standards.

Sweet Water has many older classrooms, like Tristram, but has also had a recent infusion of funding for new construction projects, including a massive theatre and adjoining arts classrooms, and a new large classroom building that is nearing completion to replace some of the older bungalow-style classrooms on the edge of the campus. Like Tristram, Sweet Water's campus is well maintained and clean, though construction fencing is visible at many sites on campus as it modernizes. While older buildings dominate Tristram, Sweet Water is increasingly transitioning to new buildings. All social studies teachers interviewed were still in older classrooms, but this trend is changing as newer buildings near completion.

Teacher Demographics

At Tristram, six of eight department members were interviewed for this study. Four of the six interviewed had over ten years of experience, two of the six had fewer than five years of experience. All teachers at Tristram either had completed or were in the process of completing a graduate degree. All teachers at Tristram had completed a California teaching credential in their subject.

At Sweet Water, eight of ten department members volunteered to participate in this study. Sweet Water's departmental breakdown was similar to Tristram, three teachers had over twenty years of experience, three had over ten years' experience, and two had fewer than five years' experience. Seven of the eight teachers at Sweet Water had completed a graduate degree. All teachers at Sweet Water had completed a California teaching credential in their subject.

Sample Rationale

Employment as a Southern California social studies teachers was the sole determinant of participation in this study. This study understands that teachers in Advanced Placement

courses have little incentive to mobilize state standards, given the pressing demands of the College Board framework on their courses, but at both sites some AP teachers also taught non-AP courses, with only a few teachers teaching solely AP coursework as their teaching load. Analyzing all levels of coursework allows for an understanding of the interaction between the College Board's AP curriculum and the curriculum of non-AP coursework.

Data Collection Methods

I relied on interviews conducted with teachers, supplemented by document analysis of summative assessments and planning materials. On-site interviews formed the primary data collection mechanism, allowing teachers to both show and explain which resources they used for curriculum planning. At first glance, this question could have been answered in a survey, but a survey would have presented two problems. First, in a list of survey items where teachers check and/or rank all items, teachers may select resources they only consult infrequently, since they are present on the list. In an interview, teachers were given a blank slate in which they could respond however they saw fit. Those resources that came to mind in an interview setting were most likely a reflection of the resources those teachers actually consulted, as opposed to selecting socially desirable results from a checklist. Further, interviews allowed for teachers to list specific resources (which book or resources they used most regularly, or perhaps a specific teacher website).

Research question two was answered by a combination of interview and document analysis. Interviews helped to understand how teachers addressed the sprawling and contradictory nature of the standards landscape at present. Teachers explained their process for making editorial decisions, and which resources they consulted in the process of making those decisions.

In addition to interviews, I asked teachers for copies of planning documents and their latest assessments. While no teacher asked provided planning documents, all teachers provided copies of recent summative assessments. Bowen (2009) highlighted the strengths and weaknesses of document analysis for qualitative research. Document analysis is a fantastic supplemental research methodology in that it does not suffer any of the limitations of reactivity. The document is stable and will not shift depending on the researcher. However, most teachers indicated that they do not create their assessments, preferring to get key assessments from external sources. Interviews were essential to contextualize the documents given and understand where each assessment came from, and why it was selected. Analyzing the skills and knowledge students are being assessed on helped to determine how teacher belief and departmental espoused values were enacted in the classroom. All documents were collected during the interviews, so teachers could contextualize the document, its relevance to their course, and the extent to which it was a collaborative or individual product.

Research question three focuses on learning about teacher attitudes. While attitude research is typically collected via a Likert scale, this would not take into account the sprawling nature of California's standards landscape. Rather than a simple like/dislike, collecting this information via interview allowed for deeper exploration of each component part, the teacher's knowledgeability about each part and their thoughts about that part and how it came together as a whole landscape. The interview protocol developed for this study allowed for deep exploration of teacher attitudes against the backdrop of a specific site and the contextual factors that surround standards implementation such as professional development and peer mentoring.

Data Analysis Methods

After conducting interviews and collecting exemplars of tests and projects. All interviews were transcribed by myself and responses coded to key themes. Teachers reported a range of sources for content, which they ranked according to how frequently they used them (see Table 1). After asking where they located content, teachers were asked specifically about the standards landscape and how they use it to locate content for their courses. Transcripts were analyzed and coded using RQDA, an open-source qualitative analysis software suite compiled for the R programing environment.

Summative assessments were examined for standards compliance. For some exams, this meant looking at questions themselves while for others in involved analysis of grading rubrics. As teachers were seldom the author of their summative assessments, this study looked at where teachers sourced their assessments as an important marker of who they saw as having authority over course content.

Once data was transcribed, coded, and analyzed, comparative analysis between teachers and sites highlighted commonality and difference in curriculum selection processes. In general this study found little difference in curricular decision making that could be attributable to the site level, though it did find differences in assessment practices at the site level, explored in the section on site influences. By anchoring analysis around the process of curriculum selection and assessment, this study compares across both sites how teachers incorporate state curricular guidance in their respective contexts.

Site Access Plan/Role Management

After obtaining site access via each district's central office, I contacted the site principals, and asked to meet with department chairs and department members to recruit them

to participate in the study. At Tristram, I was able to pitch the department as a whole at a department meeting, while at Sweet Water I used e-mail and classroom check-ins at lunch and break to recruit teachers. Teachers were offered $10 Starbucks or Amazon gift cards for their time in the interviews and copies of their assessments. I approached teachers by highlighting that members of the state board are considering whether or not to renew history/social sciences assessment and pointed out that there was no real data on how teachers were using the current standards landscape. I emphasized that this is a way for their voice to be heard in any changes to the standards framework or in any future standardized assessment. Teachers were assured of anonymity, and that the objective was to communicate with stakeholders ways to improve the standards to better reflect best practices.

I had no ties to either of the proposed sites or districts. While this made getting the initial access more difficult, it helped make the interviews less subject to reactivity, as I was a total outsider to the organization. As a current social studies teacher, I was able to leverage a common understanding of the curriculum to help build rapport with subjects at both sites.

Credibility and Ethical Considerations

There were many potential threats to credibility that needed to be considered. First, there are issues of generalizability. Given the role of context highlighted in the research, examining a single context in unlikely to yield generalizable findings about how California's teachers interpret the standards framework. By incorporating two sites, in differing districts and counties, that differ in most metrics excepting size, this study argues that those findings that were stable across sites are most likely representative of teaching social studies in urban sites at present. This does not mean that a sample of fourteen teachers is ever going to achieve generalizability. However, the overwhelming similarity across sites in their respective

content selection and vetting processes is a further indication of the reliability of these results. Analyzing each of these two sites, this study highlights how California's no-stakes social studies landscape plays out in different classrooms and departments, and the factors that push and pull on teachers at both sites.

A second key threat to credibility is reactivity and social desirability. Any outside researcher is going to change how people act and interact, and teachers may feel a need to give socially desirable answers. This threat was dealt with by conducting multiple site visits over time to help teachers to relax. Further, my status as a fellow practitioner and outsider helped teachers to feel secure in their responses, they did not have to explain common jargon but could quickly get into a technical discussion of where and how they locate content, their common complaints about the state of the field and challenges they face in their rooms. Further, document analysis was used to triangulate responses to determine if teachers were giving socially desirable responses rather than an honest reflection of their teaching style.

As I was interviewing teachers, no serious ethical considerations emerged. Teachers have been kept anonymous, and site identifying data has been modified to make it more general and less identifiable to the specific site. All teacher's have had their names changed and genders randomized, with real names and identifying information kept in an encrypted archive. Teachers were offered a small compensation, in the form of a $10 Starbucks or Amazon gift card, but as I have no role whatsoever in their job site or school district, teachers were not coerced in any way. Site anonymity played a key role as well. Site names have been changed, and site data rendered less specific to where it could describe several schools. Given that the sample population is already such a small subgroup of teachers, teacher backgrounds will not be mentioned alongside pseudonyms as a means of ensuring anonymity.

Summary

This descriptive study mobilized an interactionist theoretical lens to engage in qualitative analysis of two school sites in differing districts, cities and counties to determine how the current social studies standards landscape is being enacted in the curriculum (Blummer, 1969; Carter & Fuller, 2015). Given California's numerous standards sources, their competing demands, and the lack of accountability metrics, this study aims to help policymakers understand how these social studies departments have operationalized the new curriculum framework and make sense of the standards landscape as a whole. Through this descriptive analysis, this study sheds light on how departments and teachers make content decisions, and what policy measures might best influence future content decisions.

Chapter IV

Findings

Interviews were conducted from November 2018 to March 2019. I was able meet with 17 different social studies teachers, interviewing 14 of them, across two different school sites in differing districts and counties in southern California. At Tristram High school I was able to briefly meet the whole department and followed up with interviewing six of nine social studies department members, and at Sweet Water I was able to recruit eight of ten department members. Again, the goal of this study was to answer the following research questions:

1. What do California's social studies teachers say influences their content decisions?
    a. Which actors (the teacher, peers, parents, students, textbook publishers, the College Board, site administrators, or the state standards) do teachers believe have authority over their course content?
2. How are teachers implementing California's social studies standards? (i.e., HSS Content Standards, HSS Analysis Skills, CCSS for ELA/Literacy, ELD Standards, and 2016 Curriculum Framework)
    a. In what ways do teachers interpret the current state standards framework into instruction and assessment, if at all?
    b. How do teachers say they resolve the tension between depth and breadth?
3. What are social studies teachers' attitudes towards the current standards environment?
    a. To what extent are teachers aware of standards resources?

b. Which standards resources do teachers consult most frequently?

Coding categories for the interviews emerged as a result of the common themes in responses that fit the major themes identified by Grant (1996) as shaping content decisions. Grant postulated that belief would be the strongest, then site influences, and policy influences would be the weakest. Responses were grouped in these categories, and then arranged into themes which explore the continued relevance of Grant's division of instructional influences. In response to the research questions, the following themes emerged

1. Standards usage in planning
2. Sources of course content
3. Standards usage in assessment
4. Departmental context
5. Teachers not sampled

Theme 1: Standards Usage in Planning

Teachers were asked to rank their most important resources for course content. From these interviews, similar responses were grouped under coding categories and placed in a ranking spreadsheet to analyze similarities in responses. The following table resulted from these rankings:

Table 1

Teachers' Rankings of Content Resources

Sweet Water	**Most Used Resource**				**Least Used Resource**
Helen	Textbook	Text Publisher Resources	Standards (1998)	Self Found	
Cheryl	Textbook	College Board	FB	Scholarly Lit	
Connie	Textbook	Teachers-Pay-Teachers (TPT)	Peers	Standards (1998)	Self Found
Enoch	Peer	TCI/DBQ Project	FB	Textbook	
Virgil	Peer	TCI/DBQ Project	Textbook	Standards (2016 Framework)	
Terrence	Facebook Group (FB)	Peer	College Board	Textbook	
Harper	Self Found	Scholarly Lit	Textbook	College Board	
Jules	Stanford/TCI	FB/ TPT	Self Found	Textbook	
Tristram					
Lester	Textbook	Text Publisher Resources	District Pacing Guide	Self Found	
Cain	Textbook	Text Publisher Resources	DBQ Project	Self Found	District Pacing Guide
Celia	Textbook	Other books/Scholarly Lit	Facebook Group	Peer	
Adria	Facebook Group/TPT	College Board	Textbook		
Gillian	Stanford/TCI	College Board	Textbook	Self Found	Facebook Group
Theo	Stanford/TCI	Self Found	Textbook	Peer	

Finding #1. Teachers interviewed are not using the 2016 Curriculum Framework.

The following section will be devoted to unpacking table 1 and aligning teacher responses to the research questions. One of the key gaps in research this study seeks to address is determining the impact of new standards documents on instructional planning in the absence of assessment. While Vogler (2003) and Grant (2000) both demonstrated that state mandated assessment can impact what is taught in class, California's introduction of the Curriculum Framework in 2016 comes on the back of abandoning social sciences assessment in 2013. For this study, teachers were first asked to list curriculum resources without attempting to

guide them towards a particular resource. All teachers pointed towards websites, peers and textbooks as significant sources of curriculum, with only Virgil at Sweet Water High reporting regularly consulting the 2016 Curriculum Framework.

For Virgil, the 2016 Framework was not the main driver of curriculum, but rather was used as a checklist to validate existing practices. Virgil explained to me that he printed out the framework and showed me how he had annotated it to cross reference the textbook content that matched up with the required content in the framework.

> So this is the framework for economics, for 12th grade. And so what I've been doing is just kind of going through and highlighting things that I would normally do… So I kind of have been going through and seeing like, 'oh I can do this lesson for that, this for that.' And writing down in our book this is in chapter one, in our book this is in chapter 3, kind of just, kind of going along like that.

This quote highlights how, even for this teacher consulting the framework, pre-existing resources like textbooks and lessons were the main factor informing what is taught and how it is taught. Otherwise, teachers overwhelmingly reported not using the Framework for planning. All nine teachers at Tristram vocalized that they were not using them at the department meeting, and seven of the eight Sweet Water teachers interviewed indicated that they did not use the framework. But why are teachers not consulting the 2016 Framework?

When asked "What training have you received on the 2016 Curriculum Framework?" thirteen of fourteen teachers interviewed indicated that they had received little to no training on the framework. This mirrors Thacker's (2017) finding that in the face of declining perception of value, social studies teachers were receiving less funding for professional development. At Tristram High School, the less affluent of the two school sites studied, only one teacher of six interviewed indicated having received comprehensive training on the 2016 Curriculum Framework, and that was not in support of his role as an instructor but rather due

to a former role as a social studies curriculum specialist at the district office, a position which was eliminated in the wake of budget cuts. When asked if he consulted the Curriculum 2016 Framework at present for lesson or unit planning, the teacher said that he "didn't really" consult the framework at all, but believed he was meeting the standards: "But I would say that I would get them through the TCI [The Teachers' Curriculum Institute, a professional curriculum publisher] because they actually embed them into their lesson." Of the remaining five teachers, the department chair attended a one-day professional development as a part of the framework rollout, but flatly stated that he had not consulted the framework since then. The remaining four teachers all agreed that they had not received any training on the 2016 Curriculum Framework.

At Sweet Water High School, the more affluent of the two sites studied, teachers were not certain if they had been trained on the 2016 Curriculum Framework. Three of the eight members indicated that they had received some training on the curriculum framework. Cheryl indicated they may have all received raining, saying: *"*Meetings kind of ran together. There were meetings, I know there were staff meetings. I know that someone from our district, or I think it was the county came, and talked to the history teachers. I do remember that." Jules echoed this uncertainty, saying "I mean, there's been some professional development. NIH, I've gone to, but not a lot." Harper was less certain if he had received training: "None that I'm aware of. There might have been some PD that I went to that was supposed to be doing that, but I don't remember." While Connie was more certain, when asked if she had received any training on the 2016 Curriculum Framework she simply replied: "I have not." This open question about whether the department was trained on the 2016 Curriculum Framework indicates that if some training was delivered, as appears may be the

case, it was not particularly memorable for the trainees. Only one teacher indicated consulting the 2016 Curriculum Framework in planning, while the rest admitted to not consulting the document with any regularity.

In the absence of meaningful training and oversight, new standards documents from the state have not impacted these teachers' lesson or unit plans. However, this does not answer how teachers are using those older standards documents (HSS Content Standards, HSS Analysis Skills, CCSS for ELA/Literacy, ELD Standards) in the current environment of no testing. For that, we have to look more broadly at how teachers go about planning curriculum.

Finding #2. Teachers seldom consult state standards documents in planning. Fickel (2006), Grant (2000a), Kornblith and Lasser (2004), Vogler & Virtue (2007) and Vogler (2008) all found that state mandated curriculum was a strong influence over course content. These studies all highlighted that state mandated assessment profoundly shaped what teachers taught, how they taught and the depth to which teachers went in their curriculum. Given that it has been six years since California has pursued standardized history assessment, this study aimed to capture the ways in which standards were operationalized into course curriculum.

When asked which resources teachers use to determine unit scope and sequence, textbooks remain the most-frequently-cited resource for course content and planning, a finding that will be explored in greater detail in section three of this chapter. When asked about which resources teachers use for planning course scope and sequence, no teachers at either site listed standards among their top three resources consulted in curriculum planning. However, five of the fourteen teachers interviewed cited reviewing standards as a source,

albeit a low tier source, in determining course content. Further, there was significant divergence between the two school sites on this issue. Of the five who indicated that they consult standards in course planning, all five were located at Sweet Water High. No teacher at Tristram High School indicated that they consult state standards as a significant source of course planning.

While the goal of standards is to create a solid corpus of agreed upon content for teachers to reference, the sprawling and fractured nature of California's standards landscape seems to be having the opposite effect. The usage of state standards at Sweet Water did not follow a predictable pattern, but rather varied a great deal from teacher to teacher. As mentioned above, Virgil consulted the 2016 Curriculum Framework, but he indicated a mistaken belief that the Curriculum Framework had supplanted the underlying standards "I don't look at the California [social studies standards] anymore because these [the curriculum framework] are the newest ones. I sometimes look at Common Core, but not with any sort of regularity, or the ELA either." Nor was he alone in this view, Cheryl, a world history teacher at Sweet Water who uses the College Board's AP Standards to drive instruction, responded similarly when asked if she consulted the 1998 content standards: *"*No, not anymore. I used to when they were the standards*."* This view was not universally held at Sweet Water; with three other teachers indicating that they regularly consult 1998 content standards and the Common Core but not the 2016 framework, correctly arguing that the underlying standards are still the operating standards from the state board. The complexity of the state standards landscape, with its many documents vying for instructor attention pushed the remaining teachers to look elsewhere for content standards.

At Sweet Water High School, three of the remaining four teachers indicated that they rely primarily on the College Board's AP Standards for course and unit planning, both for AP courses and for non-AP courses. With regard to AP courses, teachers at both sites indicated that for those courses, they felt that state standards were simply not worth consulting as the College Board's standards were seen as more rigorous. Further, Cheryl cited the organization of the content into Key Concepts that were easy to digest as the main reason for relying on the College Board Standards. Another teacher, a twenty-year veteran teacher of Government and Politics, justified using the AP Standards outside of an AP course by pointing out how outdated the state curricula was for teaching US Government, given that the state curriculum standards are over two decades old:

> I found that in terms of the shortcomings of district adopted material, the College Board remains very relevant and very structured and pedagogically sound, and the concepts are all the same, that's the beauty of it. Whether it's an AP class or regular class, iron triangles, it's there, it's the same concept.

This idea that the state standards had been unchanged for so long was the rationale given by the Helen for not consulting the state standards anymore: "Well I've done this so long I just don't [consult standards]. World War One I know what I'm gonna do even before I do it… more or less I know what it is I'm gonna be covering." For Helen, the unchanging nature of the underlying content standards allowed her to effectively ignore subsequent additions and changes. This fractured landscape at Sweet Water High School, and the confusion regarding which standards to consult was completely side-stepped by the teachers at Tristram High.

At Tristram, I had the opportunity at the recruitment pitch to address the whole department of nine individuals and ask how the current standards landscape was serving their

needs. Each of them indicated that they did not consult any of the state standards at present. In individual interviews with the six teachers who volunteered for the study, it became clear that the shift away from state-mandated assessment had played a major role in the usage of standards for instruction and planning. Three of six teachers interviewed indicated that the local school district used to provide pacing guides that handled the bulk of instructional planning and alignment to standards. As Lester put it "Well, we used to have a district pacing guide. So I would start with that, and then I would emphasize within that pacing guide what I thought were the hot topics for the standardized tests, the STAR tests." But once the testing went away, the district stopped updating the pacing guides and the teachers seemed all too happy to move away from them into teaching more aligned with other goals. Gillian was explicitly critical of the impact of testing on what she was able to teach: "when we did have a standardized testing, it was all about the tests and we were being judged on how well we did and that kind of thing…There wasn't a lot of higher-level thinking, it was just like rote memory stuff. And the way the test was designed was the same way." These views align with the state of prior research, indicating that assessment played a profound role in shaping the curriculum and pacing. With the collapse of that curricular force, all six teachers at Tristram reported having more or less complete freedom to modify curriculum to meet the needs of their student population. As Theo said "At Tristram, just a hundred percent freedom. Nobody has ever told me, 'You've got to teach this.' Or nobody has ever said, 'Here's the pacing plan and you've got to make sure you're on it.' There's a lot of freedom." While three teachers interviewed had some AP courses, and said they emphasized teaching the College Board's AP curriculum, the remaining three varied dramatically in content and pedagogy in their efforts to engage the students and build skills.

While the details above seem to present two schools that vary dramatically in their approach to standards incorporation, it is worth noting that no teacher, at either site, reported state standards documents as a significant source of course curricular planning. No teacher, at either site, listed standards in their top three resources used in planning. While Sweet Water High School teachers reported consulting the standards far more than those at Tristram, all six teachers interviewed at Tristram all knew and agreed what the state standards were, even if they were not consulting them, while Sweet Water High School's teachers disagreed as to what the standards were within their department. This finding suggests that at least some of those teachers at Sweet Water who said they were consulting standards as a lower-tier part of their curricular planning may have said so because it is the socially desirable response, rather than an accurate reflection of their planning practices.

This section has demonstrated that state standards are not directly influencing content decisions for this sample of teachers. The 2016 Curriculum Framework, a document intended to weave together the diverse state content standards and the Common Core standards which emphasize skill development, sits largely ignored. The underlying content and skill standards themselves fare a little better, but are still not significant sources of curricular guidance for these teachers in their day-to-day planning. What then, are shaping teacher content decisions? How are teachers selecting what to teach?

Theme 2: Sources of Course Content

When asked where they find course content, teachers interviewed broadly located course content in four main groupings: textbooks, peers (both in person and off-site via internet groups), professional curricula developers, and personal research/self-created content.

This section will discuss how teachers are using or not using each of these sources of course content.

Finding #1. Textbooks provide the outline for course scope and sequence. As detailed above, scholars have made a sustained critique of the textbook-driven survey course model for over twenty years (Lowen, 1995; Sipress and Voelker, 2011; Wineburg, 2001; McNeill, 1986; Bentley 2005, Calder, 2006, Journell, 2011). The Common Core State Standards movement, and the authors of the 2016 Curriculum Framework have all argued for a pedagogy of deep engagement centered on student skill development (Slutsky, 2017; McTygue, 2017). However, interviews with teachers on the ground reveal that this discourse has scarcely penetrated the classroom. First, the content standards legally enacted in California still emphasize the survey course as the default for teaching history. More significantly, the Williams Settlement Legislation of 2004 required that all students have access to a standards-aligned textbook provided by the district. The implied understanding of this legislation was that textbooks were the principal sources used in coursework, and that they formed an important part of the course to ensure educational equality of access. Thus, the Williams Settlement Legislation provides the principal venue for the introduction of standards into the classroom – through a standards-aligned textbook. On the surface, this assumption seems to be valid, of the fourteen teachers interviewed, thirteen cited the textbook as a significant source for course content, unit scope and sequence. However, how those texts are being used, and the texts themselves, present important challenges to the assumption that textbooks are an effective method of ensuring standards compliance.

Looking at it from the site level, there was no real difference in how textbooks were incorporated into instructional practice; at both sites, courses are broadly still grouped by

textbook chapters, with teachers adding resources or documents on top of this fundamental outline. Through interviews, teacher textbook usage was characterized in three main groupings: textbook as the primary content resource, textbook as course outline and homework, and one teacher who does not use the text. Among teachers interviewed, the breakdown for textbook usage is as follows:

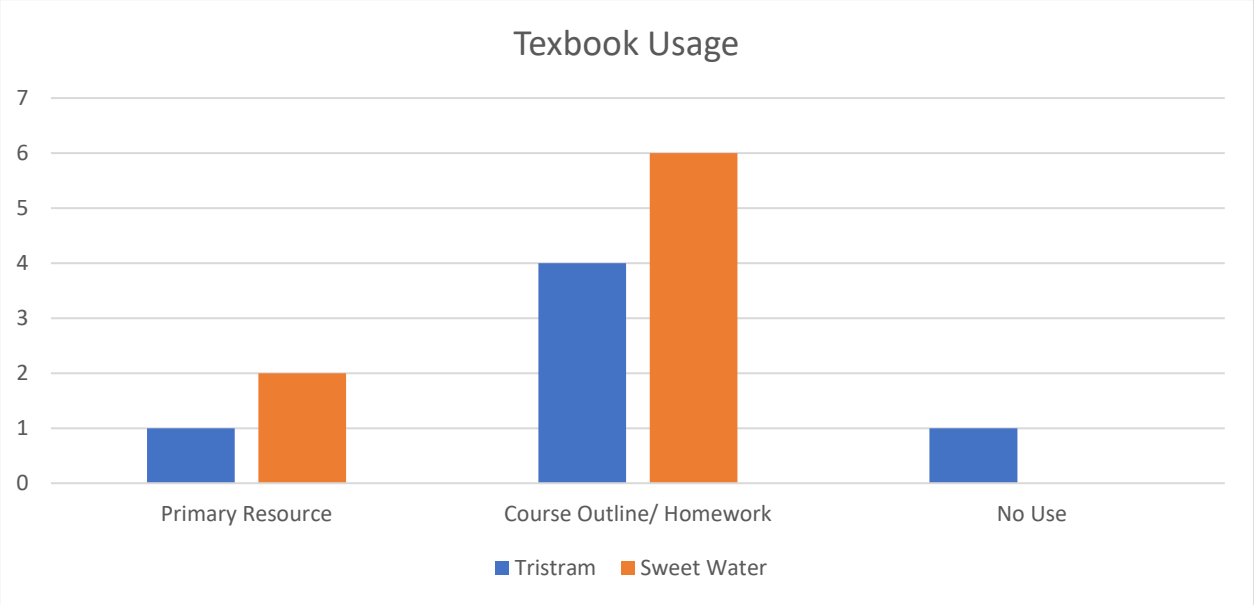


Figure 2. Textbook usage by type and site.

Three teachers cited the textbook as the principal means of communicating course content, but they varied in their rationale for doing so. Cheryl cited access as a principal reason for relying on the textbook as a significant resource: "My main source is the textbook, that is given, primarily because all the students have access to it and I have a class set in here. That is the main source that I have." For the other two teachers who cited the textbook as the principal method of communicating content, there were not clearly defined reasons, rather the book was viewed as the default pedagogical tool for communicating content to students. For

this first group of teachers, the textbook and accompanying resources, like guided readers to help students navigate the text, formed the bulk of their instructional practices.

The second grouping of teachers echoed this belief, that the textbook was the principal tool for communicating content to students, but differed in how to incorporate textbook usage. For the first group, textbook-driven discussion was dominant both in-class and for homework. For the second group, textbooks were used to guide the course outline, and the text was the most commonly given form of homework, with textbook reading compliance generally measured via multiple choice assessment in-class. Enoch at Sweet Water's answer was typical for this kind of instruction:

> So we use the book, it's called *The Earth and Its Peoples*. We use the fourth edition, and along with that our library provides us with quiz questions, and the quiz questions go right along with the readings. The way I set up my course is I'll assign them a chapter…And then after they take the reading quiz, then we talk about it. We read documents. We do activities based on it, et cetera.

Harper at Sweet Water similarly characterized the textbook: "So, I use it, it provides a background knowledge, it's a skeleton, it's a vehicle for points [through daily textbook quizzes], but I would say the bulk of the information is coming from outside of the book."

This group of ten teachers generally considered social studies instruction to consist of adding supplements to the textbook in the form of instructional activities. When considering course scope and sequence, the textbook, not standards, formed the core of teachers' content decisions with supplemental resources potentially added. Three teachers, all at Tristram, articulated a belief that textbook usage was their principal method for ensuring standards compliance. Celia pointed out:

> I mean, the standards I know, influence the textbooks from which I use kind of the skeleton for my course. So, even though I'm not using them as my guide. I'm not directly referencing standards. I know that I gotta be batting 85- 90%.

Cain echoed the same belief: “In terms of standards you know, California state standards, I figure that you know, the publisher kind of gears the book and all the materials towards those standards so if I'm teaching the book then in turn I'm teaching the standards.*”* On the surface, this may seem a rational argument for standards compliance. However, this model of standards compliance is complicated by the fact that at both sites, the formally adopted text was over a decade old, meaning the texts students are using predate the Common Core State Standards and the 2016 Curriculum Framework. If we are to assume textbook adoption cycles are the principal mechanism for standards implementation and compliance, the pace of textbook adoption must be considered as an important limiting factor.

The architects of the 2016 Curriculum Framework, led by the California History-Social Sciences Project at U.C. Davis, expressed a hope that teachers would realize the faults of the coverage model and take advantage of the freedom offered to create courses in which depth was prioritized over a breadth of instruction (Slutsky, 2017). However, the prevalence of the textbook model, the lack of training and understanding of the curriculum framework, and the continued reliance on textbooks moored in the coverage model of the 1998 content standards all have served to ensure that the textbook-driven survey remains pre-eminent among California’s social studies teachers. Textbooks remain an important source of course content, and provide the overarching structure and organization for thirteen of fourteen teachers interviewed. However, the bulk of these teachers see the textbook as a skeleton, and are adding content from other sources to supplement the text.

Finding #2. Professional content and standards creators influence teachers with advanced degrees in education. In addition to textbooks, professionally developed course

content resources were a key source of course content for a nearly half of the sampled teachers. At Tristram High School, three of six teachers interviewed cited professional curriculum, frequently purchased by the district, as a significant source of course content. Of those three, it was the most significant source of course content for two teachers, and the second most significant for the third. At Sweet Water High School, three of eight teachers cited professionally published curriculum as a significant source of content for their courses. Of those teachers, two listed professional resources as their most significant source of course content, while the other one listed it as the second most important source of course content. In short, professionally published curricula is playing a major role in planning and delivering content for just under half of teachers interviewed.

Of those six teachers who cited professionally published curriculum as a significant source of course content, all cited the Teacher's Curriculum Institute's (TCI) *Social Studies Alive* and the Stanford History Education Group's *Reading Like a Historian* lessons as the most used resources. An additional resource cited by three of Sweet Water's and two of Tristram's teachers was the DBQ Project. While half of teachers at each site reported using publisher-made curriculum, teacher training was a consistent factor as to which teachers adopted such curriculum.

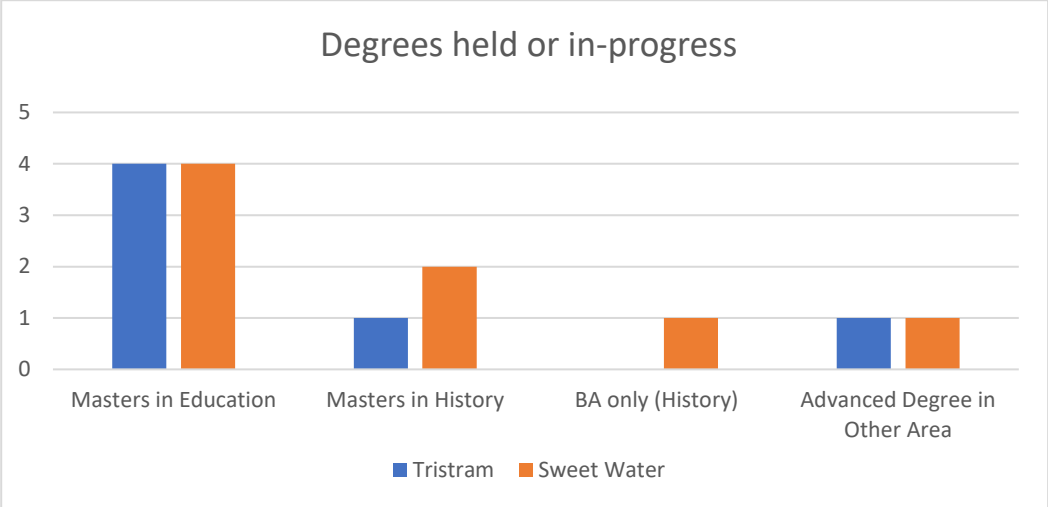


Figure 3. Sample Population degrees held or in progress.

Looking at teacher education data, advanced degrees in education dominated at both sites. Despite the traditional focus on history in the social sciences, only two teachers had completed graduate degrees in history, with one at Tristram in his second year of a history masters degree. One teacher at Tristram and one at Sweet Water had advanced degrees in other areas. In general, most teachers had completed advanced degrees, and there was not a great deal of difference in those degree types by school site, master of education degrees dominated at both sites by a comfortable margin.

When looking at which teachers chose to adopt professionally-published curriculum, having an advanced degree in education was the most common factor in adoption. None of the teachers, at either site, with advanced degrees in history or in other subject areas adopted professionally-published curricula as a major part of their content delivery. One veteran teacher with over 25 years of experience and a bachelor's degree in history, noted that she used to use TCI curriculum but has not for many years, arguing that she had developed enough of her own teaching resources that she no longer needed to use TCI. While this sample is far too small for meaningful statistical analysis of this result, what was remarkable

was the stability of answers from the teachers who choose to adopt professionally published curricula across both school sites. Teachers whose highest degree was outside of education at both sites did not report using professionally-published curriculum, while teachers whose advanced training was in education were far more likely to use such curriculum.

These teachers viewed implementing professionally-published curriculum as the principal entry point for resources outside of the textbook. When asked how they assessed content reliability, teachers using professionally-published curriculum tended to cite the website or publisher as authoritative, Gillian at Tristram put this as: "I would say, you know with the Stanford History Groups they're pretty trustworthy and reliable*."* While Jules at Sweet Water was more succinct: *"*I look at where it comes from." This group of teachers, at both sites, were not considering incorporating content that was not already vetted by a trusted source. For these teachers, trust relationships with a distinguished content provider, like the Stanford History Education Group was the most important vetting mechanism.

In addition to the assurance that the resources provided by a group like the Stanford History Education group or TCI were already of high quality, four teachers cited convenience and the availability of modified and scaffolded sources as a key factor in using these resources. Gillian argued that the resources listed on the College Board's sample syllabi were "… a lot higher level than my students are able to do. I've tried it and I just get met with a lot of frustration." In contrast, Gillian liked that the Stanford History Education Group provided modified versions of each source, with scaffolds on the page to help students work through the text. Terrence at Sweet Water also brought up the accessibility scaffolds offered by the Stanford History Education Group specifically for teaching non-AP courses:

> Obviously I'm sure you've heard of the *Reading Like a Historian* website. That's always a good first place to look that I use, especially when I'm teaching honors and regular US [history]. They're nice and short and I like how they have the breakout and certain vocabulary words that [the students] just don't understand that you and I would [say], 'Of course how do you not know what that word is?' But they don't.

For this group of teachers, a trust relationship with a resource or website was the most important factor in vetting a particular resource. Professional curriculum developers went through the work of taking a source, selecting a key section and providing scaffolding to make that source more relevant to students. To provide resources outside the text, these teachers have found key professional groups they trust, and allow these groups to exercise a high degree of curricular control over their course content.

In contrast, each of the teachers with advanced degrees outside of education explained some lengthy process for finding and assessing the validity of resources, generally involving checking the proposed resource against the textbook and personal knowledge. When compared with the relative brevity of the answers above, Harper from Sweet Water's response to the same question is illustrative of this difference.

> How do I assess resources? In terms of like just reliability, objectivity and whatnot? I try to start with an understanding of, for me as the educator in the room, what is the central issue? …So, once I've found something that illustrates or describes that issue in a way that I think I am trying to communicate to students, then I'm looking for does that same article or source have a vehicle within it for exploring alternative views? Are there good examples within it of the editorial bias? What is it? What are they responding to without saying they're responding to it? So that gets into, you know, when I teach about framing the issue, framing the narratives debate, that's useful. So, I guess how I'm looking for resources, it's not just an article about the topic, it's an article that happens to be about the topic or issue that provides a springboard for explaining other concepts, in addition to it, right?

Celia's response was a bit more succinct:

> I guess, with my own judgment of the source. If it's a primary source, it's how well I think the students can tackle it. How does it help me get to where I'm trying to go with

> this lesson. Secondary source is... it's just how much clarity it brings to whatever topic it is for the kids. If it's the textbook, it's through my own filter, you know?

All three teachers with advanced degrees in History and one of the teachers with a different advanced degree articulated extensive processes for finding, vetting, and incorporating content into their courses. This included digging through primary and secondary sources in their free time to find something for their classes. For these teachers, finding course content and the course content decisions process were central to their professional practice.

In examining the role of professional curriculum developers, this source of course content is dramatically influencing how nearly half of teachers interviewed understood content adoption. These teachers are still enacting the curricular gatekeeper role Thornton (1991) described, but their gatekeeping is based on trust relationships with key developers of curricula, rather than an assessment of the content itself. While those teachers with advanced degrees in history enacted pedagogical content knowledge in a manner more in line with Shulman's (1986) vision of teachers selecting resources based on their background knowledge and their conception of the teachability of that resource. More research is needed to know how many teachers rely on external expertise to make curricular decisions, and how and why teachers are making these decisions about whom to trust. While some groups, like the Stanford History Education Group, are dedicated scholars providing free, high quality resources to any teacher with an internet connection, most of these professional content publishers like TCI or the DBQ Project are selling a proprietary curriculum to schools and districts. Future study could look at how districts are marketed for these curricula, and how

district officials decide a resource is trustworthy enough to both purchase the curriculum and the accompanying training.

Finding #3. Peers (on and off-site) are a significant source of course content. If the textbook is generally providing the course scope and sequence, where are educators getting the supplements that they are adding to the course during daily instruction? Bidwell (2001) found that collegial departmental relationships were the most significant predictor of pedagogy for any social sciences classroom. For the time he was writing, this finding makes a great deal of sense. When it came to collaboration, teachers had routine access to their departmental colleagues as a source of ideas and inspiration. Grant (1996) found that teacher belief and departmental context were the two most significant predictors of what was taught, and that state reform efforts played the smallest role in course content decisions. While textbooks are providing the course outline for determining the sequence and scope of social sciences coursework, these peers remain a vital part of teacher's sources of instructional material, confirming much of the literature. However, during interviews it became clear that while peers on-site still play a significant role in shaping each-others praxis, off-site peers found in Facebook groups and other web resources have also become important sources of course content.

Teachers often work closely with others on-site, but not always or for all topics. Nine teachers interviewed taught at least one course that they did not share with any other peers on site. Many of these were electives like Economics or Psychology, which tend to have smaller numbers of sections than courses like US History. Further exacerbating this trend, to lower the number of unique courses taught by each teacher, both sites tended to cluster courses into a single instructor. As a result, one teacher might teach all five sections of AP US History

offered at a site while another teaches five sections of World History, as a means of reducing the work-load and ensuring that content and assessment remains consistent across a single course. While teachers could consult a peer who formerly taught a course, this trend undermines the importance of on-site peers as a resource in curricular planning. While this clustering happened at both sites, the trend was far more pronounced at Tristram than it was at Sweet Water. As a result, four of the eight teachers at Sweet Water cited peers as an important source of course content, while only two of six did at Tristram. Further, the teachers at Sweet Water rated peer collaboration far more highly as an influence, with two teachers rating it as their top influence, and the other two rating it as the second and third most important influence, respectively. In contrast, the two teachers who cited peer collaboration at Tristram both rated it as their least important resource. When examining the difference in peer collaboration, site leadership seemed to play the strongest role in this increase in peer collaboration. The variability in this result will be further explored in the findings on departmental context. In short, while the literature predicted that on-site peers were an important source of course content, for these teachers, this was only the case for one of two sites, and even then, only for roughly half of the teachers at this site.

While six teachers cited on-site peers as an important influence, eight cited off-site peers as a key influence in finding course content. Further, while the usage of on-site peers was heavily influenced by site conditions, roughly half of teachers at both Sweet Water and Tristram (five and three respectively) listed off-site peers contacted via Facebook or Teachers-Pay-Teachers as significant sources of course content. Facebook groups were the most commonly cited resource for these teachers. Cheryl cited the volume of content available via Facebook as a major factor for AP World History “Honestly, there's a Facebook

page online which is … just much more material that you could ever comb, but you gotta comb through it." Of those eight teachers who cited off-site peers as an important source of course content, only two did so for non-AP Courses. The two teachers who used off-site peers for non-AP content both cited Teachers-Pay-Teachers and Facebook groups as sources of course content. The remaining six solely consulted closed Facebook groups as a significant resource to supplement their Advanced Placement courses.

Closed Facebook groups play a strong role in shaping AP Course curriculum for most AP teachers in this study. Three of four AP teachers at Sweet Water and two of three AP Teachers at Tristram cited closed Facebook groups as significant sources of course content. Closed Facebook groups are community pages on Facebook whose content is blocked so that only members of the group can see what other member post. Membership in these groups is regulated by the group moderator(s), who set their own admissions practices and member vetting process. Terrence pointed out that this is likely due to the fact that the College Board's courses are both ubiquitous and isolating. As the sole teacher for AP US History at his site, Terrence had no one to directly collaborate with, so his single contact point with true peer teachers happened virtually. "Honestly, at this point my biggest resource, sounding board idea-getter is Facebook. Lots of teacher groups are on Facebook now, and AP US [history] has its. It's not only nationwide, we have global members because AP curriculum is across the whole world." For many of the AP teachers in this study, the identical testing and curricula of the College Board meant that resources from any teacher in any location could be of value to their classes, which greatly expanded the number of potential peers to collaborate with remotely.

These closed Facebook groups are heavily guarded to ensure that students do not gain access, nor actors seeking to take content and move it to a paid platform like Teachers-Pay-Teachers or as a professional publisher. Enoch outlined the admission process:

> I decided to join an AP World History Facebook group that's very exclusive. You have to write this whole explanation as far as what you're teaching, and you have to promise not to sell anything on Teachers-Pay-Teachers. And so that's been a really useful tool because it's just a bunch of teachers from all over the world really, that kind of share curriculum ideas and their best practices, et cetera.

Terrence echoed a similar concern which caused the first public AP US History group to close and a second closed-group to start: "And it's actually the AP US group in particular has gone through a couple of cycles of vetting, because our original group they found that students and Teachers-Pay-Teachers website were pretending to be teachers and trying to steal curriculum and tests and everything." These closed groups typically require proof that you are an AP teacher from the College Board official letter (see Figure 4). As the admission message states, these groups function as a resource for lesson and content sharing. With over 3,500 members, as of 2019, this resource is influencing the practices of many teacher at many sites, with little professional literature written about how these groups influence teacher content decisions.

Figure 4. Closed Facebook group access requirements.

To summarize, remote peers play a significant role in course content selection for more than half of teachers interviewed, making this resource more frequently cited than on-site peers as a source of course content. However, this impact is largely focused on teachers of Advanced Placement courses, with only two teachers of non-AP courses citing Facebook groups as a significant source of course content.

Finding #4. Content knowledge and self-found resources are least used in AP courses. Working with peers, or pulling from professional curriculum creators is well and good, but at some point someone has to be producing original content for this chain of sharing to begin. This next section will look at the extent to which teachers find sources on their own, or consult scholarly research in the content area to find and modify for their courses. Three teachers interviewed cited consulting scholarly research and staying abreast of literature in their field of history as a significant source of course content. These were the same three teachers who had (or, in one case, was currently working on) advanced degrees in history. While these numbers are far too small to make any sweeping generalizations, the correspondence between advanced history coursework and the usage of historical literature and developments bears further research. These teachers all cited content read during graduate coursework and continued reading after graduation as significant sources of course content for both primary and secondary sources. It is likely that the coursework in attaining a master's in history familiarized these teachers with the historiographical terrain and research methodology to such an extent that they felt more comfortable navigating scholarly research and presenting it to their students. This correspondence between degree type, content selection and content vetting was not mentioned or predicted in any of the literature, and bears further examination.

In addition to consulting scholarly research, eight teachers cited creating resources for their students as a significant source of course content. To clarify, these teachers are not inventing new history, but rather searching online for primary and secondary sources outside of published anthologies and creating their own questions, worksheets, and projects for such materials was a core part of their planning and practices. For this group, primary sources

included texts, images, and paintings, while secondary sources primarily consisted of texts and both documentary films and dramatic films to show students. Three teachers rated self-made resources in their top three sources of course content, while the remaining five tended to place it among their least used sources of curriculum. This difference highlights that some teachers do not simply adopt externally created resources, but at least a portion of their practice involves researching and selecting content for their students. However, when broken down by those teachers who teach only AP coursework and those who do not, a marked preference for self-found curricula is clear among those teachers who do not teach AP courses.

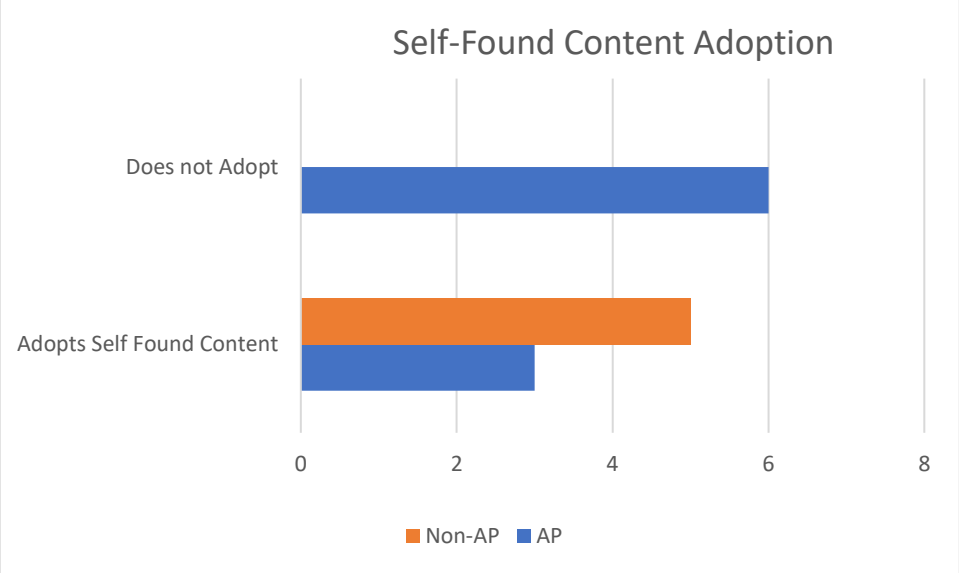


Figure 5. Self-found content adoption.

As shown in the chart above, nine of fourteen teachers interviewees teach at least one AP course, and those teachers were far less likely to adopt self-found content. Of the three AP teachers that did adopt such materials, two were teachers for AP US Government and Politics, and cited finding current events as a significant source of course content, which fits

fairly naturally into their courses, while only one AP History teacher, for US History, cited self-found content as fourth tier source of course content. This highlights how the landscape of shared AP curriculum discussed above is also a force for curricular homogenization in many classrooms.

Teachers in non-AP courses cited the need to find resources that resonated with their student populations as a significant reason for investing effort in locating these resources. Harper at Sweet Water phrased this as "My first consideration is what is going to be the most relevant to them, in terms of an example. The general concepts for our courses don't change a whole lot, right?" Theo at Tristram echoed the same ethos:

> Oh, I try to make sure that it's something that is relevant to the students, that is very important. Something that they can somehow connect with. If I give them something that is completely irrelevant, they might read a paragraph or two and then they'll tune out.

Theo argued that since his student population was over 95% Hispanic, his job included going beyond the text to ensure that students felt connected to what they were studying. Theo used the freedom offered by his site administration and the lack of AP pacing in his course to eschew the coverage model and go in much greater depth. In discussing how he covered pre-Columbian civilizations, Theo said:

> And then we get into America before Columbus. And I tried looking at the textbook, I think there's like a paragraph or two. So for that one I had to make my own lesson. I used a Prezi for that one and we spent a good chunk of time, maybe about a month, month and a half, because there's just so much to talk about.

For Theo, creating his own content was a way to develop student engagement by teaching a past peopled with their ancestors, something impossible in a high-stakes coverage model survey course like the AP curriculum.

In addition to relevance, non-AP teachers at both sites argued that a key reason for finding their own resources was to assist in differentiated instruction and skill development. While AP teachers tended to focus on content and pacing, all five non AP teachers interviewed articulated a belief that historical information is so accessible that their primary responsibility was to help develop research and critical thinking skills in students. Jules at Sweet Water described this idea:

> I don't believe that they are going to remember a heck of a lot of what I taught them, but what I want them to know is how to find information, how to synthesize, how to analyze… So, if I can do that through the content, then that means that I've done something great.

For these teachers, content was secondary to skill development for students who were not yet performing at grade level. For Connie, differentiation by providing a range of resources was the key instructional strategy for her class to meet this goal:

> The go-to resource for the students in-class and also out of class is Google Classroom, to where all the articles, primary source documents that we use are put onto Google Classroom assignments on a daily basis. Because of my background in special education and teaching general ed class, I have a pretty broad spectrum of abilities and skill levels within my class, from students that could take AP all the way to students that I've talked with case managers in the special ed department that are taking applied classes that want to try them out in the general ed setting. And I love bringing them in and seeing what they can do. So the format of how I present information is creating unit packets and so at the start of each unit, they get a packet.

Cain at Tristram discussed how student academic skill levels impacted the sources he chose and overall course pacing "The student levels are so low, I spend so much time just teaching simple concepts and so it's just very difficult to really kind of go at a normal pace because I'm always having to slow down..." While Cain expressed a desire to spend more time on content, he recognized that skill development was the key driver for his course.

Teachers of non-AP classes overall tended to be much more aware of the need to make content decisions, and felt much more freedom to make them. This perceived freedom is not to say that AP teachers were not making content decisions as well, but they did so against the backdrop of a high stakes assessment that was going to, in some way, measure their fidelity to the College Board's AP curriculum. As the literature predicted, high stakes testing has a profound impact on what is taught. Adria, an AP teacher, pointed out when ranking curricular influences "Instructor discretion is the least important. It's not non-existent. It's significant, it's just the smallest." Teachers in AP courses have some space for developing resources, but they must do so against a much more demanding backdrop that penalizes too much time spent on any single topic.

This tension, between what is tested and who has control over assessment is the next major prong in curricular decision-making. How teachers conduct assessment, who constructs the assessments, and the stakes of the assessment all play a significant role in the curricular decisions that guide instruction. The next section will examine the ways in which standards influence assessment practices, and the impact the College Board is having on assessment beyond the AP curriculum.

Theme 3: Standards Usage in Assessment

Teachers may not use standards in planning individual lessons much, but the literature predicted that some teachers might use standards to shape assessments as a means of incorporating them into their instruction. One of the key ideas articulated in the standards reform movement was the concept of backwards design. In this view, instructors begin with an understanding of the culminating assessment, and work backwards through their standards to ensure all are met in preparation for said assessment. This ideology was first proposed

around the same time as the original content standards, famously in Wiggins & McTighe (1998)'s *Understanding by Design*. While the concept of backwards planning has been reworked and expanded upon by a host of other authors, the core idea remains unchanged. Though this concept has nearly twenty years of publications behind it, given the lack of standards usage in curriculum planning discussed above, it was not surprising to find scant evidence that backwards design principles were influencing teachers' assessments.

Finding #1. The teachers seldom consult standards for assessment. Interviews with teachers, coupled with document analysis of assessment themselves, revealed that state standards drove assessment for only one teacher in a concrete way, and that even in this single case, it was done after the fact as a sort of checklist to validate content rather than as the source from whence content flowed. For Connie at Sweet Water, the cover sheet to a 40-page student work packet that consisted of readings and worksheets for the unit was the place to list standards (Appendix B). The standards here functioned as a checklist and means of validating practices, consulted at the start of the year to ensure nothing was missing from the packet, but not as the guiding source implied in backwards design. There are a few key things worth noting in examining this packet. The 1998 History and Social Science Content Standards and Social Studies Analysis Skills are evident, but there is not any mention of the Common Core standards nor the 2016 Curricular Framework. Looking through the packet's total length, some of the standards listed on the front of the packet are not addressed within the packet at all. In particular, standards 10.5.3 and 10.6.2 are not covered at all, while the second half of standard 10.6.1, the U.S. rejection of the League of Nations, is similarly absent. Given that only six content standards are listed on the front, these shortcomings mean the packet only covers about 60% of the content it listed on the cover sheet. In essence, the author of this

packet likely focused on World War One and copied onto the cover-sheet the sequence of standards pertaining to that content area. This does not mean the instructional materials contained therein are low-quality, instead, meeting standards is an accidental by-product of teaching history, not the result of intentional effort.

When asked "How do you assess student content mastery?" Connie was the only teacher who cited standards as a means of judging student success. However, reviewing the summative assessment materials provided by Connie, it is difficult to find any explicit reference to standards as a means of judging student success. When presented with the same question, the remaining thirteen teachers discussed where they found content for formal assessment strategies, and how they used informal assessment strategies for formative assessment. Given that teachers are not consulting standards to formulate assessment, how are they creating their assessments? The simple answer, explored in the next section, is that teachers overwhelmingly are not creating summative assessments, but rely on publishers to create assessments for them.

Finding #2 teachers sampled use publishers for assessments. All fourteen teachers interviewed used at least some publisher created resources in their summative assessments, but the reliance on publisher-provided assessments was not the same across all classrooms. Four teachers interviewed said they created their own projects for some of their summative assessment of student content mastery, while the remaining ten relied entirely on published resources for assessment creation. In further examining these resources, the College Board, textbook publishers, and the DBQ project (a professional content publisher of document-based questions in the style of the College Board's AP assessment) were the most cited providers of assessments. Of these assessments, multiple choice questions were the most

commonly employed assessment strategy at both sites, used by all fourteen teachers (see Appendix A).

Virgil's response about test creation for a non-AP course captures the most commonly used methodology along with the common justification for it: "I use the test bank generator for that textbook because I was trying to follow how they word things because I'm making them read the book. My final looks just the same." Virgil, like twelve other teachers interviewed, believed textbook reading to be an important part of the course, and so used assessments provided by the textbook publisher as a means of measuring textbook reading compliance. In another example, provided by Cheryl at Sweet Water, was typical of AP teacher's assessment strategies (Appendix A). These tests use resources provided by the College Board as a means of measuring student success, since the AP exam would serve as the key measure of student learning at the end of the year. Cheryl's sample test consisted of fifty-five stimulus-based multiple choice questions, in which students read a small excerpt or consulted a chart and must answer two to five questions where they mobilize background knowledge and knowledge gleaned from the stimulus to respond. Teachers of AP courses used a mix of publicly released questions from the College Board's previous exams and from the textbook publishers as banks of multiple-choice questions.

Teachers did not express an interest in or desire to create assessments, viewing it as the job of publishers to create question banks, and the job of the teacher to select from available questions rather than creating questions. While textbook publishers and the College Board were cited by all fourteen teachers are sources of multiple-choice questions, another important publisher of assessments was the DBQ project. The DBQ project produces both longer form DBQs and shorter "mini-Qs" which are essentially DBQs that are smaller in

scope and have fewer primary source documents attached. Both school districts had provided DBQ project binders to teachers, and had purchased training for their teachers from the DBQ project on using their materials. Six teachers explicitly mentioned using their assessments as summative student assessments in both AP and non-AP coursework.

When asked about assessments other than tests, all five non-AP teachers mentioned projects that they created. Interestingly, the three teachers that taught a mixture of AP and non-AP coursework did not mention using projects for assessments. Much as with self-found content, teachers that taught some AP coursework tended to enact AP-style assessment in non-AP courses. For the five non-AP teachers, projects were frequently cited alongside traditional tests as a means of capturing and measuring student content mastery. Appendix B showcases the variety of projects assigned. Teachers articulated a belief how these projects helped build students' skills and understanding, allowed for students to express interest in their work, while also being the principal locus of instructional freedom for non-AP teachers.

However, projects observed did not reflect any reference to the Common Core standards, nor were they reflective of the types of practices the Common Core advocates, despite claims of teachers to the contrary. In none of the projects observed were teachers explicitly planning around standards and creating grading based around performance on those standards. For this sample of teachers, state standards are not directly influencing the design or grading of summative tests or projects. Again, it must be emphasized, that the projects observed were generally meeting content standards and Common Core skill standards concerning research and document reading. But the performance criteria outlined in the rubrics for grading these projects does not reference any standards guidance, and they were generally centered around measuring content memorization rather than norm-referenced skills

performance enshrined in the Common Core State Standards. The absence of state assessment has allowed for some freedom in the non-AP courses, and some teachers are using that freedom to explore learning in-depth. But the results are not grounded in standards, but rather based on teacher beliefs about how to engender student engagement.

Finding #3 College Board-style assessment has grown outside of AP courses. Teachers of AP courses use College Board materials in creating assessments that mirror the AP exam at the end of the year. This is hardly a surprising finding, but it is worth noting that this finding was consistent cross all four AP teachers, none of whom created their summative assessments but instead outsource that activity to publishers like the College Board, textbook publishers or the DBQ Project (which itself mirrors the College Board). This makes practical sense, as creating a DBQ and getting together all the relevant primary sources is incredibly labor intensive. However, it means that instruction is being aligned to assessment that is not prepared by the instructors, but rather by a third company. What was surprising was the extent to which AP-style assessment dominated courses outside of the AP setting. When discussing standards training, Helen pointed to adopting AP assessment in her non-AP courses as a means of incorporating standards-based practices, saying: "I know the Common Core, they want more writing involved. We do more of the AP style short answer thesis writing, theme writing as a testing kind of thing.*"* At Tristram, Cain assigned the DBQ Project prompts twice a semester as a means of measuring student writing, which he understood to be an important goal. In all, every teacher adopted at least some College Board style assessment for measuring student success, generally in measuring student writing in the non-AP setting.

It must be emphasized that, in general, assessments of writing were relatively few and seemed to only take place on larger scale mid-term and final exams in most classes. When

asked for copies of assessments, ten of the fourteen teachers provided tests consisting entirely of multiple-choice questions provided by either the College Board or a textbook publisher. Four teachers, two at each site, discussed using impromptu oral assessments where students were called on at in class to deliver content knowledge as a means of informal assessment. While some writing is happening in every classroom, multiple-choice based assessment centered around fact-recall remains the default methodology for measuring student success.

Theme 4: The Departmental Context

One key factor predicted by the literature influencing teacher instruction was the departmental contexts and relationships between teachers at a site (Bidwell, 2001; Talbert & McLaughlin, 1994; Siskin, 1994; Grossman & Stodolsky, 1995; Talbert, 1995). For these scholars, the departmental context and the grouping of teachers at the secondary level into content-specific departments was the most significant predictor of classroom norms and practices. However, this study complicates the literature by highlighting the ways in which site leadership interact with the department to either strengthen or weaken these collegial ties based on different collaboration and departmental models.

Finding #1 social studies archipelago at Tristram. One of the key differences between these two sites was overall departmental size and how those departments functioned. These schools serve roughly the same number of students, with two more teachers at Sweet Water than at Tristram. To ease workloads at Tristram, four of six teachers interviewed taught five sections of their respective courses without sharing that course with any peers. The remaining two shared some sections, but not others. For example, a single teacher taught five sections of AP US History and was the only AP US history teacher on-site. This development

certainly makes planning and preparing easier, with only one class to prepare for, but served to create a culture of an instructional archipelago.

While the literature predicted the collegial peer relationships would influence pedagogy and assessment, Tristram functioned as an incredibly loose departmental confederacy with little common planning or assessment between teachers. Celia argued that the loose nature of planning at Tristram was a positive thing for students, saying:

> We are completely autonomous. I say for my coworkers or my cohort, it's an eclectic bunch. We have very different styles of teaching history. I think we have people in our department who are not as content focused and are more skills focused. I think it's great that kids are able to experience that type of teacher. And then I think it's absolutely crucial they also have teachers that love the content and are here to tell stories… I think it's good for kids to be able to …[experience] a wide variety of teaching styles.

Four of six teachers at Tristram interviewed explicitly mentioned this autonomy as a positive feature of working there, with two of them comparing the freedom of working at Tristram favorably to other sites where they had previously worked and felt less academic and instructional freedom. In a sense, the loose departmental context of Tristram was shaping content decisions by allowing each teacher to enact the curriculum they say fit.

Site leadership at Tristram did not see it as their role to interfere with what was taught or how, preferring to trust the professionals in the classroom with delivering content that was culturally responsive and met the needs of the learners in the room. While this meant a great deal of instructional diversity was present, it also meant that Tristram's teachers showed the most reactivity to their cultural context. Four of six teachers interviewed cited the cultural context of a predominantly Hispanic student population as an important part of their planning considerations. Two of three non-AP teachers explicitly modified course curriculum to include more Mesoamerican and Latino/a history in their content to increase buy-in among

their students, despite its relative absence from the state curriculum. These modifications all took place against a backdrop of independence that allowed for curricular risk-taking, especially in the non-AP courses.

Finding #2 – fractured departmental convergence at Sweet Water. At Sweet Water, the departmental context played a much stronger role in shaping curriculum, by dividing the department into smaller curricular groupings. Citing Marzano's (2003) work on a guaranteed and viable curriculum, the principal at Sweet Water initiated a change in 2017 toward common assessment as a means of gradually encouraging increased collaboration in planning and content delivery, to ensure equitable education across classrooms. The principal at Sweet Water mandated that teachers sharing a course must also have at least two common assessments within a semester. To facilitate this, the principal set up a late start schedule on Mondays, and every other Monday roughly 80 minutes were given to Professional Learning Community (PLC) time, where teachers who shared courses could collaborate with their peers.

This plan effectively split the department into a series of smaller planning units, which produced significant, though uneven, results in shaping teachers' curricular decisions. Enoch, Virgil, Connie and Terrence all rated this collaboration quite high, though three of these four were all in the same PLC. The remaining teachers did not mention peers as a significant source of planning, insight or curriculum. At least one PLC was highly effective for all three of its participants, while others seemed to not use the collaboration time much at all. Harper said that collaboration for his PLC was only informal: "I'm in passing conversation with the other teachers on campus that are [teaching the same class], and we're about in the same place at the same time, you know." Further, the information concerning the

Guaranteed and Viable Curriculum Initiative seemed to penetrate unevenly, Helen said she had not heard of the initiative when asked, while Enoch, Virgil and Terrence all explicitly mentioned it unprompted. In fairness, in subsequent questions it became clear that Helen knew she was supposed to be matching assessments with her peers, but it is interesting that she would claim to have never heard of an initiative that three other members of her department, but not her PLC, cited by name without prompting.

Further, subdivision of the departments into PLCs may be the reason for the uneven understanding of the current standards landscape mentioned above, where two members of the department mistakenly believed that the 1998 Content Standards and 2010 Common Core Standards had been supplanted by the 2016 Curriculum Framework. These differences in understandings about policy highlights the ways in which the PLC model has, to some extent, led to the creation of micro-departments at Sweet Water. The fracturing of the department allowed for differing understandings of the curricular expectations to circulate, as each PLC developed its own understandings of the policies it was supposed to be incorporating.

Pacing was the primary concern for five of the eight teachers interviewed at Sweet Water. To make the common assessments work, PLCs created pacing guides to ensure that when students took the common assessments their coverage was matched up. Three of eight teachers explicitly mentioned concerns with pacing undermining the quality of the content delivered. Helen was the most vocal in this regard, remarking "the other frustration is the pacing has to be the same across the board…[the administration's] ideal classroom would be they would leave [another teacher's] classroom, walk into mine and I'd be finishing her sentence.*"* Jules and Helen both discussed how pacing seemed to accelerate each year, Helen described this as "No matter what you're doing you need to get to this point by the end of first

semester. And next year, we want to pick it up a little bit more.*"* This emphasis on coverage and pacing both highlight the ways in which the scholarly literature and 2016 Curriculum Framework's focus on depth over breadth has failed to penetrate into practice, as the underlying standards, textbooks, and general professional trends have tended to emphasize the coverage model rather than slowing down and reacting to student needs.

When describing how the process of setting up the common assessments went, Jules said she sat down with the other teacher in her PLC and worked backwards using existing assessments, simply picking one that a teacher was already using for them to share. Virgil echoed the same process for his PLC "We're basically still using past assessments that we've given.. ..there's three of us. So we kind of decide we're going to use this one and that one as our common assessments, and pretty much they are based on a unit.*"* Helen indicated that she was the dominant voice within her PLC, and the other teachers followed her lead in the assessment and planning process. Among the AP Teachers PLC, assessments were not explicitly aligned since AP teachers seldom shared courses. Rather than collaborating to make new assessments, the three non-AP PLCs described by these teachers all indicated that one teacher's assessment became the default assessment for the group.

The nature of the diverse number of social studies offerings ensured that there were still some teachers that were instructionally isolated in some of their courses, most frequently for AP coursework at Sweet Water, while teachers were more likely to share courses for Non-AP coursework. The breaking of the department into PLCs had the effective result of creating micro-departments, where divergent understandings of policy could develop. These micro-departments were effective in selecting common assessments and pacing guides, but not in creating them. As indicated in the above section, teachers interviewed seldom created

assessments, so this finding was not surprising. Further, these common assessment and pacing guides came at the expense of teacher autonomy. Three teachers interviewed expressed concern over their shrinking control over classroom curriculum between site-level and district-level initiatives. These teachers felt that they still had some ability to select areas of emphasis in their curriculum, but the need to keep on pace limited these opportunities.

Theme 5: Teachers not Sampled

Finally, at the level of the teachers sampled, at both sites all the teachers who did not participate in this study were involved in athletic coaching in addition to teaching. While some coaches were captured in this study, one at Tristram and two at Sweet Water, all departmental faculty who did not respond or declined to be interviewed at both sites were involved in coaching. The literature predicted that social studies teachers are more likely to be involved with sports coaching than other disciplines, and these two sites both featured nearly half their departments in coaching roles (Brown & Sieben, 2013; Chiodo, Martin, & Rowan, 2002). Had this study been able to recruit more coaches into the interviews, a study of the influence of athletic coaching into classroom practices may have highlighted some interesting trends. The relative absence of teaching coaches in this study is likely reflective of the time demands of holding both positions, but excludes an important group from this study. Further study may reveal important pedagogical differences between faculty who coach and those who do not, but this study is unable to do so.

Summary

The preceding chapter presented the results of fourteen interviews with social studies teachers from two sites. In direct response to research questions two and three, teachers seem confused by the current standards landscape at one of the sites, and at both sites feel do not

routinely consult the standards corpus as a significant source of course content. Teachers are vaguely aware of the 2016 Curriculum Framework, but seem uncertain how to incorporate it into the existing standards, and have spent little time reviewing it. Rich data came in response to the first research question. Teachers are getting content from a mixture of professional curriculum developers, peers, social networking communities, and things they find themselves. Despite decades of scholarly critique and technological change, the textbook-driven survey remains dominant within the classroom. The power of the College Board has grown in the absence of state testing, and influences non-AP courses in addition to AP courses in assessment practices and standards. Site leadership plays a role in assessment practices at Sweet Water, which influences content decisions via pacing guides and a need to keep up, but site leadership is not influencing content and assessment similarly at Tristram. In the next chapter, these findings will be compared explicitly with the state of research, and conclusions will point the way for further research and potential policy solutions.

Chapter V

Conclusions and Recommendations

In 1898, the American Historical Association's annual report argued forcefully that the purpose of history instruction was "not to fill the boy's head with a mass of material which he may perchance put forth again when a college examiner demands its production." In the time since this clear vision was articulated, passionate educators have debated the purposes and pedagogy of social science instruction to no end. Experts have weighed in. Standards have been written, re-written, added to, and adopted and relevant materials approved. Yet, in 2019, teachers, administrators, policymakers and publishers still do not share a common vision of the purpose of learning about the past, and despite a recent wave of standards reforms we are no closer to realizing this century-old vision. This confusion is reflected in California's fractured standards landscape: with breadth of content advocated in the 1998 History/Social Studies Content Standards, reinforced by mandatory textbook-driven instruction in the Williams Lawsuit Legislation, contrasted by deep exploration of ideas and skill performance advocated in the 2010 Common Core State Standards, and finally an attempted harmonization of these two visions in the 2016 Curriculum Framework, which lacked the authority to replace these conflicting underlying visions. This fractured landscape leaves teachers with a host of competing policy demands they cannot possibly satisfy.

To navigate this landscape, teachers make choices. They decide which content is essential, which can be safely ignored. They choose content or trust experts or publishers who select content on their behalf. They choose depth and they choose breadth. They choose textbook driven survey courses, radical departures from chronology for thematic explorations,

and a host of other approaches based on their training, their context and the needs of their community. The present standards corpus is so vast and disjointed that virtually any choice can be justified by some standard somewhere. Thus, the sole unifying factor in the present curricular landscape is the ubiquitous presence of choice itself, manifest in the wildly different classrooms, pedagogies, and content sources teachers used.

The purpose of this study was to examine the ways in which high school social studies teachers navigate the complex standards landscape of in California given the twin changes of abandoning assessment as of 2013 and the launch of the 2016 Curriculum Framework. As discussed in the literature review, the course content of social studies is torn between the twin demands of depth and breadth, with no clear answers yet as to how to satisfy both. Through fourteen interviews with social studies teachers at two large, comprehensive southern California high schools, this study has identified the general trends of how this group of teachers made content decisions, and highlights the instructional diversity present in those decisions. This chapter will seek to unify the findings presented in the previous chapter through the lens of the research questions that framed the interviews. It will present how those findings both reflect and challenge some of the prior research, pointing toward avenues for further study. Finally, this chapter will discuss the limitations of the study, and provide a final summary of the recommendations.

Research Question 1: What does this sample of social studies teachers say influences their content decisions? Grant (1996) laid the basic framework for this research question, looking at the same issues over two decades ago. Grant similarly found that teachers differed wildly in their instruction, but identified three major forces that interacted with teacher content decisions. Grant argued that teacher experiences and beliefs were the

strongest influence on curriculum, followed by the organizational influences of site leadership and peers, and policy influences like state standards were the weakest curricular influence. While the broad outline of this study confirms Grant's understanding of an interactional model for the role of differing influences on the individual teacher, this study posits that, for this limited sample of teachers, the foremost influence identified by Grant, teacher experiences and beliefs, has been significantly undermined in the last two decades. For the teachers interviewed in this study, teacher belief and experience was not the lead curricular influence. Rather than a three-tier hierarchy of influences, this study confirms Grant's three influences, but postulates that they exert a far more uniform pull on instruction than Grant found in the mid-1990s.

Teachers interviewed for this study were asked: "What resources do you use to communicate course content?" then asked to rank those resources. The results of these questions are contained in table 1, a chaotic blend of responses that much of Chapter Four was devoted to mining for patterns. Grant found that teacher training and belief were the primary influence, likely captured in the "Scholarly Literature" and "Self Found" coding categories. While this was an important influence, it was no more common a response than things that would fall under Grant's second tier of organizational influences, which are captured in "Peer" and arguably in "Off-Site Peer" influences. Grant's third tier of "policy influences" has grown robust in the past two decades, where formally-adopted textbooks function as the principal driver of course content, and especially in Advanced Placement courses where the College Board dominates content decision-making. Thus, Grant's three influences are all still accounted for, but now compete on equal footing for the teacher's attention. The remainder of this section will examine how each of these influences impacts instruction for this sample,

and the ways in which the growth of information technology has shifted the ways in which these influences shape instruction.

Teacher training and belief. In the face of increasingly robust policy and site-level influences, teacher training and belief has fallen from its former position of primacy to either parity with the other influences, or was the weakest influence, depending mostly on which course is being taught. In the case of AP coursework for the College Board, teacher belief and experience was the lowest tier resource, while textbooks/publishers, College Board curricular guidance, and off-site peers were a far more important influence in these courses. In non-AP coursework, textbook-driven surveys still tended to shape instructional content decisions, with only one teacher interviewed significantly departing from the text as the guiding content framework. In general, teacher belief about content was most visible in where they chose to shop for course content outside of the textbook, but was less present in terms of which content areas teachers chose to emphasize. In short, teachers did not generally view their beliefs as shaping their content decisions, but rather those decisions were heavily defined by external experts.

Teacher training was seemed to play a role in whether a teacher adopted professionally published curricula for their courses. Those teachers whose advanced training was in Education were the most likely to adopt curricula from providers like the Stanford History Education Group or the Teacher's Curriculum Institute. However, these teachers articulated the least complex responses concerning their methodology for vetting course content, citing trust relationships with curriculum developers as authoritative in and of themselves. This fits the growing body of research that highlights the ways in which high-stakes assessment and scripted curricula act as a forces for the de-professionalization of teaching (Carlgren, 1999;

Ballet, Kelchtermans & Loughran, 2006; Milner, 2013). Teachers who adopted external curriculum may still see themselves as content experts, but the bulk of their instructional practice is best described as delivery of prepackaged content and assessments. This trend was most pronounced in Advanced Placement courses, where interviewed teachers exercised almost no role in curriculum selection or assessment development other than delivering what they believed the College Board was most likely to assess.

While this trend was most pronounced in Advanced Placement courses, this trend of de-professionalization of teaching was evident in some way in all interviews with teachers. Teachers relied on publishers for assessments, both for AP and non-AP coursework. This use of published assessments, in turn, shaped what was taught in all courses at all levels, such that the College Board's assessment frequently impacted assessments in non-AP courses. The push for coverage and textbook adherence, which was stronger at Sweet Water but present at both sites, ensured that the field of possible choices for these teachers to go deeper into content was limited. This push for coverage is not to say that teacher belief is no longer influencing instruction; teachers in non-AP courses still found ways to introduce projects into the curriculum that allowed for deeper exploration of some content, and some teachers tried to introduce content that reflected student interests and background. However, this study finds that teacher belief was not consistently the strongest influence on curricular decision making. If anything, it has become the weakest of the three influences once the rigid curricular structure of Advanced Placement courses is taken into account.

Organizational influences. The influence of local organizational context was predicted as a strong influence over what is taught, and this study confirms that site influence can be significant, if site leadership decide they should take on the role of shaping curriculum.

While Grant's (1996) study argues that organizational influences are important, subsequent research argues that it is best to conceive of the organizational influence as two distinct forces: peer influences and site leadership influences (Grant 1997a, 1997b, 2000; Bidwell, 2001; Talbert & McLaughlin, 1994; Siskin, 1994; Grossman & Stodolsky, 1995; Talbert, 1995).

Prior research argues that peer relationships are a significant predictor of both content and pedagogy. This study confirms that, with the support of site leadership, peers can be an important curricular influence. At Sweet Water, the PLC model ensured that, for some of the teachers, peers were regularly consulted for content ideas and assessments. However, some teachers did not seem to use the PLC time for collaborative planning and the overall result was uneven. At Tristram, this sort of interaction was more informal, as course sharing was generally less common at Tristram. The growth of isolated courses among social studies teachers, where a single teacher has all sections of a single course, has led to the growth of a new type of peer collaboration not predicted by the literature, off-site peer collaboration through virtual communities.

Teachers in this sample used resources like closed Facebook groups and sites like Teachers-Pay-Teachers as a means of communicating with off-site peers for content ideas. This type of collaboration was advantageous as it did not require that teachers find time in the school-day to collaborate on-site, but rather enabled collaboration at any time. Given that many teachers on a single site do not share planning time and courses, and that departmental time can be quickly consumed for a host of administrative tasks, off-site peers were, ironically, more accessible and relevant than on-site peers for many teachers. However, this type of exchange is happening completely outside of district or state management, and further

reflects the failure of the policy environment. Teachers are communicating with a global network, which means the resources they are adopting cannot possibly be taking into account the policy backdrop of the state. While there is a great deal of similarity in course content from state to state in a U.S. history course, if California's policymakers wish for standards to drive instruction, they need to provide teachers with collaboration networks within the state that will support teacher's instruction. These teachers lack time for planning, and are looking anywhere for course content that they can plug into their courses. This type of peer interaction and its role in shaping curricular and assessment practices requires further study to better understand its impact on how teachers incorporate or ignore standards guidance and make curricular decisions.

Based on interviews in this study, teachers using these resources seem to fall into two categories: content creators and consumers. One interviewed teacher discussed uploading resources to a communal Facebook group, while the remaining teachers using these resources discussed joining them to gain access to content for their courses. Future study of off-site collaboration could develop these categories further to determine which percentage of teachers fall into each, and if some teachers, not captured in this study, occupy a middle category of both creating and consuming content resources. Given that this resource is likely to only grow in prominence with time, a great deal of study on how teachers are incorporating and vetting off-site peer work is needed.

Research Question 2: How are teachers implementing California's social studies standards?

Policy influences. The initial findings of this study confirms that this tier of influences was the least powerful in shaping content decisions. As reported above, teachers in this

sample seldom actually consult standards, either for planning or for assessment. California's 2016 Curricular Framework, and much of the underlying standards, are a policy that is not directly shaping teacher content decisions. Given the absence of assessment and the fact that the 2016 Curricular Framework did not replace the underlying standards, the 2016 Curriculum Framework has had no demonstrable impact on instruction. Only one teacher reported consulting it with any regularity, and even then, only as a means of validating pre-existing practices. Teachers reported receiving little too no training on the standards, and virtually no training on the 2016 Curriculum Framework. If state officials want standards to impact curricular planning, teacher training needs to be part of the rollout plan for any new standards guidance.

However, thirteen of fourteen teachers reported using the textbook as a significant guide for course content decisions and shaping the overall scope and sequence of their courses. In essence, state policymakers and educators have ceded curricular control to textbook publishers, and rely on those publishers to decide what content is included, and which voices are silenced. The strength of textbooks in shaping course content, coupled with the Williams Settlement Legislation that mandates textbook adoption and usage, means that state content standards are indirectly shaping instruction through the mechanism of textbooks, but only to the extent that those textbooks align to standards.

This study suggests that relying on textbooks to implement standards is an inefficient mechanism for standards introduction, as school districts are slow to adopt new texts. In both districts studied, the adopted textbooks were over a decade old. This means that while the textbooks referenced by teachers were reflective of the 1998 content standards, they could not possibly include the 2010 Common Core standards nor the 2016 Curriculum Framework, both

of which were published more recently. Further, in the absence of state assessment, school districts are unlikely to want to absorb the costs of new social studies textbooks when they are already buying textbooks that conform to Next Generation Science Standards and the 2013 Common Core Standards for Mathematics, both of which are subjects tested by the state. As such, policy influences are an important, but slow influence on course content. One that, once textbook materials are adopted, profoundly shapes teacher's content decisions. Despite years of sustained criticism of the textbook-driven survey course as an instructional model, California's policy landscape has ensured that this methodology remains the default mode of social studies instruction. Future research in this area should examine the reasons and timeline for social studies textbook adoption cycles, examining how district policymakers allocate resources and their beliefs about when to adopt new textbooks for social sciences.

In addition to asking about the planning process, this study also looked at teacher's assessments for evidence of standards fidelity. The teachers in this study overwhelmingly relied on publishers: like textbook creators, the College Board, and professional curriculum publishers to provide assessments. Teachers lack both the time and, in some cases, the training to create their own content, relying on trusted sources of course content to exercise pedagogical content knowledge on their behalf. Just as this sample of teachers believed that textbook driven curriculum promised standards fidelity, premade assessments offered both an easy route to standards fidelity and for curricular alignment between peers at Sweet Water. Like with textbook adoption, these assessments shape curriculum in such a way that, even without formally consulting state standards, teachers in this study were generally aligned with California's social sciences content standards implemented in 1998.

However, the prevalence of multiple-choice assessment as the default form of assessment, both professionally created and teacher created, coupled with the relative scarcity of research and writing projects indicates that the types of student skills assessed under the Common Core State Standards have not meaningfully penetrated most classrooms. Teachers have added some writing at the margins of their courses, but the types of inquiry-based instruction advocated in the Common Core standards remain difficult to weave into a textbook-driven survey course. The divide between assessment of fact-based recall and deeper skill development issue points to the broader unresolved tension in California's standards documents, the debate between depth and breadth.

When asked about how they resolved the conflict of depth and breadth, teachers routinely cited the need for coverage as a limiting factor mitigating against going in-depth on any one content area, with only one teacher resisting the coverage model at Tristram. Given that California's standards themselves have not successfully resolved the tension between depth and breadth, it is unsurprising that the teachers in this study struggled with it as well. Historically, survey courses have been the dominant pedagogy since the Second World War. Reinforcing this trend, the College Board's Advanced Placement courses privilege the survey model as the default form of social studies instruction. As a result, the professional debate surrounding alternative pedagogies to the survey course has not meaningfully penetrated practice.

Overall, this study demonstrates that Grant's tripartite division of content influences still holds true, with some variation. Teachers' beliefs and experiences, organizational influences and policy influences each continue to exert a pull over the curricular choices of teachers in this study. However, the forces of de-professionalization, the growth of new forms

of collaboration, and an increasingly robust policy landscape have converged to strengthen the latter two influences to attain parity with teacher belief and experience. The result is that, rather than a hierarchy of influences, these three forces interact equally to shape content decisions. Each teacher's negotiation of these three curricular influences produces the kind of unpredictable results seen in table 1 due to the relative equality of each of these influences in the curricular tug-of-war.

Research Question 3: What are social studies teachers' attitudes towards the current standards environment? Interview after interview captured a general sense of ambivalence toward the state standards guidance. At least two teachers interviewed, both at Sweet Water, were confused about what the current governing standards are, believing the 2016 Curriculum Framework had supplanted both the Common Core and state content standards. This belief, however, did not mean those teachers actively consulted the 2016 Curriculum Framework as a guide for practice. Generally speaking, teachers believed that they were incorporating standards via the textbook or professionally published curriculum, and did not feel compelled to consult standards on a routine basis. Standards might be consulted at the start of the year when mapping the course, but once underway the textbook, not state standards guidance, was the outline for course content decisions, determining both scope and sequence.

The same was the case for the Common Core State Standards. If referenced at all, Common Core standards were usually invoked as a collective corpus, rather than individually, as a vague justification for practices which generally meant adding some student writing, even if the performance criteria for that writing did not incorporate the benchmarks established in those Common Core standards. In short, standards were not driving curricular decisions, nor

providing performance benchmarks for student success. Instead, they were seen as a vague body of literature that was occasionally referenced as a means of justifying a predetermined decision about course content.

While Grant (1997b) and Vogler (2008) both argued that standards and reacting to standards was an important feature in the modern curricular landscape, they were really looking at the impact of assessment more than standards in their research. The changes in California in 2013 to move away from assessment in social studies has created a space where teachers have to external compulsion to ensure they are teaching the state curriculum with absolute fidelity. Further, the relative scarcity of teachers who had received training on the 2016 Curriculum Framework indicates that districts and leaders have responded to the de-prioritization of social sciences as well, spending less on training for state guidance and directing those funds to College Board training for AP exams, or into other disciplines. As a result, the 2016 Curriculum Framework has been met with a collective shrug by teachers interviewed for this study. As far as standards guidance goes, only the 1998 Content Standards are indirectly influencing instruction, but the indirect nature of its influence means teachers tend to not have strong opinions about those either.

Limitations of this Study

Two school districts and sites are captured in this study, but this study cannot meaningfully speak to the impact of district influence at the site level. There were significant differences between both school sites and districts, they varied with regards to size, affluence and ethnic makeup. As a result, it is difficult to know which organizational influences observed are a factor of site leadership or district policy. The ways teachers in this study interacted with standards was relatively stable across sites, but this may be different in a

district that has a more robust testing policy. Future research in this area may look at multiple schools within a single district to attempt to better understand the role of district policy in shaping instruction and collaboration.

At the site level, the impact of leadership appears to be an important determinant of peer collaboration. The uneven nature of faculty collaboration and role of leadership bears further research. Further, the size of both sites studied (over two thousand students) and relatively small site leadership teams, three at Sweet Water and four at Tristram, may have diminished the impact of site leadership at the classroom level. Studies of smaller school sites or sites with larger leadership teams may yield different results in terms of the impact of site leadership on teacher content decisions.

Finally, an important limitation is the relative absence of athletic coaches from this study. While three participated, more would be needed to determine what differences, if any, athletic coaches have in their approaches to teaching and content selection. Social studies teachers are more likely than other disciplines to have teachers who double as athletic coaches, so this group is important to capture as they represent a significant portion of the profession. Future study into this group of teachers may highlight unique strengths in student engagement and rapport that athletic coaches bring into the classroom.

Implications and Conclusions

This study could be summarized in a play on the famous Zen kaon: “If the State Board issues standards guidance without assessment, do teachers hear it?” Overwhelmingly, the answer in this case is: they do not. The 2016 Curriculum Framework, indeed most standards guidelines issued by the state were virtually ignored by the teachers in this study. Policymakers need to consider the limitations of removing assessment if they seek to ensure

standards compliance. At present, California's policymakers have ceded control over course content decisions to the for-profit textbook industry. Teachers are not consulting standards, nor are they reporting any significant training initiatives on those standards in support of such a practice. Instead, course scope and sequence is left to textbook publishers, while professional content developers provide the bulk curricular supplements. Given the scope of human history, these editorial decisions in course textbooks are amplifying and silencing groups, promoting macro-narratives, and shaping thinking about the past in ways that are largely unexamined. Further study is needed on the textbook editorial process and adoption process.

The critiques of assessment are many, and the concern that our students are over-assessed are legitimate. However, the absence of state guidance in the form of assessment has created a vacuum that has largely been filled by textbook publishers and the College Board, whose assessment practices are dominating in almost all levels and classes. This is not necessarily a bad thing, but if the goal of California's policymakers is to cede the field of assessment to the College Board, then why publish standards guidelines in the first place?

Teacher preparation seems to play a role in how teachers are making content decisions, but one that points to a broader question about the purpose of the teacher in the classroom. Do we want teachers to be subject matter experts, or experts in content delivery? Shulman (1986) postulated that pedagogical content knowledge represented the bridge between these two fields, a collective body of knowledge carefully selected by the instructor that is germane to students because of its teachability, relevance and pedagogical appropriateness to the students in the room. While many scholars have expanded on Shulman's concept, this study both derives its title from and seeks to answer some of the same

questions as Shulman: “How do teachers decide what to teach, how to represent it, how to question students about it, and how to deal with problems of misunderstanding?” (Shulman, 1986, p. 8). For a significant portion of this sample of teachers, pedagogical content knowledge is effectively absent; these choices are outsourced to professional content creators whom teachers find trustworthy. These teachers mobilized a host a resources, from the freely available scholarship of the Stanford History Education Group, to paid resources like the Teachers Curriculum Institute and the DBQ Project, or to crowdsourced resources like Teachers-Pay-Teachers and private Facebook groups. Rather than enacting Shulman’s vision of consulting their content knowledge and understanding of relevant pedagogy, the hallmarks of pedagogical content knowledge, these professionals make curricular choices by deciding which expert to trust, which lesson to download, and which assessment to use. Some of these resources are the product of outstanding scholarship, and offer a significant time savings to teachers over constructing lessons from scratch. However, especially at the level of crowdsourced content resources, we need a great deal more research into the reliability and vetting mechanisms for these platforms.

The presence of high-stakes testing and standards regimes has been linked with the de-professionalization of teaching, while the absence of testing has created a window where teachers can explore alternative means of reaching their students. However, only one teacher in this study has significantly moved outside of the textbook-driven survey model. Other teachers cited the need to meet the demands of the College Board, site initiatives in curricular homogenization, Williams Legislation mandating textbook usage, and pacing guides as restrictions on engaging in the types of deeper learning practices advocated by those critics of the survey model. Each of these forces supplants the teacher’s development of pedagogical

content knowledge, vying to replace teacher choice with guidance from external sources. More research is needed on whether the reliance on textbook surveys is the result of decades of de-professionalization initiatives, the by-product of standards and the Williams Settlement Legislation, or if teachers and leaders genuinely believe this to be the best model of instruction.

Textbooks are the principal entry point for standards into the curriculum, arguably the only effective means identified in this study. State policymakers could consider mandating accelerated textbook adoption cycles to correspond with new standards guidance, as long as they are willing to ignore fiscal constraints. However, such a path would do little to disrupt the overwhelming reliance found in this study on textbook-driven survey courses and continue the trend of ignoring the nearly two decades of scholarly critique of this instructional model. In a more radical approach, policymakers could actively incorporate the body of research critical of textbook-driven survey courses by abandoning that instructional crutch upon which so many courses lean, forcing teachers to develop or adopt new curriculum in line with state guidelines and training. This approach would require a rethinking of the state standards, notably the state's aged content standards, which predate every student currently enrolled in California's K-12 schools, and the careers of most teachers. It would also require a shift in the legislative landscape that currently mandates that courses be anchored to a textbook as a result of the Williams Settlement Legislation.

This policy solution would be a complicated and messy route, one that would likely face significant political backlash, but with careful planning, training and instruction we could realize the dream of a social studies driven by skills and carefully selected content rather than a lengthy list of content objectives. This was the dream articulated by the American

Historical Association over a century ago. This is the vision advocated in the oft-ignored 2016 Curriculum Framework, and by the authors of that framework, but one that has run aground in the competing policy initiatives and legislative guidance that has dominated social studies instruction in California for the past two decades. If we are to realize the State's own vision, teachers and policymakers need to work together toward a common vision of social studies, which can then be constantly codified into a single text, rather than the fragmented policy landscape facing teachers today.

Appendix A
Samples from Exams provided by teachers

Questions 15-18 refer to the charter below.

"We know that the prosperity of the Netherlands and the welfare of their inhabitants depends principally on navigation and trade, and we find by experience that without the common help, assistance, and interposition of a General Company, Dutch merchants cannot be profitably protected and maintained in their great risk from pirates, extortion, and otherwise, which will happen in so very long a voyage. We have found it good that navigation, trade, and commerce in the West Indies and Africa should not henceforth be carried on any otherwise than by the common united strength of the merchants and inhabitants of the Netherlands. And for that end there shall be erected one General Company.

Moreover, we furnish the General Company with a proper charter and with the following privileges and exemptions, namely that for 24 years none of the natives or inhabitants of the Netherlands who are not affiliated with the General Company shall be permitted to sail to the Americas or the West Indies."

Charter of the Dutch West India Company, 1621

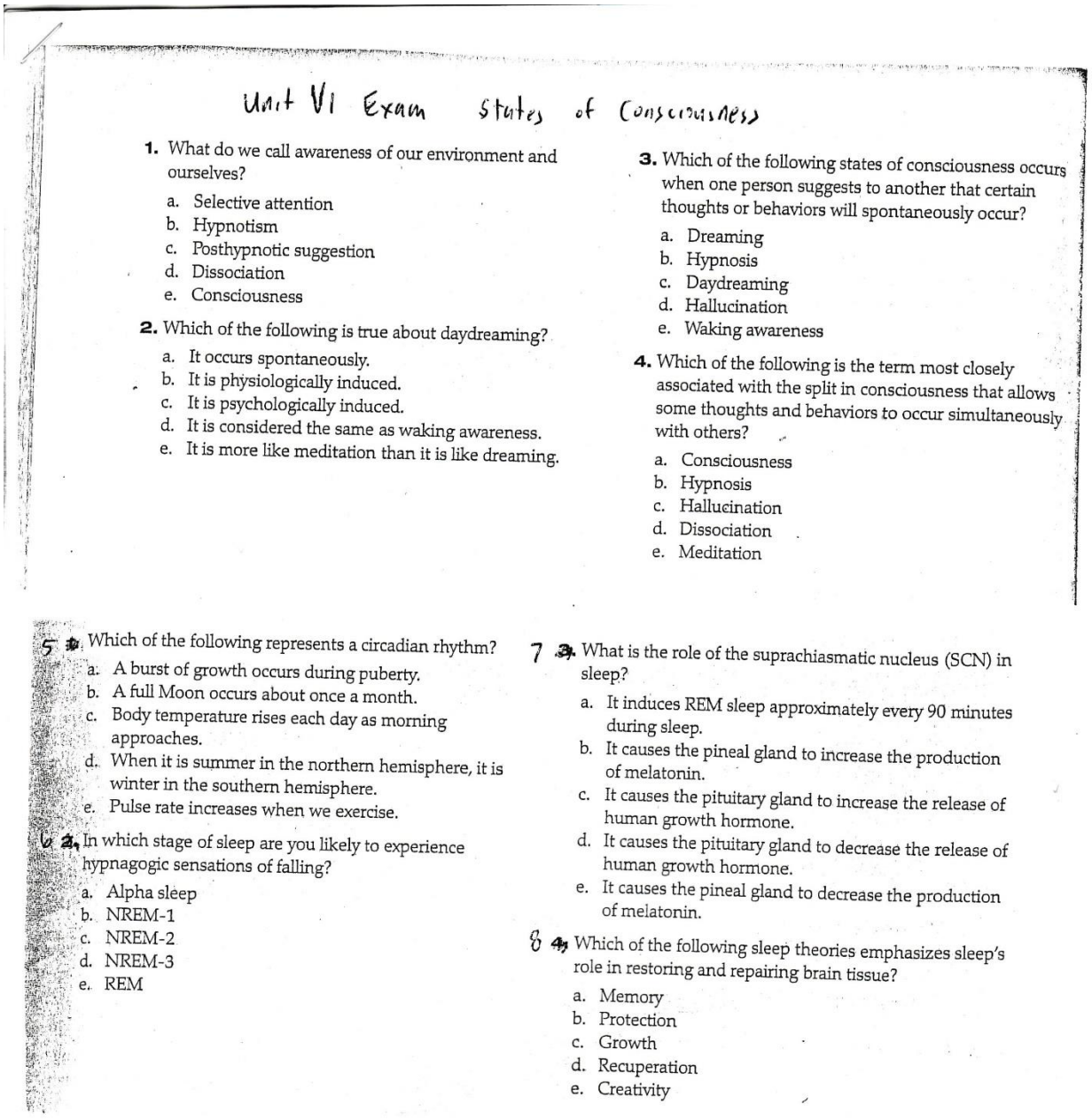
15. The risks mentioned in the first paragraph are best understood in the context of which of the following historical developments?
    (A) Competition with African states for the profits from the slave trade
    (B) Competition with Catholic European states to convert Amerindian peoples
    (C) Competition with European states for the profits of global trade
    (D) Competition with Asian empires for the profits of the spice trade

16. The privileges and exemptions mentioned in the second paragraph of the passage are best seen as an example of which of the following?
    (A) Social Darwinism
    (B) Feudalism
    (C) Laissez-faire economics
    (D) Mercantilist practices

17. Organizations of the type created by the charter most directly contributed to which of the following developments in the period 1450-1750 C.E.?
    (A) An increase in peasant revolts
    (B) The emergence of new economic and political elites
    (C) The implementation of restrictions on religious freedom
    (D) The spread of Chinese and Indian technologies

18. The economic activities referenced in the charter most directly contributed to which of the following the period 1450-1750 C.E.?
    (A) A decrease in the publication of travel narratives
    (B) Increased funding for the visual and performing arts
    (C) Decreased spending on the construction of religious centers
    (D) Dutch becoming the predominant language for commercial transactions

This example is a question directly from the College Board AP World History Course and Exam Description from 2016.



Unit VI Exam States of Consciousness

1. What do we call awareness of our environment and ourselves?
   a. Selective attention
   b. Hypnotism
   c. Posthypnotic suggestion
   d. Dissociation
   e. Consciousness

2. Which of the following is true about daydreaming?
   a. It occurs spontaneously.
   b. It is physiologically induced.
   c. It is psychologically induced.
   d. It is considered the same as waking awareness.
   e. It is more like meditation than it is like dreaming.

3. Which of the following states of consciousness occurs when one person suggests to another that certain thoughts or behaviors will spontaneously occur?
   a. Dreaming
   b. Hypnosis
   c. Daydreaming
   d. Hallucination
   e. Waking awareness

4. Which of the following is the term most closely associated with the split in consciousness that allows some thoughts and behaviors to occur simultaneously with others?
   a. Consciousness
   b. Hypnosis
   c. Hallucination
   d. Dissociation
   e. Meditation

5. Which of the following represents a circadian rhythm?
   a. A burst of growth occurs during puberty.
   b. A full Moon occurs about once a month.
   c. Body temperature rises each day as morning approaches.
   d. When it is summer in the northern hemisphere, it is winter in the southern hemisphere.
   e. Pulse rate increases when we exercise.

6. In which stage of sleep are you likely to experience hypnagogic sensations of falling?
   a. Alpha sleep
   b. NREM-1
   c. NREM-2
   d. NREM-3
   e. REM

7. What is the role of the suprachiasmatic nucleus (SCN) in sleep?
   a. It induces REM sleep approximately every 90 minutes during sleep.
   b. It causes the pineal gland to increase the production of melatonin.
   c. It causes the pituitary gland to increase the release of human growth hormone.
   d. It causes the pituitary gland to decrease the release of human growth hormone.
   e. It causes the pineal gland to decrease the production of melatonin.

8. Which of the following sleep theories emphasizes sleep's role in restoring and repairing brain tissue?
   a. Memory
   b. Protection
   c. Growth
   d. Recuperation
   e. Creativity

In this example, the teacher has taken a published document that they do not have an electronic copy of, added their own handwritten title and numbering after pasting together questions on the copy machine.

Govt test version 2

1. Article III of the Constitution discusses the _____ branch.
   a. judicial
   b. executive
   c. legislative
   d. representative

2. Who is the chief justice of the Supreme Court?
   a. Joseph Kennedy
   b. Stephen Breyer
   c. John Roberts
   d. Antonin Scalia

3. A Supreme Court justice gets to the court by
   a. the President nominating, and the House confirming.
   b. the President nominating, and the Senate confirming.
   c. the Senate nominating, and the House confirming.
   d. the House nominating, and the Senate confirming.

4. The first 10 amendments of the Constitution are also known as
   a. the Declaration of Rights
   b. the Bill of Rights
   c. the People's Rights
   d. none of the above

5. What are the requirements to become a senator?
   a. 30 years or older
   b. 9 years a citizen
   c. legal resident of the state you represent
   d. all of the above

6. What role does the president of the Senate have?
   a. casting the vote to break a tie
   b. casting a vote for his party
   c. casting a vote
   d. there is no role

An example of a textbook-provided Multiple Choice assessment.

7. Took over as Emperor of the Ming Dynasty when his father died
    a. Yonglo
    b. Hongwu
    c. Zheng He
    d. Kangxi
8. Chinese admiral who sailed to Africa, Arabia, and India
    a. Yonglo
    b. Hongwu
    c. Zheng He
    d. Kangxi
9. People who began the Qing Dynasty
    a. Monguls
    b. Safavids
    c. Mugals
    d. Manchus
10. First Emperor of the Qing Dynasty
    a. Yonglo
    b. Hongwu
    c. Zheng He
    d. Kangxi

Critical Thinking Question (50 points)

Why did the Europeans begin to explore overseas, and what technological advances made this possible?

The only teacher created assessment provided, for 10th Grade World History, consisted of ten multiple choice questions (50% of exam) and a Critical Thinking Question (50% of exam). According to the teacher, the source for the content of this exam was exclusively the textbook.

Appendix B
Examples of a teacher-created projects

1920s Poetry Project, Rubric and Exemplar

Social – cultural	Political
Prohibition	Palmer Raids
speakeasy	Passage of 19th Amend
fundamentalism	Scopes v. Tennessee
Racism –lynching	Commonwealth v. Sacco and Vanzetti
Sports	Red scare
Literature –art	National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA)
Harlem Renaissance	Volstead Act
Jazz	18th amendment
Back to Africa	Tea pot dome scandal
St Valentine's day massacre	Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU)
	Immigration Quotas

Poem: check list

Avoid the generic the purpose is that you demonstrate you understand who your person is and **why they played a significant role in the 1920s.**

Used at least **three** sources PROPERLY CITED	**Project will receive a zero for no – or improper Bibliography**	
Included a picture of my person in the printed version of my poem	5points	
Poem printed and turned in with rubric on time	Included 18 "I am statements" **poem incorporated the relevant topics from the above list** 20 points	
Slang terms	Included and highlighted 5 slang terms from the 1920s in my poem **and** provided a key as to what the words mean. 10 points	

I am "**Who was the person you drew"**
I wonder
I hear
I see
I want
I am (another way **you** would describe yourself)
I can be found.. (a place relevant to you)
I feel
I own (an object associated with you)
I worry
I fought for
I am (how **others** might describe you)
I understand
I say
I know (**someone** you are associated with and why)
I participated in
I hope
I am (the first line of the poem repeated- **(who** are you)

***** YOU WILL NEED A PROPER BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AT LEAST THREE SOURCES YOU USED TO WRITE YOUR POEM*************

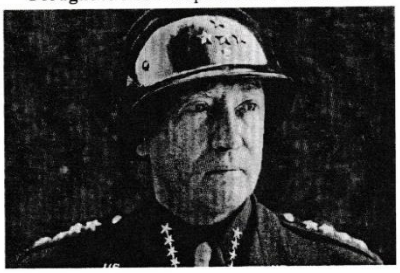
Item	Description	Points possible	Points earned
Poem	Typed neatly includes **a picture** of your person and contains significant details relevant to understanding your person's role in the 1920s, **five slang words defined** AND PROPER BIBLIOGRAPHY of at least three sources **(no bibliography or improper bibliography will be a zero on the entire project)**	35 See rubric above	
Visual	**NOTE: If not sent to me by the appointed day you will have no visual.** three slides – sent or shared with me by _____ 1. Your person's name and your name, date and Period 2. Collage of images that were relevant to your person and **could be explained by you without note cards or cheat sheet.** (You actually KNOW your person) 4. The Five most important details the class needs to know about your person – how they relate to other people and topics listed **NOTE your visual will only be scored if you present**	15	
Presentation	**Was able to talk about your person without note cards** making eye contact with the audience Speaking clearly and loudly Gave a significant amount of information (10-12 details)	50	
TOTAL		100	

George S Patton

1. The poem

Sample

I am four star General George S. Patton
I wonder if I will be in charge of a "ghost army" to distract the Nazis during the D-day invasion
I hear the sound of my 3rd army making its way across Northern France, **now we're cookin' with gas!** ⟵ **Used the slang in my poem**
I see the Rhine and I intend to cross into German territory
I want to defeat the Germans in a counter attack in the Battle of the Bulge
I am a soldier, **an eager beaver**, I fight where I am told and I win where I fight
I can be found leading the armies of the United States in Sicily, North Africa and Europe
I feel that Moral courage is the most valuable and usually the most absent characteristic in men, who often want **to pass the buck.**
I own a tank as I am very skilled at tank warfare
I worry I will not die in battle but as the result of a car accident
I fought to free Europe and the World from Hitler who was **in cahoots with** the Nazi party



I am "old blood and guts"
I understand that slapping a shell shocked soldier may not have been the wisest move
I say *A good plan violently executed right now is far better than a perfect plan executed next week*
I know general Omar Bradley who led the attack on Normandy which was Eisenhower's **brainchild**
I participated in Operation Torch as the leader of US forces against the Germans in North Africa
I hope people will read my memoir " War as I Knew it"
I am Four Star General George S. Patton

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3. The slang terms USED IN YOUR POEM!

Slang terms of the 1940s

1. Cooking with gas- to do something well
2. Eager beaver- someone who is enthusiastic about doing something
3. Pass the buck- to avoid responsibility for…
4. In cahoots with- to conspire with
5. Brain child – the originator of an idea

Cover Sheet to a 40 Page Worksheet Packet on World War One.

World History Name: _____

Per. _____

World War I

Standards

10.5.1 Analyze the arguments for entering into war presented by leaders from all sides of the Great War and the role of political and economic rivalries, ethnic and ideological conflicts, domestic discontent and disorder, and propaganda and nationalism in mobilizing the civilian population in support of "total war."

10.5.2 Examine the principal theaters of battle, major turning points, and the importance of geographic factors in military decisions and outcomes.

10.5.3 Explain how the Russian Revolution and the entry of the United States affected the course and outcome of the war.

10.5.4 Understand the nature of the war and its human costs (military and civilian) on all sides of the conflict, including how colonial peoples contributed to the war effort.

10.6.1 Analyze the aims and negotiating roles of world leaders, the terms and influence of the Treaty of Versailles and Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points, and the causes and effects of the United States' rejection of the League of Nations on world politics.

10.6.2 Describe the effects of the war and resulting peace treaties on population movement, the international economy, and shifts in the geographic and political borders of Europe and the Middle East.

CST 3 Students use a variety of maps and documents to interpret human movement, including the frictions that develop between population groups, and the diffusion of ideas, technological innovations, and goods.

HI 1 Students show the connections, causal and otherwise, between particular historical events and larger social, economic, and political trends and developments.

HI 4 Students understand the meaning, implication, and impact of historical events and recognize that events could have taken other directions.

Essential Questions

1. What were the four forces at work in Europe that helped set the stage for war?
2. What single event set in motion the start of World War I?
3. What were the major technological innovations during World War I?
4. What were the characteristics of trench warfare?
5. Why was World War I the first "total war?"
6. How was World War I a truly global conflict?
7. What are the factors that ended up keeping this from being "the war to end all wars?"

World War 1 Collage Project

You are to create a visually appealing and historically accurate collage representing World War 1. Your collage should include images, maps, newspaper headlines, or political cartoons (printed or hand drawn) of the peoples, places, events, treaties, battles, countries, thought processes, home front, and battle front, etc of World War 1.

How you lay out the collage is your choice, but the front should contain all the images, and on the back you should have a 2-3 sentence description/identification of EACH image explaining its relevance to World War 1. For example, if you include an image of President Wilson, you can not simply write: Wilson was the American president during the war. Rather your identification should be along the lines of: Woodrow Wilson was the American president during WW1. He first tried keeping America neutral, but eventually had to commit American support on the side of the Allies. When the war was over, Wilson fought for his 14 Points and the creation of the League of Nations at the Versailles Peace Conference.

You should include AT LEAST 1 image for 20 different topics for a total of 20 images. You are not restricted to the following topics, but they might be a good place to start.

Wilson
Airplane
Machine Gun
The Lusitania
Militarism
Gavrilo Princip
Nationalism
Zimmerman Telegram
Battle of the Somme
War Guilt Clause
Trench Warfare
Propaganda Posters
The Christmas Truce
Archduke Franz Ferdinand
Alliances
Imperialism
The Schliefen Plan
Sussex Pledge
De-militarization
Wilhelm II
Czar Nikolas II
Tank
Chemical Warfare
The League of Nations
14 Points

Each image will be worth 2 points, and the description of each image (on the BACK of the collage) will be worth 3 points each for 100 points total.

You will have two days for research and one day in class to put it together. This is an INDIVIDUAL project. Anything above and beyond the 20 images and 20 descriptions will earn you extra credit.

39

Summative Project for World History

World History Jig Saw

-Students will create a Google Slides presentation on an assigned chapter. The presentation will be graded on the following guidelines:

1. The Chapter must have a **title slide**
2. Each **subsection summary** will have its own slide and include any vocabulary found within.
    a. A subsection is a section within a section they have bolded red titles.
    b. Minimum **font size is 12**.
    c. Slides must be **readable** with text not blocked by a picture or running off the slide.
3. Each subsection slide must have a **picture** having to do with the subsection.
4. Each subsection must have a **multiple-choice question (4 selections)** on a separate slide.
    a. **DO NOT GIVE THE ANSWER**!
    b. I will create a note-taking page with just the question.

-Student groups will be assigned a chapter:

- Chapter 4 (Table Group 1)
- Chapter 5 (Table Group 2)
- Chapter 6 (Table Group 3)
- Chapter 7 (Table Group 4)
- Chapter 8 (Table Group 5)
- Chapter 9 (Table Group 6)
- Chapter 10 (Table Group 7)
- Chapter 11 (Table Group 8)
- Chapter 12 (Table Group 9)

Each student group can decide how they would like to split up the chapter

-**Students will present their chapter to the class, in order**. Each student will present his or her own part. Please talk to me personally during my office hours if there is a problem.

-Presentations will be done in the library where students will have access to a microphone. Each group must present for a **minimum of 10 minutes, maximum 30 minutes.**

-All of the multiple-choice questions will be collected and compiled into a test to be given after all presentations have been presented.

-Students will be given 5 classroom days to work on this assignment. Any chapter that is incomplete will be marked down 50% (The Whole GROUP).

Appendix C

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES
STUDY INFORMATION SHEET

What to Teach?

Curtis J. Hartman, and Kathryn Anderson-Levitt, PhD from the Graduate School of Education and Information Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) is conducting a research study.

You were selected as a possible participant in this study because you are a secondary education social studies teacher in the state of California. Your participation in this research study is voluntary.

Why is this study being done?

This study seeks to understand how teachers are being served by the current social studies standards, how teachers plan their course content and make content decisions in their respective contexts.

What will happen if I take part in this research study?

If you volunteer to participate in this study, the researcher will ask you to do the following:

- Sit down for an interview, preferably in your classroom, for approximately 30 minutes to discuss how you make content decisions.
- Provide samples of major summative assessments and planning documents, if possible.

How long will I be in the research study?

Participation will take a total of about 30-40 minutes, plus any email follow-up that you desire.

Are there any potential risks or discomforts that I can expect from this study?

- There are no anticipated risks or discomforts.

Are there any potential benefits if I participate?

You will not directly benefit from your participation in this research.

The results of the research may inform the state board of education as they consider whether or not to renew the practice of standardized assessment in the social science. Further, this research will help policymakers to shape content standards going forward.

Will I be paid for participating?

- You will receive a $10 Starbucks gift card for participating in this study.

Will information about me and my participation be kept confidential?

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can identify you will remain confidential. It will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. Confidentiality will be maintained by means of randomizing the gender and changing the names of all participants. Only one master list of names and pseudonyms will be maintained on an encrypted system only accessible via password and biometric scans. Once the dissertation is completed this masters list will also be destroyed.

Appendix D
Interview Protocol

Personalia
What Courses do you teach?

How long have you taught?

What is your educational background?

Content
What resources do you use to communicate course content?

Where do you look for content resources?

Could you rank the resources you use for course content?

Why did you select these resources?

How do you assess resource quality?

Planning

How do you plan a course or unit?

What do you assign for that unit?

How do you determine unit scope and sequence?

How do you assess student content mastery?

How do you see your department's role in shaping your curriculum?

Standards
How do you use the current standards?

Which parts do you consult?

How often do you consult them?

What training have you received on the current standards framework?

How do you balance breadth and depth?

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